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OHIO
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PUBLICATIONS.

A NEW SERPENT MOUND IN OHIO.

GEORGE FREDERICK WRIGHT.

[We herewith reproduce, with permission, from the September-October (1908) bi-monthly number of "The Records of the Past," published at Washington, D. C., an article by the Editor of that publication, George Frederick Wright, the distinguished traveler, scholar and author, professor of harmony of sciences and religion, Oberlin College, Ohio, and now President of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The discovery of this new serpent mound, or rather the publication of the knowledge of its existence, is a matter which should be of great importance and intense interest not only to the Ohio students of archaeology but to the scholars in that department throughout this country and indeed the world. It is hoped that such portions of this mound as still exist may be preserved intact and that the land upon which it is located may be secured by the state society and that the portions of the serpent mutilated or nearly obliterated may be restored. We are indebted to Dr. C. L. Metz, Madisonville, Ohio, not only for the first information concerning this mound, but also for much material concerning its original form and for the survey and drawing made by him in 1892, which drawing is herewith reproduced. — Editor.]

PROF. G. F. WRIGHT.

The Serpent Mound in Adams County, Ohio, of which a full account was given in *Records of the Past* for April, 1906,

has long been considered one of the most remarkable and significant prehistoric relics of America if not of the world.

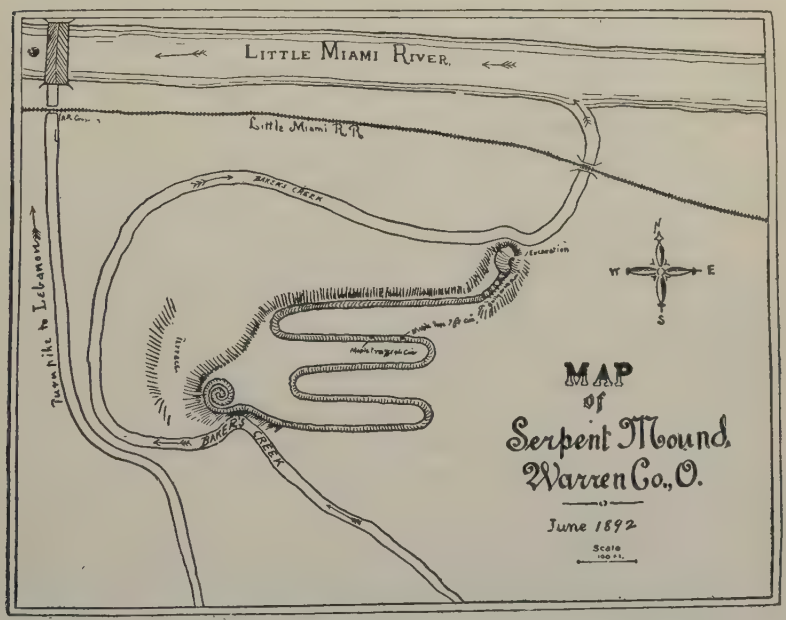
As was there detailed, its head was situated near the picturesque point of a rock promontory 100 feet above the valley of a small stream and the body stretched backwards in serpentine convolutions more than 1300 feet ending in a coiled tail. The height of the mound was from 3 to 4 feet and the width of the body 20 feet diminishing to 4 or 5 feet near the tail. The head represented an open mouth evidently intending to encompass something which seems to be an egg. Careful investigattion of the mound revealed no burials or relics of any kind, showing that it was purely an ideal construction of some emblematic or religious purpose.

In his monumental volume on *Tree and Serpent Worship,* published in 1868, Prof. James Fergusson, one of the most eminent of the English authorities, refers to the serpent mound in Ohio, as having extreme significance if it indeed be a serpent, which he mildly doubts. The following are his remarks: "If we may trust the antiquaries of the United States there are great serpent mounds formed of earth, 1000 feet long and more, which would seem to prove that before the present race of Red Indians inhabited Ohio and Iowa, a race of Serpent Worshippers occupied their places, and they have been the ancestors of the Toltecs. When, however, we remember with what curious credulity Stukeley manufactured a Dracontium out of Avebury, and Bathurst Deane saw a serpent 7 miles long in groups of Menhirs at Carnac, we must pause before we feel sure that these American mounds do really represent serpents at all. This point cannot be settled without much more accurate surveys and more cautious observers than have yet turned their attention to the subject.

"If it should turn out that these are really representations of the great serpent, and that this worship is indigenous in the New World, we are thrown back on the doctrine that human nature is alike everywhere and that man in like circumstances and with like degree of civilization does always the same things and elaborates the same beliefs. It may be so, but I confess it appears to me that at present the evidence preponderates the other way. It should be mentioned, however, that in America

the snake that is worshipped is always the indigenous rattlesnake. Whether as separate images or as adorning the walls of the temples of Yucatan, this characteristic seems invariable, and in so far would favor the local origin of the faith."[1]

A few years before (in 1862) Prof. Daniel Wilson, in his learned work on *Prehistoric Man,* remarked that the Serpent Mound of Adams County, Ohio; "is indeed altogether unique



Outline drawing by Dr. C. L. Metz of the Serpent Mound in Warren Co.

among the ancient earthworks of the New World, and without parallel in the Old though it has not unnaturally furnished the starting point for a host of speculations relative to the serpent-symbols of Egypt, Assyria and Greece."[2]

But doubts concerning the reality of this serpent symbol (if any remained at the time) were entirely removed by Professor Putnam's careful investigations in 1885, when he explored

[1] J. Fergusson. *Tree and Serpent Worship.* p. 1.
[2] D. Wilson. *Prehistoric Man.* Vol. I, p. 404.

it from head to tail and restored it to its original condition and presented it to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. The thousands of visitors who now make annual pilgrimages to the spot cannot fail to have all doubts removed and to go away with a profound impression of its significance and importance in the interpretation of human progress and thought. Professor Fergusson could not now write the paragraph which we have quoted.

Nor could Professor Wilson any longer refer to this mound as "altogether unique among the ancient earthworks of the New World and without a parallel in the Old," for a most remarkable discovery of another serpent mound, equal in dimensions, has recently been made in Ohio, which adds immensely to the significance of the previous discovery. In the mouth of two witnesses the facts are fully established.

This newly discovered serpent mound is in Warren County, Ohio, and hence may be called the Warren County Serpent Mound, as the other is called the Adams County Serpent Mound. The mound is situated in the valley of the Little Miami river opposite Stubbs Station, about half way between Morrow and South Lebanon adjoining the farm of the Baker family, who have been residents in the locality for over a hundred years. The valley of the Little Miami between Morrow and South Lebanon is pre-glacial and fully one mile in width, but like all similar valleys in southern Ohio, has been filled up to a great depth with gravel washed in by the floods of the melting ice at the close of the glacial period. The present stream has eroded a channel through this glacial gravel to a depth of about 50 feet, leaving a gravel terrace of about that height through a considerable distance. The deposits, however, are not all of equal height but generally stretch out at a somewhat lower level in beautiful fields adapted for cultivation.

The serpent is upon one of the highest portions of this elevated terrace with its head facing the river which is here flowing past it on the northeast. But, owing to the encroachments of the river on the gravel terrace, the head itself has been washed away and we have therefore only the neck and body of the serpent remaining for direct examination. Following this, however,

from the edge of the bluff it can be distinctly traced in a mound about 3 feet high and from 10 to 15 feet wide in a southwest direction bearing gradually away from the edge of the bluff for a distance of about 500 feet when a convolution is made toward the southeast for a distance of about 100 feet which returns upon itself and then again bends in the same direction for about the same distance and returns nearly to the original line, from which it proceeds with minor curves less distinctly visible to an indefinite distance along the slope of the hill. Now that the bushes are cleared away and when the grass is cut (as it was during a recent visit which the writer made in the company of E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Ohio Society, and Dr. Hough, of Lebanon), the outlines are perfectly distinct and no one seeing them can fail to recognize an artificial product like that in Adams County, representing a serpent in active motion.

Perhaps, however, it is not exactly correct to speak of this as a recent discovery for it has been known and visited by local authorities for a long time and was carefully examined several years ago by Dr. M. C. Metz, who has so long been coöperating with Professor Putnam in the exploration of prehistoric burial places at Madisonville in the lower part of the Little Miami valley. It is said also that Dr. Scoville of Lebanon, wrote a brief account of it for a Cincinnati daily paper, but we have been unable to find a copy of this communication. Twenty years ago, also, Professor F. W. Putnam visited it, but owing to the growth of brush and vegetation was unable to determine positively that it was not part of an enclosure. A few years later, however, Dr. Metz made a careful survey of it, but has never published the results. Through his kindness we are permitted to give the essential facts and from his notes to draw the accompanying illustration. We quote the following notes made by Dr. Metz at that time:

A NEW SERPENT MOUND.

"Beginning on the south bank of the Big Run Creek, at a point about 35 feet above its bed, is the embankment forming what still remains of the head, the greater part of the head, however, has been destroyed by the encroachment of the stream.

From the head the embankment extends about direct south 65 feet, thence south 52 degrees W. 300 feet, thence curving in S. W. to S. E. E. 75 feet, thence S. 88 degrees E. 186 feet, thence curving in a southwestern direction the curve being 85 feet in length; thence S. 82 degrees W. 208 feet; thence curving S. 82 degrees E. 123 feet; then S. 82 degrees E. 226 feet; thence curving to west 150 feet, at which point the ground slopes rapidly to the creek bottom lands and the embankment

ADAMS COUNTY SERPENT MOUND AND CLIFF.

could not be further traced on account of the ground being overgrown with dense weeds and grass. These measurements were made with a tape line and pocket compass along the crest of the embankment, which was traced out the length of 1,369 feet. In the fall of the year 1892, I visited this earthwork in company with Mr. Harlan I. Smith, now of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and a cross section of the embankment was made. This revealed a layer of large lime and flat

river stones, 20 feet wide, placed on the level surface, and the earth embankment was built over it. The embankment was about 4 feet in height at this point. The greater part of this earthwork was in the woodland, well preserved large trees growing on the top and slopes of the embankment."

At the present time about half of the serpent is in a wooded pasture lot sparsely covered with large trees, but the convolutions spread out into a meadow on the other side of the fence which has been cultivated from time to time; notwithstanding the partial defacement by cultivation this portion of the serpent is still very clear and pronounced. The total length of the serpent, according to Dr. Metz's measurement was fully 1,300 feet corresponding very closely to that of the Adams County Serpent.

The significance of this remarkable effigy is enhanced by considering both the general and the special location chosen for it. The Adams County Serpent is in the near vicinity of the remarkable cluster of mounds and earthworks in the Scioto valley around Chillicothe; while this is near the equally remarkable cluster of mounds and earthworks in the Miami valley. Fort Ancient is on the Little Miami river a few miles above the Warren County Serpent while the celebrated Turner group of mounds is but a few miles below, and other mounds and earthworks occur at frequent intervals on the surrounding hill tops. Both these serpents, therefore, were located with reference to most important centers of prehistoric populations.

Locally, also, the sites are equally significant. The Adams County Serpent, is situated where it could be looked down upon from surrounding heights by a vast concourse of people. This is still more evident in the case of the Warren County Serpent. The hills on both sides of the valley of the Little Miami between Morrow and South Lebanon, rise about 300 feet above the present level of the gravel terraces. If the timber were all cleared away the elevated terrace upon which the serpent is situated would be visible for miles around, indeed no more conspicuous situation could be imagined. It is almost like that of the center of the Coliseum at Rome. Moreover, it is more than probable, indeed almost certain, that during the occupancy of this region by the mound builders, the timber was cleared off from this sec-

tion of the valley, for the cultivation of corn was generally practised by the mound builders especially in the river valleys so favorably situated as this is, where the soil was fruitful and easily worked and near to abundant water. The numerous remains of earthworks in the vicinity and of implements found over the surface of the valley are indubitable witnesses of a considerable population which could have been supported only by the resources of agriculture.

The significance of the existence of this second serpent mound of such enormous size can hardly be over estimated. Beyond all question these effigies are symbolical. They are the embodiment of ideas which moved this prehistoric population to gigantic combined effort at expression. They serve closely to ally the mound builders of the Mississippi valley with the almost universal body of nations and peoples who have feared and propitiated or adored and worshipped the form of the serpent through all time. They at once start anew the question whether this reverence for the serpent has spontaneously and independently arisen among nations from a common impression made upon the senses by its appearance and behavior or whether serpent worship is derivative, thus indicating a common origin of the human race.

Curiously enough the serpent has been about equally feared and adored, the symbol of the serpent has stood to represent both evil and good. The brazen serpent of Moses in the wilderness was a symbol of healing. The figure of the serpent was put to a similar use by followers of Æsculapius the god of medicine whose statue of gold and ivory was surmounted by a head surrounded with rays which grasped a knotted stick with one hand while the other was entwined with a serpent. The national emblem of China found on all their flags and appearing in innumerable combinations is a dragon of fearful mien supposed to be terrible to their enemies, but friendly to them. The Chinese dragon was supposed to dwell in spring above the clouds to give rain and in the autumn under the water.

In Grecian myths one of the great tasks of Hercules was to vanquish the Lernean Hydra while it was represented that when in his cradle he strangled two serpents which Hera had sent

to destroy him. The serpent also was an emblem of Ceres and Mercury as well as Æsculapius. Apollo also is made to slay the Python. The serpent was introduced as an object of worship in Rome several centuries before the Christian era. In Egypt it is represented in carvings of the Predynastic age, and later Kneph was symbolized by a serpent on two legs or with a lion's head. Typhon of Egypt was a serpent of 100 heads. One of the trials of the goddess Parvati was that she was compelled to wrestle with the serpent. In the Chaldean myths Bel was represented by a dragon, and in the Indian myths Krishnu's greatest triumph was over a serpent. In Zoroastrian religion the serpent is the synonym for the spirit of evil. Among the Mohican Indians the rattlesnake was reverenced and called their grandfather. Thus among all nations the serpent seems to have filled the role both of a beneficent and a malevolent deity. The strongest phrase of condenmation which Christ could use of the Pharisees was to call them serpents and a brood of vipers.

Concerning a group of figures found in Mexico among which serpents are represented, Baron Humboldt says: "The group represents the celebrated serpent-woman Chinacohuatl, called also Quilaztli, or Tonacacihua, 'Woman of our flesh;' she is the companion of Tonacatenctli. The Mexicans considered her as the mother of the human race, and after the god of the celestial paradise, Ometenetli, she held first rank among the divinities of Anahual. We see her always represented with a great serpent. Other paintings exhibit to us a feather-headed snake cut in pieces by the great spirit Tezcatlipoca, or by the sun personified, the god Tonatiuh. These allegories remind us of the ancient traditions of Asia. In the woman and serpent of the Aztecs we think we perceive the Eve of the Shemitic nations, in the snake cut in pieces the famous serpent Raliya, or Kalinaga, conquered by Vishnu when he took the form of Krishna. The Tonatiuh of the Mexicans appears also to be identical with the Krishna of the Hindus, recorded in the *Bhagavata-Purana,* and with the Mithras of the Persians. The most ancient traditions of nations go back to a state of things when the earth, covered by bogs, was inhabited by snakes and other animals of gigantic bulk. The beneficent luminary, by drying

up the soil delivered the earth from these equatic monsters. Behind the serpent, who appears to be speaking to the goddess Chinacohuatl, are two naked figures; they are of different color, and seem to be in the attitude of contending with each other. We might be led to suppose that the two vases which we see at the bottom of the picture, one of which is overturned, is the cause of this contention. The serpent-woman was considered at Mexico as the mother of two twin children. These naked figures are, perhaps, the children of Chinacohuatl. They remind us of the Cain and Abel of Hebrew tradition."

Among the American Indians the serpent was used to insure good fortune in some of the games with dice sticks, and occasionally the serpent would be painted or tattooed on the naked form of an athletic warrior. It is proper to recall also the proverb, wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove, and the fact that in the temptation in Eden it is represented that the attractive proposition of the serpent was that he would make our parents wise.

But on the other hand the serpent is very generally identified with the evil forces of the world and is in many places in the Bible identified with the devil who is called that old serpent. In Africa and in ancient Mexico the worship of the serpent was associated with almost unlimited sacrifice of human life.

In explanation of this singular combination of supposed attributes Mr. Fergusson has well remarked that, "When it comes to be more closely examined, the worship of the Serpent is not so strange as it might at first appear. As was well remarked by an ancient author[3] 'The serpent alone of all animals without legs or arms, or any of the usual appliances for locomotion, still moves with singular celerity,' and he might have added — grace, for no one who has watched a serpent slowly progressing over the ground, with its head erect, and his body following apparently without exertion, can fail to be struck with the peculiar beauty of the motion. There is no jerk, no reflex motion, as in all other animals, even fishes, but a continuous progression in the most beautiful curves. Their general form, too, is full of elegance, and their colors varied and sometimes very beautiful, and their eyes bright and piercing. Then, too, a serpent can exist for an

[3] Sanchoniathon quoting Taatus ap Eusebium, Præp. Evangel. 40.

indefinite time without food or apparent hunger. He periodically casts his skin, and, as the ancients fabled, by that process renewed his youth. Add to this his longevity, which, though not so great as was often supposed, is still sufficient to make the superstitious forget how long an individual may have been reverenced in order that they may ascribe to him immortality.

"Although, therefore, fear might seem to suffice to account for the prevalence of the worship, on looking closely at it we are struck either in the Wilderness of Sinai, the Groves of Epidaurus, or in the Sarmatian huts, the Serpent is always the Agathodæmon, the bringer of health and good fortune. He is the teacher of wisdom, the oracle of future events. His worship may have originated in fear, but long before we become practically acquainted with it, it had passed to the opposite extreme among its votaries. Any evil that ever was spoken of the serpent, came from those who were outside the pale, and were trying to depreciate what they considered as an accursed superstition."[4]

The majestic imagery of Milton represents Satan as talking thus with his nearest mate:

> "With head uplift above the wave, and eyes
> That sparkling blaz'd; his other parts besides
> Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
> Lay floating many a rood; in bulk as huge
> As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
> Titanian, or Earth-born that warr'd on Jove
> Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
> By ancient Tarsus held."

This is paralleled by the following passage from Ovid:

> "Of new monsters earth created more
> Unwillingly but yet she brought to light
> Thee, Python, too, the wondering world to fright
> And the new nations with so dire a sight:
> So monstrous was his bulk, so large a space
> Did his vast body and long train embrace.
> Him Phœbus basking on a bank espied,
> And all his skill against the monster tried;
> Though every shaft took place, he spent the store
> Of his full quiver, and 'twas long before
> The expiring serpent wallowed in his gore."

[4] Fergusson. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 2.

What therefore shall we conclude is the cause of this universal veneration of the serpent? By many it is supposed that the human mind is so uniform in its constitution that like causes will always produce like effects, and that the characteristics of the serpent naturally would produce upon all men similar effects and impel them to similar acts of reverence and worship. Upon this theory serpent worship is a spontaneous growth of the various nations who actually practice it.

But it seems more probable that this universality is due to derivative origin, and this was the theory maintained by Mr. Fergusson but one which he appeared ready to abandon if the serpent mound in Adams County should indeed be proved to be genuine, as appears in our first quotation from his work. His theory was that the reverence for the serpent originated among what he called the Turanian races which seemed to have included all the Aryan and Semitic races among which serpent worship was much less prevalent than among the other races. But it would seem that the occurrence of serpent worship among the North American Indians would support rather than oppose his theory for they are closely allied in language and social customs to the races that Fergusson called Turanian while there is abundant evidence that the American Indians reached this continent from Asia by the way of Behring Straits and the Aleutian Islands, so that it is most natural that they should bring with them and perpetuate the most primitive forms of religion. Like the Swastika Cross[5] whose occurrence in the mounds of Ohio points to a connection in the dim past with some of the ancient civilizations of the Old World.

So the prominence given to the serpent by mound builders in these enormous symbolic structures points to a common origin with the primitive races of the Old World in prehistoric time. The discovery of this serpent mound in Warren County adds in geometrical ratio to the force of the testimony borne by the Adams County mound.

[5] See Records of the Past, *The Swastika*, Vol. VI (Aug.-Sept. 1907), pp. 236-244.

THE MOUND BUILDERS OF CINCINNATI.

MARIE PAULA DICKORE', A. M.

History's tales have inspired the great artist to his magnificent pictures, the bard to lofty epics, the composer to stirring national hymns. Her illustrious name calls forth a brilliant array; nation follows upon nation — Assyrian and Egyptian, Greek and Roman, Celt and Gaul, Teuton and Anglo-Saxon. We hear of primitive peoples and the highest civilizations, of the rise and the fall of nations. History has set her seal upon them, upon their religions and laws; to all she has meted out equal justice, but to the one mighty race her adamantine pencil has denied a record. That people whose vestiges we trace with the greatest of interest is unknown to us and we have given them the name of "Mound-builders" from the works they erected in North America.

In the history of our own country we see how the white race supplanted the Redman and cultivated his beautiful forests. At first they were satisfied with the fertile lands east of the mountains, but soon the bolder and more venturesome traversed the mountain barriers, penetrated the forests and returned with glowing accounts of the natural wealth in which the western valley abounded. Then, after the Revolutionary War was over and we breathed as a free nation, 258 officers in the Continental army petitioned Congress to give them land in the Ohio Valley north of the river in payment for their services. The petitioners knew from the early trappers and traders how fertile this valley was, but they did not know that they were the third race to select the banks of the Ohio for their abode; that the Indian and, before them, another mighty people had built their homes there. The settlers chose for their metropolis the present site of Cincinnati, and in the hardships endured, these pioneers lost sight of the meaning of various embankments, enclosures and mounds found on the chosen location.

We have all heard of the difficulties encountered by the early settlers of Cincinnati, of the laborious work performed by Symmes, Denman, Stites and Ludlow in laying out this city, of the mysterious disappearance of John Filson, and of the Indian attacks; but seldom do we hear of the fact that in the remote ages a powerful people of whom history tells us nothing, had chosen this beautiful valley between the Miamis for their home; that this vicinity was once the scene of a most destructive warfare; that here the brave warriors of a great nation made a last heroic effort to protect and preserve the country of their birth, the ashes of their ancestors, and the altars of their gods. The evidence for this is found in the relics they have left, but as to their fate after they were driven out by an enemy still less known to us, we are left in utter darkness. We know not whence they came nor whither they went.

Let us follow the Miamis and listen to the story of the great people who built along their shores and on their hills, so that by fire signals the news could be flashed by night from village to village and to the fort up on the Little Miami River. Let us go to the cemetery at Madisonville and listen to the tale unfolded of the great struggle that took place there, of the warriors who fought so valiantly but were finally forced to leave the graves of their forefathers and the temples of their gods so abruptly that even their name has disappeared with them. We know of their existence only by the mounds they erected and by their bones. No written language or hieroglyphics remain to tell us their thoughts or history. The rude tempests of ages have swept over their country, unmindful of their former power, while the dusky savage pursued the chase and the warpath and the white man built his cities, steam and electric roads, heedless of the sanctity of the ground on which they trod.

That Cincinnati was the site of these Mound-builders is an undeniable fact, for before 1841 this locality showed several important remains of this ancient people. Dr. Daniel Wilson in his "Pre-Historic Man," says: "The city of Cincinnati occupies a remarkable site, within a fine basin of hills on the Ohio river, which had for its earlier occupants the remarkable people now referred to (Mound-builders). But the growth of the modern

city has swept away every vestige of their old earthworks; and no definite record of their details has been preserved."

What he means by "definite records" I do not know, for I have come upon many letters, statements, and plans of these remains as they were found by the early settlers. Unfortunately, however, they were not as thoughtful of their successors who would be interested in the Mound-builders as was perhaps the Ohio Land Company, which provided in its constitution for the preservation of the ancient fortifications at Marietta, so that the antiquarian of today must go to such records as tell where these mounds, enclosures and embankments stood in old Cincinnati. The earliest printed record which we possess that gives an accurate account of these evidences of the Mound-builders is Dr. Daniel Drake's book, "Pictures of Cincinnati." W. R. Looker in a "Chronological History of Cincinnati," 1788-1872, mentions the date of the appearance of Drake's book as January 16, 1816, though it was printed late in 1815. In this valuable book Dr. Drake describes four mounds of various size, three embankments, one excavation, and the broad ellipse which seemed to be the central work. Counting the two elevations that guarded the opening of this last, there were eleven remains erected by the Mound-builders on the old site of Cincinnati.

In describing these I shall make use of first hand material, that is, letters written by settlers to friends, which have been published by various historical societies; statements made by some prominent citizens who were present when the mounds were opened; newspaper clippings; and the one great authority acknowledged by archaeologists and historians, Dr. Drake.

The mound that stood at Third and Main streets is first mentioned by Colonel Winthrop Sargent, Secretary and Governor *pro tem.* of the Northwest Territory, in a letter to Dr. Benjamin S. Barton, of Philadelphia, dated Cincinnati, September 8, 1794. Later Dr. Barton speaks of it in a letter to the Rev. Joseph Priestly (both letters are given in volume 4 of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society). Quoting from Colonel Sargent: "It was an extensive mound of earth, raised probably for the purpose of a burial-ground, upon the margin of the second bank of the Ohio river (suddenly rising

fifty feet above the first), and now elevated, in the extreme, eight feet from the general level of the same, with a gradual slope in the various directions, and a base of about one hundred and twenty feet by sixty. One of the main streets of the town passes through the western part of this grave, and in the frequent repairs of the acclivity, human bones have often been found. I should not omit to mention to you, that upon this mound are stumps of oak trees seven feet in diameter." A great many articles were found in it that show remarkable skill in carving, shells, bits of metal, lead ore, beads, and copper articles. "There were also many human bones. These were of different sizes; sometimes enclosed in rude coffins of stone, but oftener lying blended with the earth, generally surrounded by a portion of ashes and charcoal. The quantity of these bones, although much greater than that taken from the other mounds of the town, was small in proportion to what was expected, — the whole tumulus not having contained, perhaps more than twenty or thirty skeletons." (Drake).

The large ellipse with which the Third Street mound was connected was about five hundred feet distant. It extended from the west side of Race Street almost to Walnut; from a little north of Fifth to a little south of Fourth Street. It was about eight hundred by seven hundred feet. (Clarke — 800 by 660[1]; Whittlesey — 830 by 730[2]). The embankment was three feet high, on a base of thirty. On the east (facing Walnut) was an opening or gateway about ninety feet wide guarded by two irregular mounds; from the southern one extended a low wall or high road, one foot high and nine feet broad, to the mound at Third and Main streets. There were other segments of such walls of the dimensions, in different parts of the city, as if the whole works had been encircled by it.

On Fifth, east of Broadway, was a circular bank, one foot high, fifteen broad, enclosing a space almost sixty feet in diameter.

[1] Robert Clarke. Prehistoric Remains which were found on the Site of the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, with a Vindication of the Cincinnati tablet. 1876.

[2] Charles Whittlesey. Description of Ancient Works in Ohio, (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. 3, Art. 7).

Between Vine and Elm streets and the Canal and Twelfth Street were two embankments seven hundred and sixty feet long and almost two feet high. They were parallel and, as Mr. Robert Clarke tells us, their direction, as ascertained by the compass, did not "vary two degrees from a true east and west line." They were from forty to forty-six feet apart, and on the south was an opening thirty feet wide.

On Plum street near the southwest corner of Liberty was an excavation. "It is not perceptibly connected with any other works. Its depth is about twelve feet; its diameter measuring from the top of the circular bank formed by throwing out the dirt, is nearly fifty feet."

One mound was near the northeast corner of Seventh and Mound streets of which Dr. Drake says as follows: "It is about nine feet high, of a circular figure and nearly flat on the top. This has been penetrated to the center of its base, without affording any thing but some fragments of human skeletons, and a handful of copper beads which had been strung on a cord of lint." Another similar mound, only about three feet high, was on the east side of Central Avenue opposite Richmond.

The largest mound stood at the intersection of Fifth and Mound streets. Dr. Drake says of it in 1815: "It is a regular ellipsis, whose diameters are to each other nearly as two is to one. The circumference at the base is four hundred and forty feet. The earth for thirty or forty yards around it is perceptibly lower than the other parts of the plain, and the stratum of loam is thinner, from which it appears to have been formed by scooping up the surface — which opinion is confirmed by its internal structure. It had been penetrated nearly to its center, and found to consist of loam gradually passing into soil, with rotten wood. The fruits of this examination were only a few scattering decayed human bones, a branch of deer's horn, and a piece of earthen ware containing shells." When the streets were graded in 1841 this mound was entirely cut away, and at this time the "Cincinnati Tablet" and the "Gridley Measuring Stone" were found in it. I shall speak of them later in more detail.

In a letter of Judge Jacob Burnet addressed to J. Delefield, dated Cincinnati, October, 1837, Mr. Burnet, a well known pio-

neer of this city, mentions the various mounds here and also a curious fact connected with his well which I have not found elsewhere. The letter is as follows:

CINCINNATI, Oct. 1837.

"Before I close this letter, let me comply with that part of your request, which relates to the ancient works found at this place. You are already apprised, that when I first came here, the town had advanced but very little from a state of nature. The surface of the site, on which it stands, was undisturbed, except where some rough houses, and humble cabins had been erected, to shelter its inhabitants. The works referred to, were in a perfect state of preservation, though depressed in height, by the natural causes which had operated on them for ages. Within the limits of the town, as originally laid out, there were two large circles, one near the eastern boundary and the other in a western direction, near the center of the plat. The former, though sufficiently distinct to be traced, was not as elevated, or as perfect as the other. It was about the same diameter, and was uniform in its curvity. The circle near the center, passes through the block which I owned, south of Fourth and between Vine and Race streets. It was an exact circle, about six hundred feet in diameter. The earth which composed it, had been gradually washed down, till its base had spread about twenty-five feet, and its apex was reduced to about eight or ten feet above the plane of its base. On the north side, near Fifth street, there was an aperture, ten or twelve feet wide, and there might have been another, which has escaped my memory. The arc within my enclosure, subtended by a chord of about three hundred feet, was preserved with care, while it was in my possession. On that part of it, I am confident, there was no break or opening. These works were entirely on the upper level of the town plat, and did not approach the break of the hill, nearer than four hundred feet. About one hundred and fifty rods, west of the circle, last spoken of, stood a beautiful mound, thirty-five or forty feet high, constructed with great exactness, and standing on a base unusually small, compared with its height. When the army under the command of General Wayne, was encamped at this place in 1792-3, he had a sentry box on its top, which commanded an entire view of the plain. In the neighborhood, of this structure, two or three smaller ones were standing, which were found to contain human bones, as is the case with regard to most of them. Besides these, there was another of medium size, compared with the others, standing on the brow of the hill, about midway between the circles, and in advance of them, in the direction of the river, about three or four hundred feet. By digging down, and grading Main street, this structure was entirely removed many years ago. * * * *

"You have made particular request for information, relative to

the stumps which were found in my well. I have seen in print, several exaggerated statements, professing to describe their appearance, and the situation in which they were found. One writer has said, that they had been cut, by a metallic instrument — that the marks of an axe were visible, and that chips, in a state of perfect preservation, were found on, and near them. Another has stated, that the rust of iron was seen on the stumps; and a third has affirmed, that an axe was found near them. Neither of these statements is true. The facts are simply these, that in sinking a well, in 1802, within the circular work above described, at the depth of ninety-three feet, I found two stumps, one about a foot, and the other eighteen inches in diameter, standing in the position in which they grew. Their roots were perfectly sound, and extended from them, horizontally, on every side. Their tops were so decayed and mouldered, that no opinion could be formed, as to the process, by which the trunks had been severed. The surface of the earth, at the place where they were found, is one hundred and twelve feet above the present low water mark of the Ohio river, according to the level of Joseph Geist, city surveyor. They could not have been brought there by a current of water, because of their upright position, and the regular, horizontal extension of their roots proves that they must have grown on the spot, where they were found. There is another fact connected with this matter, worthy of notice. Prior to the time of digging the well, I had never seen a mulberry tree, growing on, or near the premises; though they were found in the neighboring forests; yet, the next season, they sprang up wherever the excavated earth had been spread, in such numbers, as made it necessary to destroy them, and they continued thus to shoot up, for several years, though not one made its appearance, on any other part of the lot. This fact induced me to conclude that the stumps, or at least one of them was of the mulberry kind. * * * * It may throw some light on the subject, to state, that when the town was laid out, the appearance of it indicated, that the surface of the earth, had undergone no material change, probably in five hundred years; as it exhibited the remains of trees, which had matured, decayed and fallen, by the side of others still flourishing, and giving evidence, that they had been growing some centuries. The stump which was supposed to be mulberry must have been in the situation, in which it was found (ninety-three feet below the surface), for an equal period of time, and yet, when the earth about its roots, was spread on the surface, where no mulberry tree existed, young mulberries sprung up immediately in great numbers."

Of the general topography of the city in connection with the mounds the statement made by William Henry Harrison in an address before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1837, is very interesting:

"I have before mentioned Cincinnati as one of the positions occupied by the more civilized people. When I first saw the upper plain on which that city stands, it was literally covered with low lines of embankments. I had the honor to attend General Wayne, two years afterwards, in an excursion to examine them. We were employed the greater part of a day, in August, 1793, in doing so. The number and variety of figures in which these lines were drawn, was almost endless, and as I have said, almost covered the plain. Many so faint, indeed, as scarcely to be followed, and often for a considerable distance entirely obliterated, but by careful examination, and following the direction, they could be found again. Now, if these lines were ever of the height of the others made by the same people (and they must have been, to have answered any valuable purpose), or, unless their erection was many ages anterior to the others, there must have been some other cause than the attrition of the rain (for it is a dead level) to bring them down to their then state. That cause I take to have been continued cultivation. And as the people who erected them, would not themselves destroy works which had cost them so much labor, the solution of the question can only be found in the long occupancy, and cultivation of another people, and the probability is, that that people were the conquerors of the original possessors."

Besides these letters I found in old scrapbooks, now belonging to the Historical Society, several clippings from local newspapers which comment on the mounds and their contents at the time when they were explored. They do not, however, add anything to what we have noted already.

As to the Fifth and Mound streets mound and its contents, I can not do better than quote from Mr. Clarke, who in 1876, made a thorough investigation of it and of the Cincinnati tablet found in it, in order to prove that the latter was not a fraud. "At the opening of Mound street and the alley running west from it, the mound was demolished. This was in November, 1841. The work was commenced at the top, the earth being thrown down until it was not more than eight or ten feet high, when it was dug down perpendicularly and the material carted off. Several skeletons, in good state of preservation, were found near the surface, evident depositions of the later Indians, and with them stone axes, arrow-heads, mica, etc. The principal grave, however, for which the mound was commenced, was found nearly on a level with the original surface, and contained a much de-

cayed skeleton, of which a portion of the skull is still in the possession of Mr. Gest, who was the owner of the ground on which the mound stood. Under this skull was found the stone known as the "Cincinnati Tablet," with two polished, pointed bones about seven inches long, charcoal and ashes."

This stone immediately excited a good deal of interest and attention. From the time it was found in 1841 to 1876 when Robert Clarke published his valuable pamphlet, this little stone

Cincinnati Tablet. (Obverse and Reverse.)

was the bone of contention among scientists, some holding that it was genuine, others that it was a fraud. But Mr. Clarke successfully proved that it was not a fraud; and we can go to the Art Museum (Cincinnati) to see this remarkable relic of an ancient race which first occupied this locality.

It is a small, beautifully carved stone, made of a "fine-grained, compact sandstone, of a light brown color. It measures almost five inches in length, three in breadth at the ends, and two and six-tenths at the middle, and is about half an inch in thick-

ness. The sculptured face varies very little from a perfect plane. The figures are cut in low relief (the lines not being more than one-twentieth of an inch in depth), and occupy a rectangular space four inches and two-tenths long, by two and one-tenths wide. The sides of the stone, it will be observed, are slightly concave. Right lines are drawn across the face, near the ends, at right angles, and exterior to these are notches, twenty-five at one end, and twenty-four at the other. Extending diagonally inward are fifteen longer lines, eight at one end, and seven at the other. The back of the stone has three deep, longitudinal grooves, and several depressions, evidently caused by rubbing — probably produced by sharpening the instrument used in the sculpture."

In their work, "The Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," (1848) Squier and Davis say:

"Without discussing the 'singular resemblance which the relic bears to the Egyptian *cartouche,* it will be sufficient to direct attention to the reduplication of the figures, those upon one side corresponding with those of the other, and the two central ones being also alike. It will be observed that there are but three scrolls or figures — four of one description and two of each of the others. Probably no serious discussion of the question, whether or not these figures are hieroglyphical, is needed. They more resemble the stalk and flowers of a plant than any thing else in nature. What significance, if any, may attach to the peculiar markings or graduations at the ends, it is not undertaken to say. The sum of the products of the longer and shorter lines ($24 \times 7 + 25 \times 8$ is 368), three more than the number of days in the year; from which circumstance the suggestion has been advanced that the tablet had an astronomical origin, and constituted some sort of a calendar.'"

The second stone found in the Fifth Street mound is mentioned by J. S. Williamson in the "American Pioneer," May, 1843, as "a stone instrument nine inches long and three wide; this is about a fourth of an inch thick. These (with others described) were discovered by and are in the possession of Mr. Gridley of Longworth street." A better description is given in a newspaper clipping, which gives neither author nor date: — "The one stone is shaped like the half of an ellipse, so cut that the whole of one curved end is upon each side of the diameter. The straight side is exactly nine inches long and the curved

side exactly twelve inches and the complete ellipse is the exact counterpart as to proportions of the mound in which it was found. This has led archaeologists to argue that it was an instrument of measurement used in laying out the mound and by intent or purpose buried in it." This view is held by J. Ralston Skinner,[5] and he not only describes this stone as the unit of measure but also applies it to all the mounds possible in the Ohio Valley.

Mr. Skinner was the first to bring the stone into prominence again, for from the time when Mr. Gridley, having found it together with other articles, upon request of Mr. S. T. Carley deposited them with the Western Academy of Sciences with the understanding that he could have them whenever he wished, until Mr. Skinner used it for his paper, the existence of the stone was forgotten. Some years after they were loaned to the Academy this society was merged into the Natural History Society and these relics were transferred with the other specimens. In 1878 Mr. Gridley, residing in Springfield, asked for the return of his articles. In 1883 the matter was taken up by Mr. Skinner to ascertain the exact circumstances relating to the finding of the peculiar stone, with the following results: It was found at a depth of about twenty-six feet below the top of the mound and near the center before the Cincinnati tablet was found, but within a short distance from it.

These facts, both concerning the Gest tablet and the Gridley stone are vouched for in letters written by different citizens of our city. In 1876, when Mr. Clarke investigated the former, Mr. Erasmus Gest (who died in March, 1908), in whose possession the tablet had been ever since it was found, and Mr. J. L. Wayne, Jr., who found it, made statements asserting the truth of its discovery. S. T. Carley testifies as to Mr. Gridley's honesty concerning his relics.

In research work of any kind we are always ready to ask the reasons for and the purpose of whatever we are studying; and so it is with the mounds. A great many books have been

[5] J. Ralston Skinner, "The Identification of the British Inch as the Unit of Measure of the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley,"—Journal of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History, Vol. 8.

written on the builders of these ancient remains, their works, and many theories have been advanced. It is now generally accepted that the skeletons and articles found in the various mounds, their location, and delineation indicate three purposes:

1. For defence, as is shown by works laid out in triangles, squares, pentagons and circles (the last were also used for village enclosures, as in Cincinnati).

2. Religious; here we see many animal effigies; the well known Serpent Mound in Adams County, the squirrel, the opossum, birds, etc.

3. For burial; these are either separate tumuli or groups as in the cemetery at Madisonville. The highest of these were also used for lookouts in some localities.

That our Cincinnati mounds were of the first class, was shown by General William Henry Harrison in 1837: "Great as some of the works in the interior were, and laborious as was the construction, particularly those of Circleville and Newark, I am persuaded they were intended for military purposes. On the contrary, those upon the Ohio river were evidently designed for that purpose. The three that I have examined, those of Marietta, Cincinnati, and at the mouth of the Great Miami, particularly the latter, have a military character stamped upon them which can not be mistaken. * * * The engineers who directed the execution of the Miami works, appear to have known the importance of flank defences. And if their bastions are not as perfect as to form, as those which are in use in modern engineering, their position as well as that of the long lines of curtains, are precisely as they should be."

The mounds, embankments, and enclosures along the Ohio River were a unit in themselves, constituting a part of some greater system. The central work, 800 by 700 feet, on the upper plain, was large enough to be the nucleus of the village, being protected from the river front by its elevation and a thick screen of trees. Buildings, of whatever material, wood or clay, probably stood on the embankment which was thirty feet broad. The Third Street tumulus, being connected with this work must have served as a lookout, for it commanded the mouth of the Licking River; the hill to the east of it (Mount Adams) over-

looked the approach from up the Ohio, while the hill to the west was too far back from the river to command the Ohio as it makes the curve, so the mound at Fifth and Mound streets was built to be used in the signal system from the Big Miami.

At the time when Dr. Metz made his explorations in the valley of the Little Miami, at Madisonville, Ohio, and Linwood, (Cincinnati), the evidences of a Mound-builder cemetery at the former village and of an ancient village at Linwood, were not thought of in connection with the Cincinnati mounds, but it is very interesting to see in just what relation they were to the central works.

The evidence for this remarkably fine military and defensive system laid out in the valley between the two Miamis has been gathered at different times as each mound, embankment or enclosure belonging to it was discovered. General M. F. Force[6] is the first to weave the various facts gleaned from each explorer into a whole, and I have completed his plan with notes from Dr. Metz and Dr. Hill, both of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History.

The system of the Miami Valley was planned so as to guard three main approaches: 1. From up the Ohio River; and in order to guard this they erected the great mound at the confluence of the Big Miami and the Ohio, another at Colerain and a third at Hamilton. From these points they built defensive works extending six miles along the river, several to the north and west of Hamilton, connecting these with others at Dayton and Piqua. 2. The approach down the Ohio was guarded by mounds on the high hill above California, Ohio, from which the signal mounds on Linwood and Norwood (Ohio) Heights, respectively five and seven miles distant, can be clearly seen. On the Little Miami the villages were connected with the large mound at the mouth of the East Fork and with Fort Ancient (as we call the fine old fortification) by a line of signal mounds on prominent points. 3. The third approach was by the valley of the Licking River, and this was guarded probably by a mound on the Kentucky bluffs of which we have no record, for it was destroyed, perhaps, by the elements before the settlement of the

[6] To What Race Did the Mound-builders Belong? 1877.

valley. This was in communication with the two mounds in Cincinnati, the one on Third Street and the one on Fifth and Mound streets, which could also receive news from that at the mouth of the Great Miami. Dr. H. H. Hill showed in 1874, that Brighton Hill (where the Cross Town incline now is) was used by the Mound-builders as well as by the Indians as a lookout station, for it commands the Millcreek Valley from its mouth to Glendale and from these mounds to Hamilton.

The large mound on Norwood Heights still stands as a sentinel throughout the ages. The city has built its water tower near it and keeps it under strict supervision to prevent vandalism. From it a wide view can be had, eastwardly through a depression in the hill at Redbank to the lookout above California; northwardly through Millcreek valley to Hamilton; and signals could be flashed by means of the Cincinnati mounds westwardly to the fort at the mouth of the Great Miami River. Back of this system at the apex, as it were, of these three lines of defence, stood the great fortification, Fort Ancient, on the Little Miami River.

Historians, archæologists and geologists, are all deeply interested in the problem of the Mound-builders; all present hypotheses and endeavor to prove them. There are so many conflicting opinions as to who these builders of the mounds were, what enemy drove them out, where they came from and where they were driven, that it is impossible to arrive at any one conclusion. There are a few facts, however, upon which most of the historians and archæologists agree, and these are briefly: Though this ancient people settled the greater part of this continent, the thirteen thousand mounds and enclosures in the state of Ohio go to show that this locality was the most densely populated. Professor W. K. Moorehead, formerly of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, to whom we owe so much for what he has done in exploring and preserving the Ohio mounds, says: "The center of the great Mound-builder power was in southern Ohio, for no where else do we find remains of such extensive and carefully planned works both of villages and fortifications." This latter fact, together with the large burial grounds, has led many to believe that this ancient people made their last stand

against the enemy in this vicinity, and there is indeed ample proof to uphold this theory. The cemetery at Madisonville and the one near Fort Ancient show, according to Mr. Moorehead, that "two races fought for position and supremacy in Ohio," for:

a) Two types of crania are found at Madisonville and Fort Ancient.

b) There were two modes of burial. A grave in Linwood, Cincinnati, in the squares bounded by Elmwood, Walnut, Oak and Maplewood Avenues, shows a curious fact. The bodies had been buried in two circular layers, with the heads towards an earthenware vase.[7]

c) Two classes of implements and pottery have been found.

d) There were two kinds of lodge or house circles.

There is, however, no evidence to show whether the enemy came from the north and drove the Mound-builders south, or whether they came from the south and carried them home as slaves. Some hold the former theory, saying that the fortifications seem to show that the war was carried from Ohio into Kentucky and Tennessee, later into the Gulf states until the Mound-builders were submerged in the conquering race

The Mound-builders are claimed by some scientists to have been contemporaneous with the Trojans considering the state of preservation of their skeletons. But unlike them no historian has recorded their name, no epic relates the exploits and prowess of their warriors, no marble or stone has retained their images. Only their mounds and a few relics have withstood the ages. The monuments in this vicinity do not show the ravages of war, but repose in the slow decay of time, gradually relapsing into the still mystery of bygone ages, requiring at this day rather the science of the geologist than the scrutiny of the antiquarian to determine their monumental character.

[7] There are in the Cincinnati Art Museum two stone axes and two round peculiar stones which were found in one of these graves in Linwood in 1896 while making excavations for the foundations of a house.

SYMMES' THEORY.

JOHN WELD PECK,

ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, CINCINNATI, OHIO.

I want, if I can, to carry you back to the day when the West was new, when the outposts of the nation were on the Mississippi; when the boundless forests were scarred but here and there with clearings; when Cincinnati, the thriving town between Third street and the river was the undoubted and unrivaled Queen City of the West. Those were the days of strong men. The War of 1812 was just over. The pioneer, the pathfinder, the surveyor, the Indian fighter, the Revolutionary veteran—and he of the second British war—such men as Return J. Meigs, Duncan McArthur, Jacob Burnet, Nathaniel Massie and Robert Lucas were in the high places in the hearts of the people; the day when education was scant and difficult, when schools were far apart, and colleges were just beginning to point their spires to the western sky. In those days religion found greater depth in the souls of men than the shallow soundings of today. New lands, new settlements, new dangers, the problems of a new civilization developed strong minds, created original intellects and imaginations not imprisoned by the four sides of a safe deposit box nor slipped in between the thumbed pages of a deposit book. And it was in that day of strength and crudity that lived the man who promulgated the daring, ingenious theory of cosmography, which in the light of better learning we know as the absurd, foolish theory of "Symmes' Hole."

The Theory of Concentric Spheres! We all remember the shaft in the park at Hamilton bearing the globe open through the poles, commemorating Captain John Cleves Symmes and his theory—keeping in memory a man who believed that the world is hollow and habitable within, and that there are great holes at the poles through which one may get down on to the inner side!

Captain John Cleves Symmes, he of the theory of Eccen-

tric Spheres was a nephew of that other of the same name who was the original proprietor of all the land hereabouts. Both were born in the state of New Jersey but the author of our theory, after a common school education, joined in 1804 the United States Army. He served at the frontier posts, being gradually promoted to a first lieutenancy. He was a man of spirit as he proved by the code. At a garrison near Natchez another officer circulated a report that Symmes was not a gentleman, for which Symmes, to demonstrate the contrary, tweaked his brother officer's nose publicly on the parade ground. The affair came off straightway in which Symmes grievously wounded his opponent and himself received a wound that stiffened his left wrist for life. He was standing properly enough, his right side to his opponent, presenting the least possible mark, but carelessly allowing his left arm to dangle, instead of supporting it akimbo, hand on hip, as all authorities on duelling agree should be done. His opponent's ball went slightly wild, passed sidewise through the seat of Symmes' trousers and pierced the dangling wrist beyond.

In the war of 1812 Symmes commanded a company with bravery, skill and gallantry, especially at the battle of Lundy's Lane for which he was honorably mentioned. At the close of the war he continued in the army until about 1816 when he resigned to take up life at the frontier village, at the mouth of the Missouri known as St. Louis. There he engaged under the license of the government, in supplying the frontier troops and in trading with the Indians. As becomes a soldier he married a soldier's widow — not deterred by her six children, a flock that soon grew to ten. And it was while at the trading post in the wilderness that he first evolved, or at least, first announced the hypothesis of which I write. How long he had entertained these views, what length of time he had devoted to the study of the subject, what books inspired it or how or why the mind of the frontier soldier and trader was turned to the subject, I am at a loss to discover. He announced his idea in no diffident nor uncertain terms. Listen to this:

CIRCULAR.

"Light gives light to light discover ad infinitum.

"St. Louis, Missouri Territory,
North America, April 10, 1818.

I declare the earth is hollow, habitable within; containing a number of solid concentrick spheres; one within the other, and that it is open at the pole twelve or sixteen degrees. I pledge my life in support of this truth, and am ready to explore the hollow if the world will support and aid me in the undertaking.

John Cleves Symmes of Ohio,
Late Captain of Infantry.

"N. B. I have ready for the press a treatise on the principles of Matter, wherein I show proofs of the above proposition, account for various phenomina, and disclose Dr. Darwin's 'Golden Secret.'

"My terms are the patronage of this and the new world, I dedicate to my wife and her ten children.

"I select Dr. S. L. Mitchell, Sir H. Davy and Baron Alexander Von Humbolt as my protectors. I ask one hundred brave companions, well equipped to start from Siberia, in the fall season, with reindeer and sledges, on the ice of the frozen sea; I engage we find a warm and rich land, stocked with thrifty vegetables and animals, if not men, on reaching one degree northward of latitude 82; we will return in the succeeding spring. J. C. S."

This modest document was mailed to all institutions of learning in America and to many in Europe and generally circulated as well. It is to be noted that Symmes had apparently already worked out his theory in detail as afterwards published. His statement of the extent of the polar opening, his proposed point and season of departure, his promise to find good lands and life one degree north of 82°, all agree with the detail of his system as published later and show that he did not make his announcement first and then manufacture his argument to support it. He followed his circular with several newspaper articles elaborating his theory. Soon afterward and during the same year he moved to Newport, Ky., and continued to devote himself to the preaching of his doctrine. In 1824 he moved to Hamilton. He found not a few believers as time went on among whom the foremost, he who became Symmes patron and his collaborator, was James McBride, of Hamilton.

James McBride was no ordinary man. He was highly respected and held many positions of trust in his community. He was one of the commissioners for the laying out of the Miami and Erie Canal. He had gathered together a library that was enormous, for the West in those days, said to have contained 6,000 volumes. He was a member of the board of trustees of Miami University and years later, at the time of his death, he was president of the board. He had literary ability of a high order, as shown by his sketches of the lives of some of the pioneers of the locality.

James McBride became a convert to the doctrine of Symmes and used his able pen in arranging and elaborating Symmes somewhat disorderly argument. The result was a little treatise on the subject from the press of Morgan, Lodge and Fisher, Cincinnati, 1826.

"Symmes Theory of Concentric Spheres, demonstrating that the earth is hollow, habitable within and widely open about the poles — by A Citizen of the United States."

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy," quotes the title page from Shakespeare.

The author undertakes to set forth the theory without asserting its truth, disclaiming scientific ability to pass upon it, inviting criticism, but requesting any who assert its fallacy to furnish some other rational and satisfactory explanation of the facts advanced.

For an audience the author pleads that the unknown inspires the known in nature; that a space of 40° of our planet is unknown; that formerly the ancients considered the torrid zone to be an impassable, uninhabited waste; that an all-wise Providence would not have created so vast a surface to be perpetually clothed with mountains of ice; that Galileo's discoveries were received as heresies, those of Newton as the ravings of a mad man. And the author wonders if we, in our own day, are not under something of the same influence that brought earlier philosophers to the torture and the prison.

And now let us look at the theory itself. Let us view it not as we would the work of an erudite, trained scientist; but let

us remember it was the offspring of the brain of the frontier soldier.

The fundamental thought or idea seems to have been that unformed matter in rotation tends to form itself into concentric spheres. It is argued that centrifugal force has a tendency to throw rotating matter from the axis; while gravity, on the other hand, has a tendency to hold the mass together. The result must be that the matter is projected on all sides a certain distance from the axis, when the projecting centrifugal force will be overcome by the force of gravity, and a balance established. This balance between centrifugal force and gravity will hold or sustain all parts of the revolving mass at a certain distance from the axis on which it revolves. Therefore a nebular mass in rotation, as our earth during its formation, will not assume the form of a solid sphere, but rather of a hollow one. That if the matter be thus laterally thrown from the axis it follows that the sphere formed must be open at the ends of the axis or poles. That, therefore, assuming matter to have been at one time whirling masses of unformed substance it must have assumed the form of hollow spheres open at the poles. That not only would there be hollow spheres open about the poles but the same principle would tend to create hollow spheres within hollow spheres.

This theory Symmes applies not only to our earth but to the entire universe. Space is filled with microscopically invisible hollow spheres of aether — which by their elasticity hold the planets of the universe in place. In other words we live in a sort of a rubber ball universe in which the elastic hollow spheres of aether are so pushed as by their elasticity to hold in place the heavenly bodies. This expansive quality in the molecules which constitutes the aerial fluid creates a *pushing* instead of a *pulling power* which is the real principle of gravity. Two years ago in a budget read before the Cincinnati Literary Club the author of a paper referred to gravity as a power of repulsion rather than of attraction. At that time the author of that paper did not know that the same idea had been put forth by Symmes nearly a century ago. If gravity is a force of mutual attraction, Symmes argues, what holds the bodies of this universe apart? Why do they not all in obedience to their natural tendency rush

together? But be gravity a theory of attraction or of repulsion, it matters not to Symmes' theory of the universe. It will work equally well upon either hypothesis.

The earth when revolving in a state of chaos threw off the heavier materials first and farthest — for with them the centrifugal force would overcome gravity to the greatest extent. That centrifugal force will overcome gravity the author demonstrates by such familiar experiments as a bucket of water swung about in the air, or the stone thrown from the sling-shot of a boy. The concentric tendency of rotating matter is illustrated by water poured on a revolving grindstone. A cup of sand revolved, will shape itself into concentric rings. Steel filings on a paper drawn to a magnet held underneath the paper will form concentric circles. Meteors falling to the earth give evidence of having been concentric spheres. One noted by Professor Silleman of Yale College which fell in Connecticut in 1807, made three distinct leaps and gave three violent reports and some of its fragments were concave. Evidently it was a triple concentric sphere, each bound and report indicating the bursting of one of its constituent globes.

Symmes points to the fact that nature is an economist of matter. That she uses hollow materials where they serve her purpose as well as solid. Is not the stalk of the grain, the quill of the pinion, the bone of the animal, even each hair of the head, hollow?

To those who see something of the sacrilegious in thus undermining God's footstool, the author says: "I can not discover anything derogatory from His infinite power, wisdom, or divine economy, in the formation of a hollow world and concentric spheres any more than that of solid ones. I should rather be of the opinion that a construction of all the orbs in creation on a plan corresponding with Symmes' theory, would display the highest possible degree of perfection, wisdom and goodness, the most perfect system of creative economy — and, (as Dr. Mitchell expresses it), a great saving of stuff."

The Dr. Mitchell referred to is probably the same whom Symmes selected as a patron, along with Davy and Von Hum-

boldt; the New York scientist and miscellaneous writer of the first quarter of the last century, and editor of the New York Repository. No doubt this facetious remark is quoted from some article in his magazine.

It is interesting to know that Symmes is not the only one who has believed this planet a series of concentric spheres. Edmund Halley, the celebrated English astronomer of the early eighteenth century, averred the probability of an inner sphere. Leonhardt Euler, the great mathematician of Basle, who died in 1783, accepted Halley's theory and went further in asserting that the inner sphere might be luminous and thus light and warm the inner surface of the outer crust, and he further inferred that the interior might be inhabited. Whether the works of these writers came to Symmes' knowledge before he announced his theory from the frontier town is not known. That they were known to James McBride appears in his book; but he was a bookworm — he had a considerable library at command and it is probable that Symmes first heard of Euler's and Halley's theories after McBride had become a convert to his own and had delved into all the available books on the subject. But neither Halley nor Euler had conceived the polar openings. The credit for that conception is due Symmes alone.

Now applying his theory to our own planet Symmes argued it to be a series of five spheres of which our crust is the outermost. The opening at the north pole is four thousand miles across, that at the south pole is six thousand. The outer crust of the earth is about a thousand miles thick giving a wide rim or verge some 1500 miles around. The rim or verge being so wide, and its curvature being gradual, would not be apparent to the voyager, who might pass from the outer side of the earth over the rim and down upon the inner side a great distance before becoming aware of the fact at all. The polar rim is not cut off square at the top and bottom of the planet but at a slight angle to the perpendicular with our axis — about twelve degrees. In other words the rim is higher on one side than on the other. North of Lapland at about 90° is the highest point of the northern rim, and the lowest is in Alaska. A curious but seemingly essential part of the theory is that the meridians

of latitude upon reaching the verge must wind around the rim converging on the highest point. The verge or rim is marked by certain distinguishing features. Along the verge is the region of the highest tides, as those of Labrador, for instance. These are obviously caused by the simultaneous rise of the tide of the inner and the outer ocean, and the meeting of the two. The rim is also marked by a zone of ice and snow, by that impossible Arctic belt beyond which men imagine all to be a frozen waste. Here is the zone where no vegetation but moss exists. Here is also to be noted a belt of volcanoes encircling the globe, including those of Alaska and Iceland.

When a high northern latitude is reached the Aurora Borealis appears to the southward as many explorers have testified. The voyager is then upon or within the verge. The compass then forsakes the star and varies so that at times the needle turns nearly round, for the verge is the region of magnetic attraction. Each of the various spheres is inhabited both upon its inner and its outer side; warmed, lighted and watered.

This is what the author argues our planet should be on the principles of centrifugal force and gravity (using neither his own or Newton's). He then adduces his evidence to show that it is so.

First he reasons by analogy to the other planets of our system. Saturn has his concentric rings. Does not their existence demonstrate the principle of concentricity in nature beyond a peradventure? Mars exhibits concentric circles at the poles — they are alternately light and dark — unquestionably the verges and intervening spaces of the concentric spheres of that planet.

In the horns of Venus the author has also evidence of his principle. While Jupiter never presents his poles to us he displays four belts, dark and light alternately, and what can they be but the shadows cast on the spaces between the polar openings of each sphere and the adjoining one?

The sun never shows his poles, but the spots on the sun may be accounted for by fractures of the outer crust through which the inner sphere shines less brilliantly.

How else can you account for these things? On what theory

then is it possible to explain the horns of Venus, the belts of Jupiter, the circle of Mars and the rings of Saturn?

Symmes then brings forward some curious facts in regard to the migration of animals — for which he refers to and cites the published narratives of travelers and Arctic explorers. These all go to prove that there is a land beyond the frozen Arctic belt, whither some beasts, fowls and fish go at the approach of winter and whence they return in the spring sleek and fat. Whales, mackerel and herring come down from the north in the spring in schools at their best and fattest — but are never known to go north again — at least not in shoals. The frozen zone could not produce nor sustain them. Obviously they came over the rim from the fair country within the earth! Why does the seal go north twice a year, once to produce its young and again to complete its growth? If to the frozen waste, why does it come back fat? Reindeer come down from the north in great droves in the early spring in good condition. In October they recede to the northward. The musk oxen and the polar bear also retreat northwardly in winter — indeed even the northernmost Indians do not know the winter haunts of the latter. But in the spring they come south bringing their young with them. The same is true of the Arctic fox.

For these facts the author is careful to cite his authorities. They prove to him that there must be land and food within the pole — better land than ours, for is not the reindeer the largest of deer and the polar bear the largest of bear? He calls to witness also the blue geese that lay and hatch beyond the icy barrier in a region no man knows. Witness also the open polar sea known to exist beyond latitude 80°. The Baffin Bay Indians discovered by Captain Ross, pointed to the northward as their home and were under the evident impression that the south was a region of great cold.

One of the most ingenious arguments of the work is that founded upon the Magellanic clouds. They are two in number — or perhaps one is so divided that three may fairly be counted. They are apparent only at night and from the South Atlantic, or the region of the Straits of Magellan, whence their

name. These are, of course, now known to be merely two cloud like patches of nebulous stars in the pole of the Milky Way. They were first scientifically studied by Sir J. F. Herschel in 1834, and their nature was accordingly unknown at the time of Symmes' announcement. They are, according to Symmes, irregular in shape, seen in the South Atlantic ocean, perpetually fixed, luminous because seen only at night. These are, he says, the reflections in the sky of New Zealand, New Holland and Van Dieman's land seen *across the rim!* As the planets reflect light so do these great continental islands. They are located just about on the southern verge or rim. To one stationed in the South Atlantic at or near the Straits of Magellan looking across the verge or polar opening the reflections of these lands in the sky present the phenomena known as the Magellanic clouds. While these clouds are visible only at night in the South Atlantic, the sun is then shining on the great islands on the opposite side of the rim, and hence their reflection in the sky.

How can the variation of the needle be explained by Symmes' theory? By it assuming the polar verge to be the region of attraction it is obvious that when the verge is reached the needle will swing. And so Parry, the explorer, found it to point at one place within 14° degrees of south.

The question most asked of Symmes by his hearers was, no doubt, how the interior of the earth was to be provided with light and heat. His answer to that is most ingenious. The opening at the north pole is four thousand one hundred and fifty miles in width at an angle of 12° to the perpendicular to the earth's axis. Therefore the sun's rays would fall within as far as 18° on the inner surface of the high side. But when the sun is at the northern tropic its rays would slant 23½° more, or a total of 41½° within. So that there would only be 26° between that and the equator, which would not receive direct light. Then the twilight zone itself is 15° — which would bring light almost to the equator without the aid of reflection or refraction. The southern polar opening being much larger, the sun would fall within 10½° of the equator when it is at the tropic of Capricorn. But direct light is unnecessary for the in-

terior would be illuminated by a soft, brilliant light by reflection from the concave side and the inner sphere. The interior light would in quality resemble moonlight, but would be equal to 36,000 "moon-power." In fact the reader is rather impressed with the idea that the light on the interior must be too bright for comfort and that blue glasses would be an excellent article of commerce to take to the inner side upon the first voyage. If a north window in which the sun never falls will illuminate a room why not the great north and south windows the interior of the globe?

Symmes was true to the consecration of his life to the theory announced in his first paper. He wrote, traveled, lectured, petitioned the legislature and congress for aid to demonstrate his ideas, and suffered poverty in its behalf. During his residence in Newport he devoted himself entirely to its study, and in 1820 made a lecture tour. He spoke in Cincinnati, Lexington, Frankfort, Hamilton, Zanesville and probably elsewhere. As a lecturer he was far from a success. The arrangement of his subject was illogical, confused, and dry, and his delivery was poor. However, his earnestness and the interesting novelty of his subject secured him attentive audiences wherever he spoke.

In January, 1823, there was presented to congress by Representative J. T. Johnson, of Kentucky, a petition wherein the subscribing citizens respectfully showed that the national honor and public interest might be promoted by the equipping of an exploring expedition for the purpose of penetrating the Polar region, beyond the limits already known, with a view not only of making new discoveries in geography, natural history and geology, but of opening new sources of trade and commerce.

The petitioners were further of the opinion that Captain John Cleves Symmes, late of the United States Army, who professed a new theory of the earth, which might be verified by a voyage to the north, would be a suitable person, with scientific assistants, to lead the expedition. That independently of the truth or error of Symmes' theory, there appear to be many extraordinary circumstances or phenomena pervading the

Arctic and Antarctic regions that indicate something beyond the polar circles worthy of research.

Mr. Johnson moved to refer the memorial to the committee on foreign relations, while Mr. Farelly, of Pennsylvania, moved to lay on the table. Mr. Johnson hoped it would not be laid on the table as it had many respectable signatures, and something useful might come of it, and the motion to lay on the table was lost. A Mr. Arden suggested a reference to the committee on commerce, the object of the memorialists being to establish a commerce with the interior inhabitants. The motion to refer was lost on a roll call and there the matter ended.

Other petitions from various parts of the country to the same end were presented at the same session. In February one was offered by sundry inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina, showing that there were Symmesites there, although I do not find that Symmes ever lectured in the South. Another memorial came from Greenville, Ohio, and still another was presented by a Mr. Brown from Huntington, Pa., and later Mr. Ross, of Ohio, offered three more. All however were consigned to lie upon that repository of the unburied dead, the table. Benjamin Ruggles, senator from Ohio, also presented a petition to the upper branch of Congress at the same session with the same disheartening result.

There were evidently many scattered about the country, who believed in Symmes, and many more who, while unconvinced, were sufficiently well inclined to wish to see the idea put to the practical test. In 1824 a benefit for the expedition was given at the Cincinnati Theatre. An original poem by Moses Brooks was part of the programme. It was recited by Mr. Collins, and ended with the inspiring lines:

> "Has not Columbia one aspiring son
> By whom the unfading laurel may be won?
> Yes! History's pen may yet inscribe the name
> Of Symmes to grace her future roll of fame."

But the one aspiring son with the money to finance the project did not step forward.

The succeeding year Symmes, according to McBride, made

application to the Russian government to accompany a polar expedition about to start under Count Romanzoff. He received the permission, but for want of money was compelled to stay at home at last. During the college year 1826-27 he delivered a series of lectures at Union College to the faculty and students. Deep interest was taken in the subject by some, at least, of the students. One of these students was a gentleman named Clark, who, in 1873, in an article published in the Atlantic Monthly of April of that year, was able to reconstruct and set forth Symmes' theory in considerable detail, entirely from the notes he had taken in the lecture room at college, forty-five years before. What impression he had carried may be inferred from the closing paragraph of his article as follows:

"Time, the great revealer of secrets, will soon determine whether this startling theory is true, in whole or in part, and whether its author was a visionary enthusiast or a profound philosopher whose name will be honored among men, like that of Franklin or Newton, as a benefactor of his race, and an honor to the country which gave him birth."

During the year after that spent at Union College Symmes, in company with one J. N. Reynolds, a graduate of Ohio University, started on a lecture tour. Symmes went on to Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Maine and into Canada, but Reynolds left him early in the journey. Concerning this Reynolds, Howe is responsible for a most remarkable biography. He quotes from the "History of Clinton County," a work which I have been unable to find. He states that Jeremiah N. Reynolds traveled and lectured with Symmes until the latter took sick and died (which we know is not correct), and that Reynolds persevered, lectured in the east to full houses at fifty cents admission, made money, with which, and the backing of Messrs. Rush and Southard of John Quincy Adams' Cabinet, fitted out a national ship, to sail to the south pole to test the theory. But the government support was withdrawn by Andrew Jackson when he came into office. That then a Dr. Watson of New York took the matter up and furnished money. A vessel, the "Annawan," N. B. Palmer captain, sailed from New York October, 1829, for the southern polar opening — that they reached land at high

south latitude (82°), and tried landing in long boats; got lost; nearly starved; killed a sea lion weighing 1700 pounds and were saved; found their vessel and started for home. That the seamen mutinied off the coast of Chili; marooned Reynolds and Watson, and put to sea as a pirate ship. The account there goes on to say that Reynolds traveled on foot, fell in with the unconquerable Araucanian Indians, became a leader of these Ancient enemies of the Incas, led them in an Indian war, was wounded, but finally reached Valparaiso, when he shipped aboard the U. S. frigate Potomac, as secretary to the captain, after which he returned to New York, studied and practiced law with success, organized a Mexican mining company, became rich and died in 1858 at fifty-nine years of age.

Howe goes on to add a description of this most remarkable man from personal recollection. He describes him as a short, stout, broad faced man, a Henry Clay Whig, a monotonous speaker in favor of protection with a sad delivery, as though he had something heavy upon his heart, which won the sympathy of his hearers. How much of truth and how much of pure fiction there is in this romance of Reynold's voyage is difficult to determine.

That a J. N. Reynolds and a Watson went on an exploring expedition in a vessel called the Annawan in 1829 is undoubtedly true. But whether that was the same Jeremiah N. Reynolds who lectured with Symmes is most doubtful. In Balch's Antartica it is said that Captain N. B. Palmer certainly made some unrecorded voyages to the south polar zone and that in 1829-30 he and Captain B. Pendleton, commanding the "Seraph" and the "Annawan" made a cruise north and west of Palmer's Land, and that some scientists went on the expedition among whom were Messrs. *John* N. Reynolds and Watson. The voyager was undoubtedly the same who made the journey round the world in the U. S. Frigate "Potomac" in 1831-4, but his name was *John* and not Jeremiah. He wrote a book describing the journey round the world published in New York in 1835 — and none of Howe's startling facts appear in it. The joining of the vessel at Valparaiso could not have been upon that voyage at least.

It seems to me probable that the sending out of the pri-

vate south polar exploring expedition of the "Seraph and Annawan" was for the purpose of testing Symmes' theory — either incidentally or primarily. This I infer from the time when the voyage was made, just after the Symmes agitation, and from the great probability of some foundation in fact for Howe's quoted statement. But there is nothing that I can find to *prove* the connection. This voyage of the Seraph and Annawan is mentioned in one or two other books on south polar exploration, but without comment. In Mills' Siege of the South Pole it is spoken of as the "infant expedition." The author states that John N. Reynolds had urged a survey of the south and that Congress considered the matter in 1828, and that the secretary of the navy (then Samuel L. Southard) appointed the Peacock to go. This was probably the expedition stopped in 1829 by Andrew Jackson, according to Howe's narration. However, in "Fanning's Voyages" will be found the master's report to Edmund Fanning, agent for the expedition.

The two brigs left New York October, 1829, went south, January, 1830, "for the discovery of lands to the westward of Palmer's land and search for land said to have been seen by Captains May and Gardner." That is all that is authentically revealed as to the purpose of the voyage of the Annawan and Seraph. What else the promoters had in mind is conjectural. However, the voyagers saw no land. They did not kill the sea lion. The crews were attacked by scurvy and it was considered best to bear up to Chili. Valparaiso was reached in May and part of the crew, who had been insubordinate, were delivered to the U. S. Consul there. The vessels then ran to Araucania for furs where they landed Reynolds and Watson of the scientific corps. Reynolds and Watson were friendly with the natives and later rejoined the vessels. Thus the meeting, marooning and pirate ship stories must be dismissed. Whatever may have been the purpose of this exploration certainly no other was ever made to find Symmes Cavity. After his lecture tour in the east and Canada, Symmes health broke down and he went to his old home in New Jersey to die in May, 1829. And so ends the story of the bold, ingenious theory of a brave and persistent frontier soldier.

EARLY DAYS IN OHIO.

FROM LETTERS AND DIARIES OF DR. I. A. LAPHAM.

Increase Allen Lapham, at the time of his death regarded as the most distinguished scholar of his state, Wisconsin, was for many years a citizen and state official of Ohio. He was born in Palmyra, N. Y., in 1811, and while as a boy laborer, working on the construction of the Erie Canal, became interested in the study of nature and her various phases. The subsequent results of his studies were embodied in forty-five different volumes and large and valuable collections. Mr. Lapham was a striking example of the self-educated man. His schooling was only that of the common rudimentary character. He did not have to learn, he intuitively knew. At sixteen years of age he wrote his first scientific paper, illustrated by original plans, geological sections, and a map published in the *American Journal of Science*. This production was highly commended by Prof. Silliman. Before he was of age, Mr. Lapham moved to Portsmouth, Ohio, where he resided several years, and during which residence, at the age of twenty-two he was appointed Secretary of the State Board of Canal Commissioners and became an active member of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

In 1836, the young man settled in Milwaukee, then a village in the Territory of Michigan, with but twelve hundred inhabitants. Here he entered upon a career of great mental activity, in the fields of geology, geography, topography, mineralogy, botany, agriculture, education and archaeology. He held many territorial and state offices. As a scientist, he was, perhaps, better known abroad than at home; at one time it was said Milwaukee was best known in Europe as the home of Dr. I. A. Lapham. In many of the subjects to which he gave his attention he became a national authority. He was one of the founders of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, of the American Ethnological Society and of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, of which for many years he was president. He was a member of the leading scientific societies of this country and Europe. For several years he was employed in the study of the prehistoric earthworks of Wisconsin and was the first to notice that the mounds of aboriginal people in that state were, as he wrote, "gigantic basso-relievos of men, beasts, birds and reptiles, all wrought with persevering labor on the surface of the soil." Knowing that they would be obliterated in the progress of settlement and cultivation, he made a systematic and thorough survey of these memorials of a prehistoric race, the results being published by the Smithsonian Institution in a quarto volume, with plates and wood engravings from drawings.

made by himself. This work is now one of the standard authorities on the Mound Builders. Had Dr. Lapham done nothing more, it would have made his fame secure.

Dr. Lapham died on the 14th of September, 1875. He had just completed a paper on "Oconomowoc, and other small lakes lakes of Wisconsin, considered in reference to their capacity for fish production." This last work of his life, was done for the benefit of the public, though really for friendship, as the paper was prepared for the personal information of Dr. Hoy. When it was finished he rowed out on the lake for a brief rest, which proved a long one, for his lifeless body was found a few hours afterward in his boat.—Editor.

Canals were at one time the main thoroughfares and the building of one was an undertaking as important as the building of any railroad today.

One of the principal canals terminated on the Ohio River at Portsmouth, it connected a number of important towns, Chillicothe, Circleville, Columbus, Lancaster, Newark, Dresden, Zanesville and others.

I. A. Lapham.

A map, published during the year 1833, shows the southern terminus of this canal with its locks and bridges. The map also shows a plat of Portsmouth with only Market and Water streets named. An old burying ground, some prehistoric earthworks and Indian mounds are shown along a road running to the northeast, marked "Old Road to Chillicothe." A profile on the lower margin gives much interesting information, the highest flood ever known, high and low water in the Ohio and Scioto rivers and the bed of the two rivers.

The arrival, departure, numbers and cargoes of the river steamers is noted as well as the number of furnaces and forges in operation within thirty miles of the mouth of the canal and their capacity. The great benefit the canal has been at Portsmouth is told and much more information of various kinds given, on this old map.

This Ohio canal was constructed under the supervision of Micajah T. Williams of Cincinnati with Francis Cleveland resident engineer at Portsmouth and I. A. Lapham assistant.

Letters and diaries written by the assistant engineer have been preserved and give interesting glimpses of the cities and towns in the olden time.

January 1st, 1831, it is stated "The first number of the Portsmouth Courier appeared today."

February 10th. — "About six inches of snow fell last night."

The Courier of Feb. 4th contained a short article of mine on silk culture and a story, "The Exile," by Miss Elizabeth Dupee, for which I gave her the subject."

Feb. 22d. — "Washington Ball at McCoy's."

Jan. 9, 1832.—"A meeting held to organize a Lyceum. About thirty members. Ten or twelve will deliver lectures. I am to lecture on botany."

Feb. 12. — Ohio river 65 feet deep, still rising, still raining.

Feb. 14. — River higher than ever before known. Several frame houses floated down. Many small houses and stables upset.

Feb. 15. — Went to a party in a skiff. Fell overboard, skiff struck a post under water. Water in most of the houses. One to one and a half feet deep in the tavern. Six or eight feet deep on Front street. Ten feet higher than the flood of 1828.

March 7. — Twenty-one years old today!

Lapham's work at Portsmouth lasted a little more than three years, closing the 15th of March, 1833.

He left Portsmouth for Cincinnati on the Atlanta. This steamboat not only carried passengers and freight but towed the flat boats loaded with stone for locks at Cincinnati.

On the 29th of April Lapham left Cincinnati for Columbus, having received the appointment of Secretary to the Board of Canal Commissioners. The salary was only $400.00, but he accepted the position with the understanding that all his time should not be taken. This route was by steamboat to Portsmouth thence by stage to Columbus. He began his new duties on the 4th of May, 1833, boarding at Noble's National Hotel.

On the sixth he wrote to his brother: "You have heard

without doubt the circumstances of the accident to the Guyandotte, which ran foul of a snag and sank the day I left you. It will only be necessary, therefore, to observe that I was not scared out of more than one year's growth! My baggage was not wet [except the box of minerals], it having been deposited in the 'Social Hall,' which is on the second deck. By climbing one of the posts, I succeeded in keeping above water myself. We remained on board until the steamboat 'Rambler' took us off the wreck and landed us in Portsmouth.

"Columbus appears to be very pleasant, it is improving rapidly, much business is being done. I think I shall like it very much. I have ascertained that I can get good board for $1.75 per week, which will be $39 per year less than I paid at Portsmouth. May 29th Lapham was boarding with Mr. Medberry, the penitentiary engineer, and had arranged with the state treasurer, Henry Brown, to sleep in his office and guard the public funds and do some work for him for $100.00 per year."

In a letter of June 25th, 1833, he tells his brother of his new arrangements and the precaution taken to guard the treasures of the state. "I am writing on a small desk in a little office whose door, window, and shutters are faced with thick sheet iron. I have locked, barred and bolted the whole and therefore think myself secure. At the head of my bed is a loaded pistol ready for use in case of necessity. The treasurer's office is in the same building with the canal commissioner's office.

"Perhaps, as I am in a new business it will interest you to give an account of the manner in which I spend my time. First, then, four o'clock a. m. fast asleep, secured as aforesaid. Five o'clock I get up, wash my face and hands and prepare for breakfast; I open the doors and windows to admit some light into my dungeon and I immediately discover the wisdom of Providence in creating twilight for, when I first open the door the sudden glare of light is quite painful to my eyes. At half past five I take my breakfast, but, in order to do so, I must walk up High street to the National Road, down that, towards the bridge, one square to Front street, up that street three squares to Mr. Medberry's, in all about one-third of a mile. There I meet mine host and landlady and, also, Mr. and Mrs.

Mills. You will observe there is no danger of my getting the gout while I have to go so far for my meals."

On July 14th the entry in the diary is the simple announcement of "a death from cholera." July 23d. "Two fatal cases of cholera at our house." A letter of July 26th gives some idea of the panic caused by that dreadful disease.

Tuesday morning, the 23d, I met all the family at breakfast, as usual, all well. Tuesday evening went to tea and found both Mrs. Mills and Mrs. West dead with the cholera. Since then there have been three or four deaths a day and cases unnumbered.

I have not yet been able to drive away that dread and fear, which you may readily suppose got fast hold of me. I awake every morning after an unquiet, dreamy sleep and am perfectly astonished to find myself alive and free from the cholera. Then the idea of being in a strange place, where it is probable (from the panic which universally prevails) that I should receive but scant attention if I should be attacked does not tend to compose my mind. Also the idea that I am every night locked up where no one could get to me even were they so disposed does not help the matter.

For these reasons I have determined to make my intended visit home at this time and the stage which brings this to you, will also convey me as far as Springfield.

Some of the people are "panic-struck," refusing to go into a house where there has been a death or admit into their own houses any one who has taken care of the sick. Some of our family went into a neighbor's house and every one left the room asking them to leave the house.

The next letter, dated August 15th, gives some account of the trip to West Liberty, the home of his parents.

If you received my last letter you are aware that I have been home. On Saturday, July 27th, at four o'clock in the morning, I left here in the stage for Springfield and arrived without the least accident, at half past eleven. About a dozen gentlemen from the Springs [I need not describe the animal to you] dined with us. They gave me a good idea of society at Yellow Springs, so good, indeed, that I abandoned entirely the

intention I had of going down there the next day. This determination was confirmed when I found a spring of chalybeate water at Springfield, exactly like that of the celebrated watering place.

The cholera is quite bad with us now. Mr. Horton Howard, his daughter and two of his grand-children [H. D. Little's children] have fallen victims to it.

COLUMBUS, Oct. 6, 1833.

DEAR BROTHER:

Madison county is among the largest and most wealthy in the state, but there is no printing office in it, consequently it will be an excellent opening for Brother Pazzi. He has just returned from there and is convinced from his own observations that he can make enough in one year to pay for an office there. He wishes to get established in time to secure the public printing which is to be done this month and will be worth $100.00 to him.

A later letter shows this project was carried out.

"It was not without a good deal of hesitation and many previous inquiries that we concluded to embark in the enterprise of establishing a paper in London, Madison County, and we are happy to hear that it meets your approval. We intend to take father by surprise by sending him the first number of the Madison Patriot. Pazzi wishes you to send him an article for his paper occasionally."

LONDON, OHIO, 17th November, 1833.

To I. A. Lapham.

DEAR BROTHER: Yours of the 10th by mail received yesterday. Six days from Columbus is rather rascally but we can't help it.

I am in want of an article which will explain the use and advantage to be derived from a Lyceum.

I have prepared an article myself but have so little knowledge on the subject that I am in fear of committing a blunder at which my contemporaries would laugh. You have had some experience and can no doubt write so as to be understood.

Yours with esteem,

PAZZI LAPHAM.

CANAL COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
COLUMBUS, SUNDAY, Jan. 19, 1834.

DEAR BROTHER: It is a busy time here now. My principal duties are recording the proceedings of the board copying their reports and assist-

ing in settling with the county treasurers, who bring in their collections to the state treasury in January of each year.

I have become a member of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio and have been appointed a cabinet officer; [not a 'kitchen cabinet'*]

The members of the society are to send me their collections of minerals, rocks, etc., and they are to be arranged in this office, for the present.

A bill has been reported to the legislature re-organizing the board of canal commissioners and making them, agreeably to a suggestion of the governor a "Board of Public Works."

What think you of Pazzi's paper? I am of the opinion he is conducting it very well indeed.

He says the people of Madison county are mostly of the party called "Van Buren" and, from what he said, I fear he may be induced to take sides with that party. Now I can conceive of no greater calamity which could befall his establishment than this. You know it would be against his honest convictions and, I think, if he can not sustain his paper there without joining a party that puts self-interest above the interest of the country, he had better, by all means, abandon the project entirely.

The editor of the Ohio State Journal has made him an offer which I shall move he accepts in preference to being a Jackson-Van Buren-office-hunting-editor.

His only motive for joining that party would be self-interest of course, and for a man to be compelled to speak and write things which he does not believe to be for the best interest of the country would destroy all honorable, even honest sentiment which he may have before entertained.

On the 18th of May, Lapham wrote to his brother, "our town has become a city and the new city council unanimously appointed me city surveyor."

And January 30th, 1835 he wrote asking his brother to exert his "imagination a little and see me in the canal commissioner's office sitting at a small desk appropriated to the use of the secretary of the board, placed at a point south, forty degrees west, distance six feet from the center of the fireplace, directly before me you may imagine you see a large case of drawers, and shelves, closed with glass doors endorsed 'Cabinet of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio,' containing

*Francis P. Blair and Amos Kendall were so called by the Whig party. They were Jackson's advisers and would go in the back door to see him. See Wheeler's Noted Names of Fiction.

petrified 'rams' horns' and 'calves' horns'' honeycomb and many other curious stones, minerals, rocks, shells of all kinds, ores, dried plants, bugs, butterflies, etc., etc. Imagine further that you see Mr. Byron Kilbourn standing at a high desk writing a long report, relating to the books, accounts and vouchers of the auditor and the treasurer of the state, for the last three years; observe the dark frown on his face and you will be able to anticipate something of the nature of his composition; perhaps it relates to some wolf scalp vouchers which are missing; or, perhaps to the $10,000 of 3 per cent money drawn from the United States Treasury, without authority and paid into the state treasury when it suited the convenience of the one who drew it; or, perhaps it may relate to the $504.00 paid to a certain printer for work which could have been done by others for half that sum.

"At any rate, Mr. Kilbourn is writing at the high desk. Exert your imagination further and see on my left Col. Jones reading a newspaper or writing a letter and Mr. Forrer writing a letter to the honorable committee on canals. Mr. R. writing a chapter on the effects of the July rains and floods for the annual report and Judge Tappan studying some abstract question of law or politics or, possibly reading 'The Globe'. If he opens his mouth it will be the wish, perhaps that Judge McLain would resign his present office and become candidate for the presidency of the United States and promise to vote for him. Imagine all this, I say, and further that the fire is so hot as to render my back uncomfortable, while the air which enters through the crack of the windows and partitions renders me uncomfortably cold, and you will perhaps have no difficulty in imagining the reason why I wrote 1834 for 1835 in my last letter."

Again on the 8th of March Lapham wrote to his brother in regard to public matters; he said in part: "The legislature has ordered surveys of turnpike roads from Cincinnati to Portsmouth; from the Miami canal through Greenville in Darke county to Richmond, Indiana; from Mad river, near Liberty to the Miami canal, and from Columbus through the Scioto and King's Creek valleys to Mad river, besides many others 'too numerous to

mention'. It has also ordered an examination into the whole business and conduct of the canal commissioners and the commissioners of the canal fund."

COLUMBUS, O., July 7, 1835.

DEAR BROTHER: I wish you would have the goodness to examine some of the wooden conduits in Cincinnati, especially the manner in which the logs are joined together and send me a plan of the same in your next letter. The usual manner of running one log into the other is, in my judgment, very objectionable and, as I understand that at Cincinnati they do the business differently, I should like to know something more definite about their plan.

I have to superintend the laying of about a mile of such logs for the city of Columbus and also the putting in of five cisterns large enough to hold six thousand gallons each, in consequence of an appointment I received a few weeks since as street commissioner and city fire engineer." Your brother,

I. A. LAPHAM.

Evidently a request was made for information in regard to the work of the Legislature of Ohio — for on the twelfth day of the new year, 1836, Lapham wrote: "I must beg to be excused from answering your query 'what are the legislators doing?' You are no doubt aware that you include one hundred and eight persons in this question and to describe with accuracy what each one is doing would be a truly Herculean task.

A bill has been reported, and has made some progress towards becoming a law, authorizing the extension of the Miami canal and, if the bill does pass the Mad river feeder will be made and, if in the opinion of the Board of Canal Commissioners it is expedient, the said feeder will be made navigable.

As to the probability of the reorganization of the Board of Canal Commissioners, all is uncertain, it is a difficult question.

There is a great probability that the present legislature will authorize the borrowing of money to complete the Miami canal. The idea suggested by Mr. Forrer that it can be done without creating any additional tax on the 'dear people,' appears to take very well with the Democrats.

Your allusion to my being at the head of navigation must have reference to the present state of our roads and the numerous conventions being held in this city at present, for, the

depth of the mud is such that traveling through it may well be compared to a species of navigation and, I know no other reason why Columbus should be considered the head of this kind of navigation, than the fact that delegates to the conventions are all traveling to this point.

The great Democratic convention [which was compared to a meeting of the people rather than of representatives], adjourned on Saturday. Today we have a Temperance convention and tomorrow a "Convention of Professional Teachers."

I have been endeavoring to induce the legislature to comply with the suggestion in the governor's message, in relation to a geological survey of the state and have written the greater part of a report which was submitted to the House of Representatives by Mr. Creed, also an essay which is appended to it.

I wish you would be so kind as to draw a small plan of the new fangled wooden aqueduct over Mill creek about which Mr. Forrer brags so much in the canal report this year."

That Lapham was able to report some of the doings of the legislators is proved by a letter dated February 18th, 1836, addressed to his brother who was, at that time, superintending engineer of the Miami canal. He says, in part: "In compliance with your request of the 8th of January in regard to the doings of the legislators in relation to the organization of a new (Jackson) board of public works; the extension of the Miami canal north of Dayton and authorizing the construction of the Mad river feeder, I have the honor to submit the following report:

"So far as the Honorable, the House of Representatives is concerned, these matters have all been acted upon and passed; the more tardy senators have laid them on the table for further consideration. The House has now before it divers and sundry other matters of vital importance to the credit and interest of the state, such as a bill to repeal the charter of a Life Insurance and Trust Company, whereby it will be made known that our laws are stable and held to be sacred by the legislature and the credit of the state will be improved in the money market. They have also a bill before them making it an offense against the laws to pass or receive any piece of paper purporting to be a note for one, two or three dollars on any bank, whereby the

citizens of the state will have the convenience of using silver instead of paper money, if they choose, and, also, the power and authority [for it can not be otherwise] of disregarding one of the laws of the land.

"The bill to organize the Board of Public Works transfers all powers and duties of the canal commissioners to that board; fixes the salary of the acting commissioner at $1,000 per annum, $267.50 less than those officers now receive; provides for two acting and four advising commissioners and declares that so soon as the aforesaid board shall be appointed the powers and duties of the canal commissioners shall cease and determine."

A resolution was passed by the General Assembly of the state of Ohio, appointing Samuel F. Hildreth of Marietta, John Locke and John Riddell of Cincinnati and I. A. Lapham of Columbus a committee to report to the next legislature, the best method of obtaining a complete geological survey of the state and an estimate of its probable cost. This resolution was signed by Wm. Medill, speaker pro tem. of the House of Representatives, and E. Vance, speaker of the Senate.

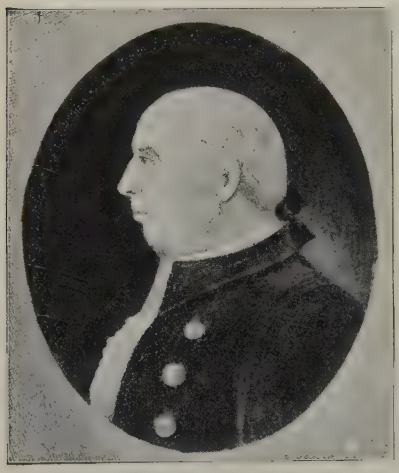
The duties of Lapham under this appointment were cut short by his determination to make the newly founded city of Milwaukee in the Territory of Michigan his home. Four days after his arrival the Territory of Wisconsin was organized.

RUTLAND—"THE CRADLE OF OHIO."

A LITTLE JOURNEY TO THE HOME OF RUFUS PUTNAM.

E. O. RANDALL.

It was in the bright and cheery days of September, 1908, that the Editor left the palatial Pullman car at Worcester and boarded a trolley that bore him along a rambling route amid tiny lakes and quiet hills to the little burg of Jefferson. Here the trolley was exchanged for a motor bus, the electric wings of which fluttered with intermittent and uncertain rapidity till the passengers were delivered at the steps of the broad piazza of the Muschopauge hotel, a hospitable and spacious summer abode crowning the hill which boasts of being one of the highest elevations of the noble commonwealth of Massachusetts. Certainly the "Cradle of Ohio" was most picturesquely chosen. Rutland lies in the center of the state and from the lookout of the aforesaid hostelry an unsurpassed panorama meets the eye, a scene where mountains rise, umbrageous dales descend, sparkling lakelets dot the plains and rippling rivulets run their silver courses around the feet of tree-clad hillsides. Rutland is on the midway divide between the valleys of the Connecticut and Merrimac rivers. It revels in the pride of its position and we were told that on a clear day the spectator's range of vision sweeps in the blue hills of Milton, near the Atlantic, the Highlands on the Connecticut, while Wachusett rises close at hand in the adjacent town of Princeton, and old Monadnock, monarch of all he surveys, rears his rugged outline against the north-



RUFUS PUTNAM.

ern sky. From this same outlook, which boasts an elevation of 1,250 feet above the sea level, the pointed spires of fourteen surrounding towns may be seen. The good people of Rutland are not cramped for residence space. Perhaps a thousand inhabitants abide within its precincts. Its external appearance and characteristics have hardly changed in a couple of centuries. Its principal street, a mile and a half long and some two hundred feet wide, runs through the village center. From this spacious avenue the side streets cut at right angles. The large, homelike, frame houses, natty and trim as freshly dusted band-boxes, stand today as many stood before the days of the American Revolution. Time cuts no figure in a New England village. There is not a street lamp or light in Rutland, and when the shades of night envelope its clean and garden like thoroughfares, and the stars and moon are veiled, those who do not intuitively, or by habit, know their way, must like the watchman in "Much Ado About Nothing" carry a lantern. But little wonder the good Rutlanders strive to keep their quiet and peaceful village in all its pristine purity and beauty. It may have the evidences of antiquity, but its old age is not that of decaying decline, but rather that which the poet has depicted as "serene and bright." But if Rutland has the charm of restful quiet and pictorial simplicity it has the greater enchantment of historic perspective. History reveals that the site of this time honored town was purchased from the Indian possessors by the early colonists in December, 1686. The record of this real estate transaction is still extant; the names of the grantees to the deed being "the marks of five Indians with long, unpronounceable names, setting forth that, for the sum of twenty-three pounds, they sell to six white men, properly named, a tract of land twelve miles square, the boundaries thereof being specified." This tract included several towns besides Rutland and was the very heart of the state. Later a six-mile square tract was surveyed off the above purchase and named "Rutland," presumably from the town or the Duke of Rutland in England. But if the Indians sold the land for a good price and gave possession and title, it did not prevent the simple and guileless children of the forest from proceeding to massacre and tomahawk the first settlers. Such was the fate, with others, of Rev. Joseph Willard, the first minister,

who was accorded the "ministry lot" — one of the sixty-three into which the town was divided — and upon which the parsonage in the shape of a log fort was built. The militant ministerial mansion was incorporated into the original village inn, which was later superseded by the present ample and inviting Muschopauge House, now the popular caravansary for summer seekers after invigorating air, entrancing scenery and historic reminiscence. Old England, itself, presents no more park-like drives than do those leading for miles in every direction from Rutland, as we may testify from experience through the courtesy of Mr. Louis N. Hanff, long time resident and town clerk of Rutland. But the allurements of Rutland's scenic attractions must not entice us from the historic purpose of our visit.

On the eastern outskirts of the village, almost the last house on the north side of the broad main avenue, back some two hundred feet from the road and fronted by many stately representatives of the olden forest, that like perpetual sentinels guard the approach, is the Rufus Putnam House. It stands intact, unsullied, almost precisely as it stood a century and a half ago. It is one of the most substantial and imposing residences in the town and is a well preserved specimen of the architecture of its day. It was built about the middle of the eighteenth century, by one then known as Colonel John Murray. Many years before when a boy he left his native Ireland as John McMorroh and immigrated to the American Colonies. He landed without means save his energy and thrift. He settled in Rutland and became its wealthiest and most prominent citizen, acquiring much land and living like a luxurious Tory, for such he was, having no sympathy with the colonial sentiment of independence. He was married twice in Rutland and the large tombstone of his wives may still be seen in the village cemetery. He built several houses in Rutland for his children, when they married and left the paternal roof. The house in question was the home of his second daughter who married Daniel Bliss of Concord. But the tide of the Revolution brought a turn in the affairs of Colonel Murray. He was the town's representative to the General Court of the Colony at the time of the Stamp Act. The people of Rutland were against the odious law — their representative misrepresented them. In a communication couched in

no dubious terms, the patriots admonished the colonel to adhere to the wishes of the loyal colonists and not to those of oppressive England. He heeded not the admonition but accepted the appointment of collector of revenues by Great Britain. A sample incident of the times occurred. Colonel Murray was given to understand that it would be conducive to his health to seek residence elsewhere. He hastily departed "in the night by unfrequented roads of the country and escaped to Nova Scotia." His several homes were confiscated and sold. The fine Rutland home was purchased by Rufus Putnam in 1780, while the latter was engaged in the War for Independence.

House of Rufus Putnam.

Who and what was Rufus Putnam? He descended from the sturdiest Anglo Saxon stock that came from Old England in the early colonial days. He was born at Sutton, Mass., April 9, 1738, in the fifth generation from John Putnam who with his family emigrated to America from their English Buckinghamshire home in 1634. When the boy was but seven years of age his father died. A year or two after his widowed mother married Captain John Sadler. The illiterate and unsympathizing stepfather denied the boy the most meagre means of education but it was the familiar story of unavailing attempts to smother the irresistible yearnings in the mind of an ambitious

boy. Sadler entertained travelers who often gave the boy "tips" for services rendered. With the money thus obtained powder and shot were purchased, an old shot gun was pressed into service and the birds "brought down" sold. From this game fund a spelling book and arithmetic were secured. His patience and persistency did the rest for he was his own and only teacher. A boy that would push through such a preparatory school was booked to graduate in the university of success. In the Spring of 1754, when scarcely sixteen he was bound as an apprentice to the mill-wright trade, one of the most im-

View Looking North From Rufus Putnam's House

portant businesses of the times, under Daniel Mathews, of Brookfield. This service lasted three years during which Rufus gained steadily in rudimentary book "larnin," in practical knowledge and experience and in physical growth and prowess, for he became an athlete in size and strength, measuring full six feet in stature with brawny limbs and toughened muscles. His apprenticeship was at an end. He had impatiently awaited its close. The French and Indian War began with it. The struggle between France and England over their rival claims for American territory was at its height. The colonies were con-

tending for the supremacy of their mother country. Thus far the gage of battle lay mostly with the French. Widespread alarm stirred the colonists throughout New England, as well as in Pennsylvania and Virginia. We may well imagine how the sentiments of ambition, adventure and colonial patriotism stirred the spirit of the restless youth. Freed from the apprenticeship of the mill and farm he eagerly sprang into military service. It was in March, 1757, that the raw recruit set out with his company. That his self instruction was unusually successful is proven by the diary which he fully and faithfully kept during his enlistment which lasted in all some three years. The original manuscript, yellow with age, of this priceless journal in Putnam's handwriting, is now preserved in the Library of Marietta College. It is not pertinent to our narrative that we follow the career of the soldier in this interesting campaign of the Seven Years War. He was with the section of the English and colonial troops who maneuvered about the localities of the upper Hudson and Lakes George and Champlain. His first taste of the soldier's hunger, cold, suffering and danger was with the Ranger scouts about Fort Edward. Here he came in contact with the Indian mode of warfare, witnessed for the first time the inhuman barbarities with which the savage allies of the French tortured and butchered their prisoners. Here too, he came in touch with the distinguished cousin of his father, Captain Israel Putnam, who had already displayed the qualities of an able and dauntless warrior, traits that made him so famous in the subsequent revolt of the colonies. Rufus at once admired his dashing relative and learned from him many lessons of military tactics. Our volunteer was witness to the siege and capture of Fort William Henry by the Marquis de Montcalm and his overwhelming army of French and Indians. After severe sufferings in the camp and on the march in the bitter winter Putnam was honorably discharged and reached home in February (1758). But the war was far from ended. Until now it had been a continued series of disaster and disgrace for the Crown and her colonies; one British army after another had been defeated or captured. The banner of the Bourbons was being borne into the very heart of the British possessions. The

people of England alarmed and disheartened clamored for a new hand at the governmental helm. George II yielding to the popular pressure, called William Pitt, the "great commoner," to guide the floundering course of England. Pitt's tremendous force and sagacity instantly aroused the English arms everywhere. French armies were repulsed in India, in Africa, in Europe, and in America. The colonists were enthusiastic in their admiration for Pitt and their confidence was unbounded. Twenty-five thousand colonial troops were raised and added to the twenty-five thousand Royal Regulars from England, and General Abercrombie, the new English commander, thus lead a force of fifty thousand against the twenty thousand French armament. Rufus Putnam re-enlisted. The campaign was that

Old Muschopauge Hotel, Rutland, Mass.

of 1758 about Lake George. It did not add to the glory of Abercrombie or the advantage of England. The end of the year found Putnam again at the Sutton home. In the Spring (1759) he enlisted for the third time. His company was under General Amherst in the attack on Fort Ticonderoga. The French forces yielded the Fort, embarked on Lake Champlain for Crown Point, a strong fort which the French blew up and then continuing their retreat proceeded on down the lake to Montreal. The reason of the precipitate withdrawal of the French from their intrenched positions was the news of General Wolfe's advance on Quebec. In March, 1760, Rufus Putnam again answered the call for troops for another campaign.

His company was stationed at the outlet of Lake George and there remained till the end of the war. In the Spring of 1761, when he returned to his home, this time New Braintree, and his employment of building mills and farming he had become inured to the hardships of a soldier's life and skilled in the arts of warfare both savage and civilized. This education was his preparation for the later achievements of his career.

In April, 1761, our hero took for a wife Miss Elizabeth Ayres, whose father was a wealthy landholder of Brookfield. Sorrow quickly followed his new happiness for within a year the death of his wife and a little son left him wifeless and childless. Four years later he was married to Miss Persis Rice of Westborough, Mass. It was a fortunate and congenial alliance lasting more than half a century and from which union many children were born. After his service in the French and Indian War, Putnam for a few years pursued the vocation of building mills and of farming. He then turned his attention to surveying, in those days a lucrative, honorable and much sought business. This practical acquisition was another valuable step in his preparation for later accomplishments. Immediately following the Seven Year's War the British Government established three new provinces out of their newly acquired American territory, viz.: (1) Quebec, which included not only French Canada but the domain between the Ohio, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, later known as the Northwest Territory; (2) East Florida, and (3) West Florida. The British Government also granted their regular troops certain portions of American land for their military services. Subsequently the crown and council reluctantly included the Colonial troops in this land reward. Land for this purpose was to be set apart in West Florida and in the winter of 1772-3 Rufus Putnam with a number of others, one of whom was Colonel Israel Putnam, left their New England homes to locate and secure Florida reservations. The party was known as "The Military Company of Adventurers." They sailed from New York in the sloop "Mississippi," coasted along the shores of Florida, visited Jamaica and Cuba, and thence proceeded to the mouth of the Mississippi River, which they navigated up as far as the mouth of the Yazoo, whence they

returned down the river and to New York by the route pursued from the start. This journey occupying many months was one of great interest and profit to Putnam, giving him accurate knowledge of the vast territory traveled, its rivers and resources; its extent and opportunities. He came in contact with the Spanish and French settlements and the chief settlements of the various southern Indian tribes. No lands were secured, owing to conflicting conditions existing between the Crown government and the colonial authorities. The King's promises to the colonial soldiers proved unavailing. Putnam however, sur-

Muschopauge House, Rutland, Mass.

veyed certain sections of East Florida and so favorably reported the advantages of the country that many New England families emigrated thither and settled. Thus ended the expedition of the "Company of Military Adventurers." It was a sample dream of expectations that was dispelled in a rude awakening. It was the close of the year 1773, when members of this land-grant party returned to their Massachusetts and Connecticut homes. The rumblings of the Revolution were becoming more and more audible. The storm burst on the Commons of Lexington and the Bridge of Concord in April, 1775. Rufus Putnam, in ardent sympathy with the cause of the colonies, entered the army as

lieutenant colonel of Colonel David Brewer's regiment, stationed at Roxbury. We cannot follow our subject through the details of the Revolution. It is not necessary to our purpose. As before in his military campaigns, he kept a complete journal of his doings and the events through which he passed. Like Washington, Putnam is his own best biographer. The manuscripts of his handwriting are the bases of nearly all that has since been written concerning him. His rise to influence and fame in the Revolutionary ranks however deserves passing note. General Thomas was in charge of Roxbury. It was unprotected save by a "board fence." A council of officers was held to consider means of defense. Engineers were rare and where was there a man to execute the work in hand? To General Thomas it was suggested that among his officers was Colonel Rufus Putnam who had engineering experience in the late French and Indian War. On being summoned by the General, Colonel Putnam frankly stated as his journal reads, that he "had never read a word on the subject of fortification; it is true that I had been employed on some work of that sort under British engineers but I pretended to no knowledge in regard to laying out works. But no excuse would avail. Undertake I must." And undertake he did. The defenses were erected at Roxbury and proximate points. Generals Washington and Lee came over to examine the defenses. Both generals spoke words of entire approbation. Rufus Putnam had found his place in the Revolutionary ranks and in the esteem and confidence of the Colonial Commander. The rest is easily told. The defenses about Dorchester, Cobble Hill and elsewhere were Putnam's work. At Washington's request he made surveys and maps of courses, distances and relative situations of the army's works in Cambridge, and its vicinity. He accompanied General Lee to Providence and Newport planning batteries and elevations. In the Winter of 1776, Washington was engaged in plans to dislodge the British from Boston. General William Howe occupied the city with eight thousand of his Majesty's choice troops. These could be supplemented at a moment's notice from the ships that "rode gaily in the harbor." Large reinforcements were expected in the Spring. The situation demanded that

something be done. Washington assembled his generals in consultation. Putnam was present by special invitation, and retained by the commander after all others had left. Washington doubted the result of storming the city. It would be better, if possible, to draw the enemy out toward Dorchester, and attack them there. If the colonists could maintain themselves on the landneck between Boston and Dorchester they would command the city and harbor. But the intense cold had so deeply frozen the earth that the excavating of it and erection of entrenchments therewith was impossible. There was the problem. Washington left it to Putnam to invent a solution. On his return to his quarters Putnam stopped at the quarters of General Heath. On the general's table lay a copy of Muller's "Field Engineer." Putnam had never read a book on the subject. He borrowed Muller. His eye quickly fell on the word "Chandelier." The problem was solved. His entrenchments were made of Chandeliers. The adjacent apple orchards and woodlands supplied the lumber. Stout timbers, ten feet long were cut, into which were set upright posts five feet high and five feet apart. These framework arrangements were placed upright loosely on the frozen ground in two parallel lines a short space apart and fastened together by connecting timbers. The open space between the parallels was filled with bundles of sticks and branches. Thus was made a movable parapet, an entrenchment of wood, easily set up wherever most serviceable. The British soldiers in Boston, retired on the evening of March 4th secure in the idea that the Colonists were helpless in their efforts to dislodge them from the city. On the following morning the "King's own" arose and rubbed their eyes in bewilderment, for they beheld the colonial patriots completely protected by a defense that had arisen as if by magic. It was a typical incident of Yankee ingenuity and industry. It has been truly said that these unusual and unexpected defenses frightened Howe into evacuating Boston. Putnam was now Washington's engineering reliance, and in August, 1776, on recommendation of the American Commander, Putnam was appointed by Congress as engineer with rank and pay of colonel. From that time on he was one of Washington's chief and most trusted confidants. He rendered

conspicuous services in the siege of New York by the British. At the close of the year he withdrew from the engineering department and was made colonel of a Massachusetts regiment. This placed him where he wished to be, in the active and fighting field and in the Burgoyne campaign he, with his brave Massachusetts men, again traversed the ground that had become so familiar to him in the French War. But he could not escape the responsibility of his engineering ability. Again and again he was consulted by Washington and the other colonial generals. Of all the foreign engineers who had been engaged and employed, not one had yet been found with the sound judgment and practical skill of this untaught American. His advice and co-operation were constantly in demand wherever the Continental Troops were struggling for advantage. At the close of 1779 Colonel Putnam was transferred to the command of a regiment of light infantry, one of the four regiments composing the brigade of General Anthony Wayne. This brigade was regarded as the "flower" of the army and the officers were chosen by Wayne himself. It was a great and coveted distinction to serve in Wayne's legion. It was in the latter part of this Winter (1780) that Putnam got leave of absence to visit his family with whom he remained several weeks and during this furlough he purchased the Rutland residence and thereto removed his family which had been living at North Brookfield. From now on to the close of the Revolution Putnam moved amid the vicissitudes of war, sustaining his reputation for ability, sagacity, resourcefulness and indubitable confidence and courage. The course of the war was inseparably part of his career. He evinced traits of statesmanship no less than those of the military strategist. Twice he was influential and tactful in assisting in the efforts to suppress desertion and even revolt of the Colonial Troops because of their lack of proper equipment, provision and pay. The rising republic was bankrupt and its army more or less in a constant state of want and distress. As early as the beginning of 1781 Putnam foresaw the difficulties of providing for these veterans, penniless and homeless as they surely would be at the end of the war. He addressed a long letter to the General Court or Legislature of Massachusetts describing the current grievances of the

troops and counseling the adoption of means for their sustenance when the war should close. Like many another he himself grew weary and despondent over the situation and would have withdrawn from the army but Washington wrote him (December, 1782) to hold on, he could not spare so valuable and trusty an officer. On January 8th (1783) Congress made Putnam a Brigadier-General. This deserved recognition strengthened his patience and stimulated his patriotism. With renewed zeal as a soldier he remained with the fortunes of the army till the declaration of peace, April 9, 1783.

In June following the peace and before the final disbandment of the army at New Windsor, the officers to the number of 283, belonging chiefly to the northern states, petitioned Congress for a grant of land in the western country. General Rufus Putnam, in their behalf, addressed a letter to General Washington on the subject urging the latter's influence with Congress in the matter. This letter at some length courteously and forcefully presents the situation. It is a masterful document and one of the preliminary steps towards the settlement of Ohio. He notes the vast importance to the United States of the acquisition of the Northwest Territory. The necessity of securing the allegiance of the Indian tribes thereof, suggesting as instruments towards that peaceful alliance the establishment of garrisons at important western points on the Lakes, and for the security of probable settlements a chain of stockade forts from the Ohio, on the Muskingum or Scioto northward to Detroit. He had wonderful knowledge of and insight into the Indian situation and its liabilities. "This whole tract," he writes, "is supposed to contain about seventeen million, four hundred and eighteen thousand, two hundred and forty acres." The land to which the soldiers were entitled by resolve of Congress would amount to two million, one hundred and six thousand, eight hundred and fifty acres, or one-eighth of the whole. He closes by expressing the probability that "the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio will be filled with inhabitants, and the faithful subjects of the United States so established on the waters of the Ohio and the lakes, as to banish forever the idea of our western territory

falling under the dominion of any European power." In April, 1784, Putnam wrote another letter to Washington concerning the position of the officers aforesaid. He says the settlement of the Ohio country is constantly on his mind, others look longingly in the same direction: "We are growing quite impatient, and the general inquiry now is, when are we going to the Ohio?" In the summer of 1785 Putnam was engaged by the state of Massachusetts to survey the latter's lands on the Bay of Passamaquoddy. The state authorities also appointed him on the committee for the sale of the state's eastern lands. At the same time he was appointed by Congress one of the surveyors of the national lands, northwest of the Ohio river. That Putnam might fulfill his contract with the state of Massachusetts, he got Congress to appoint General Benjamin Tupper temporarily, in his place, until he could devote himself to the office. As Mr. Tupper now enters the thread of our story to be an inseparable factor in it to the end, a few words as to his identity will not be amiss. His life runs singularly parallel to that of Rufus Putnam. Benjamin Tupper was born at Stoughton, Mass., the same year that saw the birth of Rufus Putnam. While a mere lad Benjamin's father died and the boy, like Rufus, had to enter the school of self-support and hard-knocks. He was a private soldier in the French and Indian War, and was one of the first to enlist in the Colonial ranks at the outbreak of the Revolution. He began as lieutenant of a company but for bravery and activity in service he was rapidly promoted until at the close of hostilities he bore the title of a brigadier-general. Also like Putnam, Tupper became expert as a surveyor. In his military career General Tupper came in contact with both Generals Rufus Putnam and Washington. During the Revolution, Washington constantly turned the attention of his officers and soldiers to the valley of the Ohio, which he had visited and the opportunities of which he thoroughly comprehended. Tupper had therefore learned much of the western El Dorado. The Ordinance by Congress of 1785 provided for a survey of a portion of the lands northwest of the Ohio river. In the summer of that year a battalion of the first regiment of United States troops, as a defense against the Ohio Indians, had

taken post at the mouth of the Muskingum under command of Major Doughty and erected a fort which received the name of Fort Harmar. It was about this time that Putnam was named by Congress to survey a portion of the lands in Ohio. General Tupper was made his temporary substitute, but the Indian hostilities in the Ohio country prevented any surveying until after

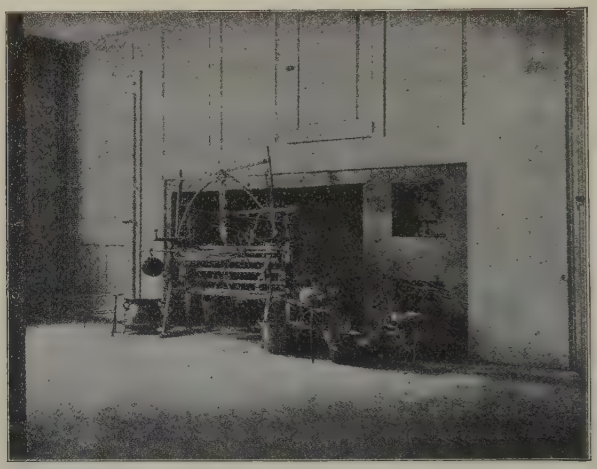
Sitting Room, Rufus Putnam's House.

the treaty with the savages made by General Parsons and other United States agents, on the Miami in July, 1786. Tupper had gotten as far as Pittsburg in his proposed western surveys. He was obliged to return to his Massachusetts home when he made so favorable a report, from what he had learned, of the fertility and beauty of the trans-Alleghany country that General

Putnam decided to join with him in proposing an association for the purchase of western lands and the settlement thereon. Accordingly these two veteran generals, strengthened and seasoned by the experiences of the two wars, yet in the prime of life and their powers, met on the 9th of January, 1786, at that historic Putnam home in Rutland. The two projectors of the enterprise sat up the entire night discussing and maturing plans that were to result in the founding of a western empire. What would we give for a snap-shot of those two nation builders seated before that spacious old fireplace in their wigs and knee breeches, smoking their pipes and no doubt refreshing their "inner man" with draughts that cheered — for what other purpose would have been that capacious cellar — as they consulted maps of the Ohio country and eagerly considered ways and means. It was a dream of empire to be realized beyond the imagination of man. The result of that memorable conference was that the two promoters united in a publication which appeared in the public papers of New England on the 25th of January, 1786, headed "Information," and dated January 10th, 1786, and signed Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper.

The "Information" was a public notice addressed to all officers and soldiers who served in the "late war" and who were by ordinance of Congress (1785) to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio country and also all other good citizens "who wished to become adventurers in that delightful region" to meet in certain towns specified in the different counties of the commonwealth of Massachusetts — and inhabitants in other states as should be subsequently agreed upon — to appoint delegates to a meeting to be held at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston, March 1, 1786, to form an association by the name of the Ohio Company. The counties and towns for the respective meetings were named in the notice. In accordance with the various meetings held, there met at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern on March 1, delegates chosen from eight counties. They were: Winthrop Sargent and John Mills, from Suffolk; Manasseh Cutler, from Essex; John Brooks and Thomas Cushing, from Middlesex; Benjamin Tupper, from Hampshire; Crocker Sampson, from Plymouth; Rufus Putnam, from Wor-

cester; John Patterson and Jahlaliel Woodbridge, from Berkshire, and Abraham Williams, from Barnstable. This meeting elected General Rufus Putnam chairman of the convention and Major Winthrop Sargent, clerk. Putnam, Tupper and others glowingly described the Ohio country and its advantages as a place of settlement. A committee consisting of Putnam, Cutler, Brooks, Sargent and Cushing was named to draw up articles of association. The "convention" met again March 3d, to hear the report of the committee. These articles of agreement for "constituting an association of the Ohio Company" were lengthy



Kitchen Fireplace, Rufus Putnam's House.

and elaborate. The articles state the design of the association to be to raise a fund in continental specie certificates "for the sole purpose and entire use" of purchasing lands in the western territory. The fund was not to exceed one million dollars in continental specie certificates and one year's interest thereon. Each share was to be one thousand dollars, and each shareholder was to contribute, in addition to one year's interest on the certificates, ten dollars in specie, as an expense fund. No person was permitted to hold over five shares. Five directors, a treasurer and a secretary were to be appointed. Business affairs moved slowly in those good old days and the next meet-

ing of the proposed association, called by special advertisement, was held March 8, 1787, at Bracket's Tavern, Boston. At this meeting it was reported that two hundred and fifty — of the one thousand — shares had been subscribed. Of the five directors provided by the articles of agreement, three were then elected: General Samuel H. Parsons, General Rufus Putnam and Rev. Manasseh Cutler. The selection of the two other directors was postponed until the next meeting. The directors appointed General Parsons, one of their number, to apply to Congress, then assembled in New York, for a purchase of lands. He made the application on the 9th of May, but after the 11th of that month there was no quorum till the 4th of July. General Parsons having returned home the directors appointed Manasseh Cutler as the special agent of the association, to make a contract with the "Continental Congress" for a tract of land in the Great Western Territory "of the Union." And now the trend of events herein related, center in and depend upon Manasseh Cutler. A man wonderfully well equipped and endowed for the mission. His influence in the settlement of Ohio and the larger movement of the political organization of the Northwest Territory can hardly be overestimated. The specific part played by Doctor Cutler will be detailed in a subsequent article concerning his home and his efforts in behalf of the Ohio Company, suffice it to say now that but for the ability and diplomacy of this man, the project of the settlement of Ohio would have temporarily failed and probably the course of early Ohio history would have been far different. Doctor Cutler reached New York on July 5th, (1787) found a quorum of Congress present and set about his work immediately. Congress was considering the "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio." Dr. Cutler had much to do with its shaping and passage. It became a law on July 13th. Just two weeks after the passage of the famous "Ordinance of 1787," viz., on July 27th, Congress enacted an ordinance of land sale in the Northwest Territory, acceptable to the Ohio Company. It is thus to be noted that the Ordinance of 1787 for the organization of the Northwest Territory and the law authorizing the sale to the Ohio Company were closely re-

lated, the one bearing directly upon the other. The purchase would not have been made without the Ordinance and the Ordinance could not have been enacted except as an essential condition of the purchase.

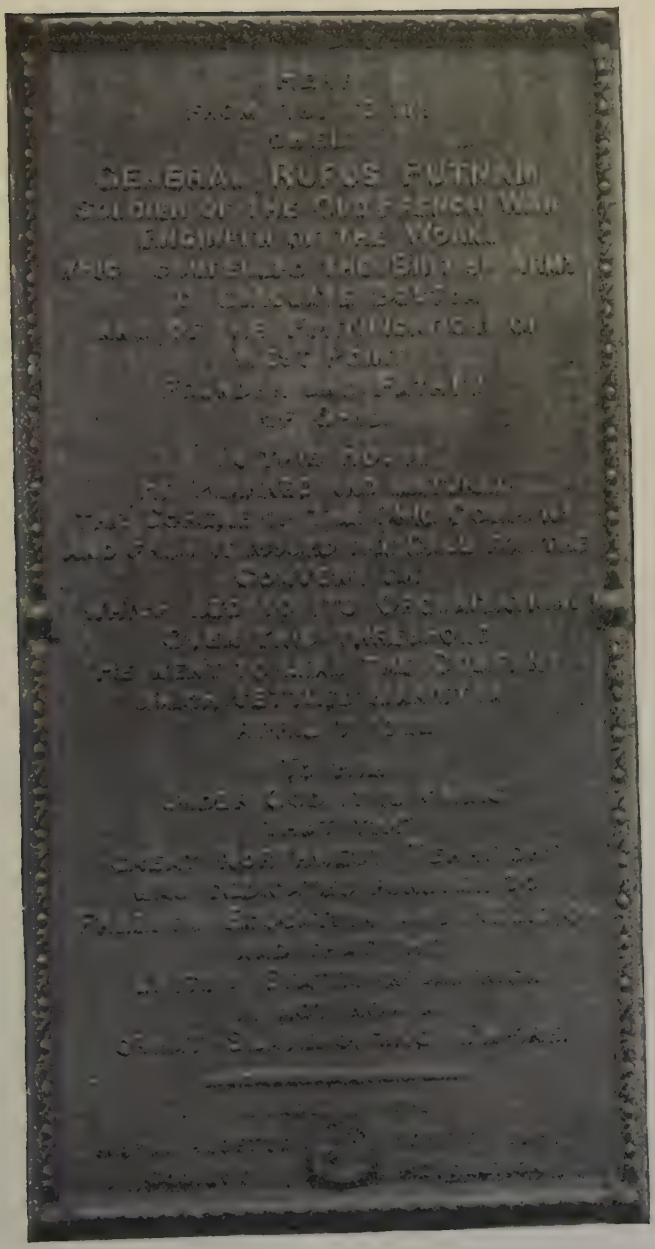
The act by Congress authorized the sale of five million acres lying north of the Ohio River, west of the seven ranges and east of the Scioto River, one million five hundred thousand for the Ohio Company and "the remainder," to quote Dr. Cutler's diary, "for a private speculation in which many of the principal characters of America are concerned." This "private specula-

Cellar, Rufus Putnam's House.

tion" mentioned by Dr. Cutler was that of the Scioto Company. The total price agreed upon was $3,500,000, something like two-thirds dollar per acre, but the payments were to be made in public securities at their face value and such securities or continental certificates were worth only twelve cents on the dollar, the real price of the land thus became only eight or nine cents per acre. After the passage of the purchase ordinance, Dr. Cutler made a contract with the government for the purchase by the Ohio Company of 1,500,000 acres. This contract was signed by Samuel Osgood and Arthur Lee on behalf of the Treasury of the United States and by Manasseh Cutler and

Winthrop Sargent for the Ohio Company. By the advice of Thomas Hutchins, who was the Geographer of the United States, the tract for the Ohio Company was located on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers. Mr. Hutchins considered it "the best part of the whole western country," and he had visited the country from Pennsylvania to Illinois. At a meeting of the Ohio Company in August (1787), in the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, Dr. Cutler made report of the contract he had entered into with the board of the national treasury. On the 30th of the same month, it was voted that a tract of 5,760 acres of land, near the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers be reserved for a city and commons. On October 27, the first half million of dollars on the contract was paid by the Ohio Company to the Treasury of the government. At a meeting of the agents and directors of the company, held at "Cromwell's Head" Tavern in Boston, November 21, 1787, it was resolved among other things that "the house lots shall consist of ninety feet front and one hundred and eighty feet in depth." Other details of the plan of the first settlement were agreed upon. This meeting also ordered that no more subscriptions for shares be received after the first of January and that they adjourn to meet at Rice's Tavern, Providence, Rhode Island, on the first Wednesday of March (1788) for the purpose of drawing the eight acre lots, which were to be surveyed by that time. Two days later (November 23, 1787,) at another meeting held at Bracket's Tavern, Boston, it was ordered that four surveyors be employed; that twenty-two men shall attend the surveyors; that there be added to this number twenty men, including six boat builders, four house carpenters, one blacksmith, and nine common workmen, in all forty-eight men. The boat builders were to proceed at once, "on Monday next," to the Youghiogheny River to construct the transports to convey the first installment of the company to the Muskingum. Thus the scheme rapidly advanced. The land secured and plans perfected; nothing remained but the execution. In accordance with all the preliminaries twenty-two of the number who were boat-builders and mechanics, assembled at Danvers, Mass., on December 1st, (1787) under command of Major Haffield White; the remainder of the com-

pany gathered at Hartford, Conn., early in January (1788). Those who met at Danvers were the first to start for their new possessions, called by many who derided and ridiculed this scheme, "Putnam's Paradise" and "Cutler's Indian Heaven." Some of the party started from Dr. Cutler's home at Ipswich. He prepared a large, well built wagon for their use, covered with black canvas, on which he himself had painted in large white letters "For the Ohio." Dr. Cutler personally accompanied the company to Danvers, where he bade them farewell on their departure, November 30, 1787. Dr. Cutler never went to Marietta as a resident, but visited the settlement in the summer of 1788. His son, Jervis Cutler, was one of the Danvers' party and it is said was the first to leap ashore at the landing of the "Mayflower." Two other sons of Manasseh Cutler later joined the Marietta colony. The route of Major White's party was along the old military road across Pennsylvania and over the Alleghanies. After a journey of nearly eight weeks, they arrived at Sumrill's Ferry, now West Newton, Pa., on January 23, 1788, where they remained till April 1, engaged in the building of the boats that were to carry them down the Ohio to their destination. The second division of the company rendezvoused at Hartford, Connecticut, on the first of January, 1788. They were there met by General Rufus Putnam who was personally to have commanded their journey, but as he says in his journal, "was under the necessity of going by New York, so the company went forward in command of Colonel Ebenezer Sproat." Dispatching his business at New York, Rufus Putnam pressed forward and overtook the Sproat division at "Lincoln's Run near Sweetterret (Swatara) Creek" foot of the Tuscarawas Mountains. They reached Sumrill's Ferry, where they found the White party, February 14, 1788. After the arrival of Putnam's party the work of boat building was redoubled. The largest convoy built was at first named the "Adventure Galley" afterwards called the "Mayflower" in remembrance of the vessel that landed at Plymouth (1620) and had among her famous passengers ancestors of some of the Ohio Company. The second "Mayflower" was 45 feet long and 12 feet wide, with an estimated burden of 50 tons. The "Mayflower" was not suffi-



Tablet on Door Side of Rufus Putnam's House.

ciently capacious to carry all the "forty-eighters" with their horses, wagons, baggage, tools and provisions, so an additional large flat-boat, called the "Adelphia" and three canoes were constructed. In this little fleet the advance corps of the Ohio Company "set sail," April 1, 1788, under the command of General Rufus Putnam, superintendent of the settlement. There were forty-eight men in the expedition, no women or children were with this advance contingent. The families were brought later. The flotilla glided down the Youghiogheny into the Monongahela and finally passing under the shadow of Fort Pitt swung into the "broad bosom of the Ohio." This journey is a thrice told tale, not to be here repeated. The pioneers arrived at Fort Harmar, just below which they hauled to on April 7, 1788, in the afternoon amid fog and rain. The current had carried them beyond their intended landing point. The commandant of the fort, Major Doughty, sending some soldiers to their aid, Putnam's little band towed the boats up stream, and crossing the Muskingum, landed upon the site of Marietta. The "adventurers" were welcomed by a party of about seventy Wyandot and Delaware Indians, warriors, women and children, of whom the famous Captain Pipe was the principal character. The landing of the stores and baggage was begun at once as well as the erection of General Putnam's large tent, known as a "marquee," a portion of the plunder taken by General Putnam's regiment from the British at the surrender of Burgoyne's army in the Revolution. Thus was planted the Marietta settlement, the first purely colonial one in the Northwest Territory after its organization. There were many white settlers in various localities, traders' stations, missionary posts, etc., west of the Alleghanies previous to the arrival of the Ohio Company immigrants, but the latter was the first distinct permanent American western settlement. It was the capital of the Territory and on the 9th of July (1788) Territorial Governor Arthur St. Clair arrived in Marietta and took up there his official residence. The founding of this pioneer center is the starting point of Western History. It was a most wisely chosen locality, the settlers were of the best brawn and brain of New England. George Washington wrote from Mt. Vernon on the 19th of June (1788) to

Richard Henderson on inquiry in regard to western lands, speaking of the Ohio Company, "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, strength, will all be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers, personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community. If I was a young man, just preparing to begin the world, or if in advanced life and had a family to make a provision for, I know of no country where I should rather fix my habitation than in some part of the region for which the writer of the queries seems to have a predilection." Washington knew whereof he spoke for in his voyage down the Ohio in the Autumn of 1770 he was at the mouth of the Muskingum and noted its advantages as a location for a western settlement.

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Thus historic Rutland was the "Cradle of Ohio. In the old Putnam house, now the cherished and well-preserved property of "The Rufus Putnam Memorial Association," inaugurated by the late Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, was born the purpose and plan of the Ohio Company, when on that never-to-be-forgotten night of January 9, 1786, Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper turned their backs upon the trials and hardships of the past and looked with hope and courage to peaceful homes for their declining years on the banks of *La belle Riviere.*

It was in September, 1790, that General Putnam, who in the meantime had made several trips back and forth, left his Rutland residence for his Western home with his family consisting of wife, five daughters and two sons, the latter William Rufus and Edwin. The hired men and teamsters and some neighbors who united in the emigration made the party number in all twenty-six. Benjamin Franklin Stone, then a boy little more than eight years of age was one of the party and subsequently in his remarkable autobiography, begun at the age of seventy-eight and completed at ninety-one, told the story of that journey of eight hundred miles from Rutland to Marietta. In his account Mr. Stone says of the party, "there were three ox-

wagons with two yokes of oxen to each, and General Putnam's two-horse carriage and one saddle horse. My mother had one cow, and Putnam had three or four neat cattle, including a bull of choice breed." On the black canvas sides of the wagon of General Putnam, painted by himself, in large white letters were the words, "To Marietta on the Ohio." The plucky pioneer caravan was eight weeks on the journey, proceeding to Sumrill's

Rural View in the Vicinity of Rutland.

Ferry on the Youghiogheny where they waited a few days till the boats were finished which General Putnam had engaged the summer previous, when he was returning from Ohio to New England. General Putnam lived at and guided the destinies of the Marietta settlement until his death, May 4, 1824. His grave appropriately marked, is in the revered cemetery of Marietta. The monument bears the sentiment,

"The memory of the just is Blessed."

MORGAN'S RAID.

L. J. WEBER.

[In the QUARTERLY for January, 1908, page 48, was published an article on Morgan's Raid. We herewith present another account of this historic event, practically the only feature of the Civil War which occurred within the bounds of the State of Ohio. Every recital in detail or in part of Morgan's Raid, if at all worthy of credence, deserves permanent preservation. Hence the publication of this second article. Mr. L. J. Weber, the author, is a well-known attorney now residing at McConnelsville, and the events herein recited are the result of a very careful and painstaking study on his part of the famous raid of John Morgan. The map is from a drawing made by Mr. Weber and adds especial interest to the article as the route of the raiders may thereby be followed geographically. — EDITOR.]

The movements of Gen. Morgan, something of which I shall attempt briefly to narrate, were incidental to the campaign of middle and east Tennessee, or better known as the Chattanooga campaign.

L. J. WEBER.

The confederates under Generals Bragg and Buckner, were offering stubborn resistance to the union forces, now transferred from the east under the command of Rosencrans, Thomas, Sheridan, Crittendon, McCook and others. General Burnside was organizing his forces, many of them raw recruits, at Cincinnati, shortly to be sent to the aid of Rosencrans. Realizing the effectiveness of this movement and feeling that they would soon be numbered, it was necessary that something be done to divert the attention of Burnside and the reserve forces of the middle states. Bragg, who had no difficulty in selecting his man for the purpose, ordered the already famous Gen. Morgan, to make a cavalry raid through central and northern Kentucky. The inveterate Mor-

gan had ideas of his own. He started leaving Bragg in southern Tennessee with a force variously estimated at from 2,000 to 2,500 men and 4 guns. Gen. Judah of the union forces was keeping open the connections or communications clear across the state of Kentucky between Burnside and Rosencrans. Morgan, with the union forces to the north of him, had to flank Rosencrans in order to get started on his raid.

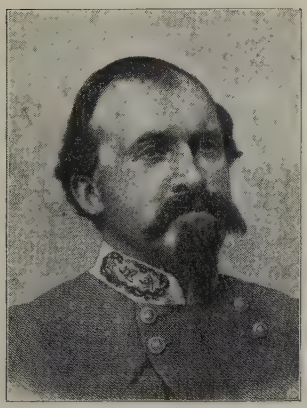
For almost ten days, incessant rains had fallen, yet undaunted, on July 2nd, 1863, Morgan left Sparta, Tenn., and crossed the Cumberland river, which was then in flood, at Turkey Neck Bend, near Burksville, Kentucky. Had Gen. Judah been on his guard he could easily have prevented Morgan from crossing, as the latter had to carry his trains across the wild and swollen stream by boats hastily constructed for the purpose and swim his horses. But Judah relied on the flood preventing his crossing and before he could summon sufficient force to offer respectable resistance Morgan with a bare skirmish brushed him aside and hastened on to Columbia, Adair county, Kentucky. He crossed the Green river at Tebb's Bend. He then proceeded to Campbellsville in Taylor county, thence to Lebanon, Marion county. Lebanon was held by the union Colonel Hobson, 20th Ky., with 400 men. After 7 hours' fighting on the 5th of July, he took the town. Here Morgan's young brother was killed while leading a charge.

Owing to this day's delay the union forces were rapidly closing in on Morgan and he left Lebanon in a furious rain storm compelling the prisoners whom he had taken, to cover a distance to Springfield, Ky., of 10 miles in 90 minutes. All who could not keep the pace were shot down. Moving rapidly by Shepardsville and Bardstown, Morgan struck the Ohio river at Brandensburg, Kentucky, about 50 or 60 miles below Louisville on July 7th.

It seems that he had intended attacking the latter city but gaining control of the telegraph wires he ascertained that such an attempt would be futile. It is probable that it was at this time he decided to disobey orders which confined his raid to Kentucky territory and concluded to make the bold dash into Indiana and Ohio which followed. Morgan was familiar with

the Kentucky country, as he had, under the command of Gen. Kirby Smith, the fall before, traversed the state in a threatened raid upon Cincinnati. The withdrawal of Gen. Smith's troops no doubt saved the city and in all probability its defender who was spared to contribute to the world later, "Ben Hur" and "The Prince of India." In the raid Morgan was while in Kentucky within 30 miles of Louisville and there captured a supply train bound for the latter city from Nashville.

Before reaching Brandensburg, Morgan had dispatched two companies to procure means for crossing the Ohio. The steamers "J. J. McCombs" and "Alice Dean" by reason of the persuading influence of these advance guards, were in waiting at the wharf when Morgan and his main body arrived. Greely in his "History of the American Conflict" says that Morgan's numbers had increased during his progress, by Kentucky sympathizers, till it was said now to number 4,000 men and 10 guns. I think this was largely overestimated as later facts will demonstrate unless desertions were numerous after striking Indiana soil.



Gen. John H. Morgan.

No sooner was Morgan about to launch a portion of his army than a company of Indiana militia on the opposite side opened fire on them with musketry and one old cannon. With his Parrott rifles brought into play while crossing the militia were soon forced to retreat, pursued by two of Morgan's companies. He was further retarded by the appearance of the little steamer "Springfield" which with much temerity, boldly shoved down the river in their very midst, exhausted her guns which were far from destructive, wheeled about immediately and disappeared, very much to the admiration and mirth of Morgan's army.

But delay in crossing was already causing Morgan much concern for Gen. Hobson, from Judah's command, who had

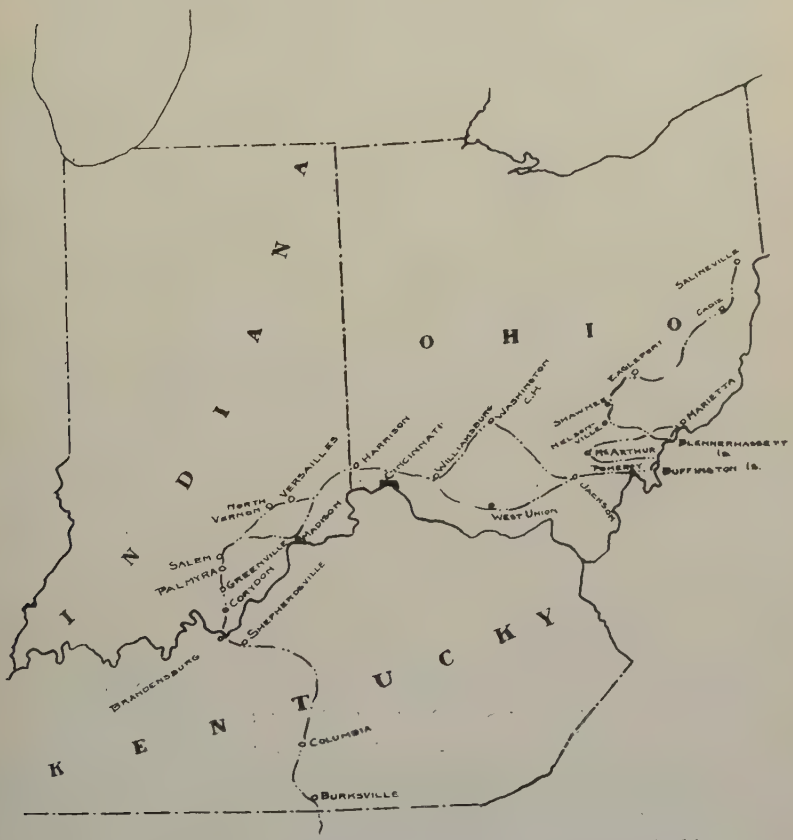
been following him from the Cumberland was in hot pursuit and now close upon his trail. Hobson reached Brandensburg just after Morgan's last boat had left it. The latter after landing all his men, set fire to the "Alice Dean." The "McCombs" it seems, had in all probability been placed there at Morgan's command, by southern sympathizers and was left unharmed.

Apparently, little attention had been paid in the north to the movements of Morgan up to this time. The north looked upon the Ohio as the limit and the boundary line. This had been so before and few, or none, at first believed that such a bold piece of strategy would at all be attempted or that such an invasion was actually begun. The news spread like a flash and all was consternation in Ohio and Indiana, from river to lakes. Rumors were rife as to Morgan's intentions. First Indianapolis and its state treasury were to be looted. Then Cincinnati with its numerous banks. Columbus and Ohio's treasury were not to be passed by unnoticed and even Cleveland was thought not to be free from danger.

These reports were in keeping with Morgan's desires. He knew that the alarm would cause concentration of the resisting forces at central points and in the largest cities and he would thus be enabled to pass around them, and by the celerity of his movements complete his expedition, recross the Ohio and return to friendly territory ere his plans should be known. He had expert telegraphers at work constantly tapping the wires and thus was fully and correctly advised of the movements of the enemy. So completely did he deceive the union forces at the point above mentioned in Kentucky, where he had captured a telegraph office and the union operator, that by conducting his telegraph communications in the name of the local operator he came in full possession of the plans and anticipated movements of the northern forces.

From Brandensburg he quickly marched inland to Corydon, Ind., thence to Greenville and Palmyra and on to Salem where on the 9th of July, just one week after crossing the Cumberland in Tennessee, he met a resisting force of some 350 "Home Guards" and captured them. He tore up the railroad, burnt the depot and ordered the destruction of the mills and factories but

allowed a ransom for each upon payment to him of $1,000 cash. He then passed eastwardly dividing his forces so as to cut railroads and telegraphs on all sides, passed through Vienna, Madison, Old Vernon and Versailles, doing a thriving business in horse trading all along the line and crossed the Ohio-Indiana



Outline map showing route of John Morgan's Raid.

boundary at Harrison, Hamilton county July 13, where he concentrated his forces.

"Here," writes Gen. Basil W. Duke, second in command of Morgan's forces, "Gen. Morgan began to maneuver for the benefit of the commanding officer at Cincinnati. He took it for

granted that there was a strong force of regular troops in Cincinnati. Burnside had them not far off, and Gen. Morgan supposed that they would of course be brought there. If he would get past Cincinnati safely, the danger of the expedition, he thought, would be more than half over. Here he expected to be confronted by the concentrated forces of Judah and Burnside, and he anticipated great difficulty in eluding or cutting his way through them. Once safely through this peril, his escape would be certain unless the river remained so high that the transports could carry troops to intercept him at the upper crossings. "Thinking that the great effort to capture him would be made as he crossed the Hamilton and Dayton railroad his object was to deceive the enemy as to the exact point where he would cross it and denude that point as much as possible of troops. He sent detachments in various directions, seeking, however, to create the impression that he was marching to Hamilton, O."

Howe, in his Ohio Historical Collections says that when Morgan entered Ohio he had less than 2,000 men, the others having been killed or captured in skirmishes or unable to keep up with the rapid marching of his flying column, had fallen exhausted, to be picked up by the citizen soldiery who hovered around his line of march.

Cincinnati was, of course, alarmed at Morgan's advance and Morgan with his comparatively small force was equally apprehensive of danger. Would he be permitted, when almost in sight of Camp Dennison to pass by without resistance? With the greatest march it is said he ever made, he actually slipped around the city that night, crossing the Little Miami railroad at daylight in sight of Camp Dennison 8 or 10 miles from Cincinnati.

Duke says: "It was a terrible and trying march. Strong men fell out of their saddles, and at every halt the officers were compelled to move continually about in their respective companies and pull and haul the men, who would drop asleep in the road. It was the only way to keep them awake. Quite a number crept off into the fields and slept until they were awakened by the enemy. At length day appeared just as we reached the last point where we had to anticipate danger. We had passed through Glendale and all the principal suburban roads and were

near the Little Miami railroad. We crossed the railroad without any opposition and halted to feed the horses in sight of Camp Dennison. After a short rest here and a picket skirmish we resumed our march, burning in this neighborhood, a park of government wagons.

"That evening at 4 o'clock we were at Williamsburg, 28 miles east of Cincinnati having marched since leaving Summansville in Indiana in a period of 35 hours more than 90 miles, the greatest march that even Morgan had ever made. Feeling comparatively safe here, he permitted the division to go into camp and remain during the night."

Williamsburg is in eastern Clermont county about 9 miles east of Batavia the county seat. Nor was Morgan idle during this forced march. His telegraph operators were busy. All night they were intercepting dispatches that were being sent in from the towns surrounding Cincinnati purporting to give information as to the movements of Morgan. Many of them were of course, mere rumors, but they kept Morgan fully advised in the premises. Here is one of them: "2 a. m. — A dispatch from Hamilton says: It is believed that the main portion of Morgan's force is moving in that direction going east. At this writing, quarter past two, a. m., it is the impression that Morgan's main force is going east, while he has sent squads to burn bridges on the C. H. & D. railroad and over the Miami River, but, he may turn and come down this way on some of the roads leading through Walnut Hills or Mt. Auburn. That night while the much enduring printers were putting such stories in type, John Morgan's entire command, now reduced to a strength of bare 2,000 was marching through the suburbs of this city of a quarter million inhabitants, within reach of troops enough to eat them up absolutely unopposed, almost without meeting a solitary picket or receiving a hostile shot." Reid's "Ohio in the War" Vol. 1, page 140. They stole horses within 2 miles of the corporation line.

By the next day it dawned upon the forces at Cincinnati that the Queen City was not to be attacked and Morgan's purpose was then made apparent.

Some semblance of order wrought out of the chaotic state

of the Ohio Militia was beginning to be observed in the region of Cincinnati and re-enforcements from Camp Chase at Columbus were pouring in. Companies were mustered all through the southern part of the state and were hurried by extra trains to contemplated danger points. Hobson with the energy and power of endurance little less than that of Morgan was so close upon the latter that he had scarcely time to burn the bridges and maintain a fresh supply of horses. The Ohio owing to the recent rains was (unusual for the stream at that season of the year) still at a fair boating stage and Gen. Judah with his troops was sent in haste by boats up the Ohio to head off Morgan, and more than 50,000 militia called out by Gov. Tod were moving toward the seat of war.

Before the expedition was begun Morgan had sent spies along the Ohio to discover the fords or easiest places of crossing. One of the best was at Buffington's Island about 30 miles above Pomeroy and about the same distance below Parkersburg, or perhaps a little farther. This, then, became Morgan's objective point. After leaving Williamsburg, Morgan divided his forces, Col. Richard Morgan bearing to the southeast and passing through Georgetown the county seat of Brown county, while Gen. Morgan with his column marched in a north east direction as far as Washington C. H. Thence turning to the south east he passed through Ross county leaving Chillicothe to his left where quite a considerable force of militiamen were in waiting. Passing on through Piketon in Pike county, Jackson in Jackson county, Vinton in Gallia county and Pomeroy where considerable skirmishing took place, he reached on the 18th of July the ford at Portland, a small town just above Buffington Island, the southern division having joined him before his arrival.

At last the little column approached its goal. All the troops in Kentucky had been evaded and left behind. All the militia in Indiana had been dashed aside or outstripped; 50,000 Ohio militia had failed to turn it from its predestined path. Within precisely 15 days from the morning it had crossed the Cumberland and 9 days from its crossing into Indiana it stood once more on the banks of the Ohio. A few more hours of daylight and it would be safely across, in the midst, again, of a popula-

tion to which it might look for sympathy if not for aid. But the circle of the hunt was narrowing. Judah with his fresh cavalry was up and was marching out from the river against Morgan. Hobson was hard on his rear. Col. Runkle, commanding a division of militia, was north of him. And at last the local militia in advance of him were beginning to fell trees and tear up bridges to obstruct his progress.

Near Pomeroy they made a stand. For 4 or 5 miles his road ran through a ravine, with occasional intersections from hill roads. At all these crossings he found the militia posted, and from the hills above him they made his passage through the ravine a perfect running of the gauntlet. On front, flank and rear the militia pressed and closed eagerly upon his track.

At Chester, a small town to the northwest of the ford at Portland, he rested for an hour and a half and hunted for a guide. That stop though so short was fatal for it was 8 o'clock when he reached the ford, too late and dark to undertake to cross. Had he pressed right on after arriving at Chester that to him most precious hour and a half would no doubt have seen him safely on the Virginia side. Tired and worn out, both men and horses, he decided to rest for the night on the north bank of the Ohio. The handful of men who had thrown up works near the river bank and attempted to impede his progress, might then have been easily brushed aside. But the dawn of another morning brought a more formidable enemy in the person of Gen. Judah with his regulars who had arrived in the night by boat, fresh and ready for the conflict.

Here is a description of the movements as given by Whitelaw Reid in his "Ohio in the War" p. 146 — referring to the stop at Chester — "But his evil genius was upon him. He had lost an hour and a half at Chester in the afternoon — the most precious hour and a half since his horse's feet touched northern soil: And he now decided to waste the night.

"In the hurried council with his exhausted officers it was admitted on all hands that Judah had arrived — that some of his troops had probably given force to the skirmishing near Pomeroy — that they would certainly be at Buffington by morning and that gunboats would accompany them. But his men were in

bad condition and he feared to trust them in a night attack upon a fortified position which he had not reconnoitered. The fear was fatal.

"Even yet, by abandoning his wagon trains and his wounded he might have reached unguarded fords a little higher up. This, too, was mentioned by his officers. He would save all he promptly replied or lose all together. And so he gave mortgages to fate. By morning Judah was up. At daybreak Duke advanced with a couple of Rebel regiments to storm the earthwork, but found it abandoned. He was rapidly proceeding to make dispositions for crossing when Judah's advance struck him. At first he repulsed it and took a number of prisoners, the adjutant general of Judah's staff among them. Morgan then ordered him to hold the force on his front in check. He was not able to return to his command till it had been broken and thrown into full retreat before an impetuous charge of Judah's cavalry, headed by Lieut. O'Neill of 5th Indiana. He succeeded in rallying them and re-forming his line. But now, advancing up the Chester and Pomeroy road, came the gallant cavalry that over three states had been galloping on their track — the 3,000 of Hobson's command — who for now two weeks had been only a day, a forenoon, an hour behind them."

"As Hobson's guidons fluttered out in the little valley by the river bank where they fought, every man of that band that had so long defied a hundred thousand knew that the contest was over. They were almost out of ammunition, exhausted and scarcely 2,000 strong. Against them were Hobson's 3,000 and Judah's still larger force. To complete the overwhelming odds that, in spite of their efforts, had at last been concentrated upon them, the tin-clad gunboats steamed up and opened fire."

Morgan comprehended the situation as readily as the hard riding troopers, who, still clinging to their bolts of calico, were already beginning to gallop towards the rear. He at once essayed to extricate his trains and then to withdraw his regiments by column of fours from right of companies, keeping up, meanwhile, as sturdy resistance as he might. For some distance the withdrawal was made in tolerable order; then under a charge of a Michigan cavalry regiment, everything was broken

and the retreat became a rout. Morgan with not quite 1,200 men escaped. His brother, with Colonels Duke, Ward, Huffman and about 700 men was taken prisoner.

This was the battle of Buffington Island. It was brief and decisive. But for his two grave mistakes of the night before, Morgan might have avoided it and escaped, and many a thrilling tale of events that happened in the following seven days and nights of the raid would never have been told, and in all probability this subject never related in the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. "But it cannot be said he yielded to the blow that insured his fate without resistance, and a courage and tenacity worthy of a better cause." The superiority in forces was overwhelming and the Union loss trifling. The boats carried the prisoners back to Cincinnati and the troops, with little rest, pushed on after Morgan and the 1,200 who had escaped.

About 15 or 20 miles above Buffington he again attempted to cross and succeeded in landing one-fourth of his men on Virginia soil. Morgan himself was in the middle of the Ohio but the gunboats were too close upon him and he was forced back to the Ohio side with his remaining 900. Again his hurried flight was taken up. Almost insurmountable difficulties surrounded him. His men were exhausted from long, forced marches and enormous work. Their pillaging had greatly demoralized them. The blow of defeat was severe causing a lack of faith in themselves and a loss of confidence in their intrepid commander. They were harassed on every hand. Every loophole of escape shut off; hunted like game, day and night and driven hither and thither.

Yet to the very last the energy of this daring cavalryman is worthy the admiration of all — even his enemies. With no apparent possibility of escape at Buffington he slipped away from Judah and Hobson with more than half his forces. After Belleville, he headed almost west and went as far as McArthur, thence he undertook to strike the Muskingum and soon encountered Gen. Runkle at the head of a large body of Ohio militia. Retracing his steps he made toward Blennerhassett Island, evidently intending to evade his pursuers and effect a crossing at this point. They soon surrounded him — Hobson, Judah and

Runkle — at nightfall. Visions of conquest no doubt visited these generals that night as they awaited the dawning of another summer morning for the surrender of Morgan. While they slept he and his men walking single file and leading their horses, stole out along a steep hillside thought to be impassable and when these three generals drew their net, cast at dusk that night, it was empty, every man had passed out through the hole in the meshes and the hole was large enough to let a horse through.

Morgan then pressed on through Athens, Eastern Hocking and Perry counties and entered Morgan county near Porterville, the afternoon of July 22nd, 1863. After marching in Morgan county for about three miles, night found them on what was then known as the old Deacon Wright, later the John Weaver, farm about 1½ miles northwest of Triadelphia, on the head waters of Island Run. Throwing a guard around the residence, they went into camp for the night, about six miles from the river. Morgan's guards — always out — reconnoitered some that night on Island Run. Thomas L. Gray of Deavertown, then an active "conductor" on the famous underground railway, who had a flag station in his barn and who had furnished food, shelter and transportation for many a Canada bound fugitive from the south, "without money and without price," together with Reeves McAdoo and James Foraker, also of that village, that night determined that they would venture toward Eagleport via the Island Run road to "see what they could see." Their adventures are described in a very interesting article prepared by one of the editors of the *Democrat* and published in that paper, some 14 months ago. It is worth repeating:

Along toward midnight Mr. Thomas L. Gray, of Deavertown, (father of S. C. and E. W. Gray) in company with Reeves McAdoo and James Foraker, two young men of the village, started east toward Eagleport. At the Baptist church they took the southeast road and arriving at Knapp's, called out the young man Jacob Knapp. The latter on the Friday previous had answered the governor's call and had gone to the camp at Marietta but returned home Monday. He joined the three Deavertown citizens and proceeded on to Jacob Mast's where they were

joined by Mast's son Peter. From Mast's they went on to Pennell Garrett's who lived where Hiram Allard now resides. The only arms possessed by these bold adventurers was an old gun carried by Mr. Gray that was about as dangerous as a boy's target rifle. At Garrett's the armament was very materially increased as Jacob Knapp secured an ax.

This had brought them into Deerfield township and in their course down Island Run they passed within a half-mile of Morgan's camp. Had they known of his presence so near they might possibly have captured the whole outfit. On the next farm (now owned by James Cunningham), they woke up John Daringer and told him of Morgan's having passed through Chapel Hill the evening previous and advised him to get his horses to a place of safety. He did so and thereby prevented their capture when Morgan appeared the next morning. They next woke up Jacob Weaver and gave him the same warning. Weaver was more skeptical and replied: "Let him come." He did come the next morning and Mr. Weaver lost two horses.

At Isaac Warren's they found Mrs. Warren alone. Mr. Warren had gone to McConnelsville the day previous, and hearing of Morgan's approach, he feared to risk his team in the vicinity, and remained in town over night. On the place now owned by John Eveland, they were joined by George Swytzer, who made the sixth member of the company.

At the Joe Helmick place, now owned by Charles Daringer, and then occupied by Jno. Bankes, they learned that a half dozen raiders, some hours before, had secured food and then gone in the direction of Eagleport. They held a council of war and decided to cut off the enemy's retreat by felling trees across the road. Knapp started in with his ax, but it was soon decided that the noise of the ax was liable to warn the Rebels of their "danger" and they concluded to quit and proceed on down the creek. Just below the Bankes house the road forks and as they approached this point they heard horsemen coming up the creek, and the clank of sabers told them that they were soldiers. It was about an hour after midnight and very dark.

Halting in the road and remaining quiet they awaited the approach of the enemy. When only a few feet away Mr. Gray

in a loud voice ordered them to halt and demanded an immediate surrender. The darkness prevented the Rebels from seeing how many were in their front and being deceived by Mr. Gray's firmness and the fact that no guns were fired, the raiders supposed they were confronted by a large force of regular soldiers and made no resistance.

It was well for one raider at least that they submitted peaceably for Jacob Knapp was standing within reach with his ax drawn, and as the rebel was on a small horse not larger than a good sized pony, Knapp was in position to cave in his ribs had he shown a disposition to fight.

They were ordered to dismount and give up their arms which they did in true military style. Hardly had the capture been made when about a dozen Muskingum county militiamen under Colonel Ed. Ball, a brother of Judge Ball, arrived on the scene coming down the road leading north. It was fortunate, for when the Rebels discovered the unarmed condition of their captors, it is probable that they would have made a desperate effort to escape. As it was, one of the six Rebels put spurs to his horse and escaped in the darkness. — When captured it was found that the raiders had Michael Longstreth as a prisoner.

The rebels were marched to the Helmick mill and guarded till morning but in the darkness another escaped. This fleeing Rebel lost his way and was captured the following morning by Jacob Mast and taken to Deavertown. The four prisoners at the mill were taken the next day to Stovertown and turned over to the proper authorities.

Thus ended the most notable northern success, when numbers and armament are considered, in the whole history of Morgan's famous raid. It was one of the boldest undertakings ever attempted by citizens of Morgan county and the marvel is that these 6 York citizens were not all killed. Only two of the six are now living — Jacob Knapp and Geo. Swytzer. Both reside still in York township. Morgan county ought to build a monument on Island Run where Helmick Mill formerly stood in commemoration of this notable occurrence.

Early in the morning of July 23rd about 20 Union soldiers ate breakfast at our home at Rokeby Lock. Where they were

when Morgan approached, no one seemed to know. Evidently they had

> "Folded their tents like the Arabs
> And as silently stole away."

Although not yet six years old, the writer well remembers the bright sunny morning of July 23, 1863. I had not long been out of bed at my home at Rokeby Lock, when upon looking across the river just below the dam I beheld a sight never to be forgotten. My childish mind was filled with awe, mingled with fear and admiration. Morgan's cavalry was approaching, as it seemed to me in solid phalanx, while their polished sabers glistened in the morning sun. This was war. Rumors had reached us the day before that Morgan was near and would in all probability cross the river at this point, and that he was burning and destroying property on all sides as he came to it, and, worse, sparing the lives of no one, not even the women and children. Eight children, of whom I was the youngest, and mother constituted our family at that time, our father having a few days before responded as a militiaman to the call of Gov. Tod, and was then at Marietta. Nearly all able bodied men were either at the front, or in the militia.

The ford at Eagleport was then and still is, as many of you know, some 200 yards below the dam. It is approached from the west side by passing over the upper end of the island — there being but little water on the west side of the island in the summer season. Immediately opposite is the Weber farm, with high and precipitous banks. After reaching the ford the bank furnished some protection from bullets of the rebels, and a few citizens gathered here for the purpose of preventing the crossing. Bullets began to fly around them, some uncomfortably close and they ceased resistance and sought shelter. Robertson in his Morgan county history says that with the protection of this bank and the hollow, which he places immediately opposite the ford, a small body of men could have prevented the passage. But the fact is, that while the ford is of course lower, the bank on the west side and beyond the island is almost as high as on the east side, and Morgan with his Parrott rifles,

could from that point, readily reach anyone stationed on the east bank within squirrel gun shot of the ford. And the hollow spoken of is too far up stream, and not opposite the ford as claimed.

But Morgan did not undertake to cross all his men below the dam. Above it there was, as there is now, a ferry, near the old Devol store. As his men were passing opposite our home a few citizens stationed behind trees in front of the house, kept up a fire at them across the river. Their guns of course would not throw a bullet that far at least with any accuracy, and such conduct served only to aggravate matters. There was an immediate response from guns that would and did carry and bullets flew about and through our house.

Three bullet holes may yet be seen in the weather boarding. One of these seemed to have come from a point farther up the river, and quite a long distance. My mother was making up a bed in a front room, when a bullet entered the window barely missing her head. She had just stooped the moment before, to arrange the bed clothes. Had she remained in an upright position the ball would have struck her in the face.

By the time this had occurred it is useless to say that there were some frightened occupants therein. We at once "took to the woods." I can remember, as the shooting was going on, of looking out in the back yard and seeing my sister now Mrs. Jones, then almost a young woman, standing in the back yard crying, while my only brother then approaching manhood, had stationed himself near, behind the smoke house to take observations. He was evidently seen for soon a number of bullets struck uncomfortably close. In our hasty retreat I took my pet dog, "Rover," and my sister, Mary, next older, took "Dash" and left our purses of silver and pennies each amounting to eight or ten dollars. They were not there on our return nor was a gold watch which my father had left hanging on the wall. In fact there wasn't much of anything left except the bare building. Comfortables, quilts, blankets, sheets, pillows, in fact everything that could be at all carried, was gone. I shall never forget the appearance of the cupboard when I stepped in the kitchen that Thursday p. m. when we returned home. What dishes were left were empty either on the table or on the floor. Not a thing left

in it — fruit all gone out of the cellar. In fact we were perfectly destitute. I believe there wasn't enough food of any kind left about the house to furnish a chicken a satisfactory meal. But we were fortunate to have even the house left. Morgan's men were irritated by the annoying rifle fire from in front as above mentioned.

When we left the premises that morning there was one, Dan Zinsmeister, a tailor, who had no legs (that he could use) and consequently, who did not run off with us but remained at the house. When Morgan's men entered the house they reported that they had received orders to burn the building. Zinsmeister pleaded with them, explaining that the owner of the premises had not been at home for several days, and, knew nothing of what had been going on and consequently was not responsible for the shooting. He did not tell them where the proprietor was, but did succeed in persuading them to spare the home. Similar orders, it was reported, were given by Morgan for the burning of the Richard McElhiney home a half mile below, where many people from McConnelsville and those who lived between, and people from the hills had gathered and many shots fired as Morgan emerged from the mouth of Island Run hollow. But, upon learning that Mr. McElhiney was not responsible for the shooting they did not burn the building.

It is needless to say that consternation reigned among all the inhabitants of that vicinity. We found plenty of company at our retreat in the woods on the hill tops. Some of the Eagleport people did not have time to get away. One Mr. Forgrave sought refuge in a pig pen where a motherly occupant thereof was contentedly nursing her progeny. A rebel in passing saw Forgrave and inquired of a comrade, so Forgrave reported, whether he thought those pigs were all of the same litter. He was not disturbed.

The ferry could not accommodate all of Morgan's men who desired immediate passage. It was then a toll ferry owned by Hiram Winchell. Poor Hiram — good old soul, I'll venture, never did a thriftier business or a harder forenoon's job in his life and with poorer pay than he did that eventful day. Dalphin Devol, merchant, rank abolitionist, rebel hater, stiff, gruff,

(though with many commendable qualities), was impressed into service with his fine skiff. Dalphin likewise, worked faithfully and well, and sweat. The rebels would get in the skiff and hold their horses' reins while they swam and our merchant rowed. When the last load had been landed on the Rokeby side he proceeded to return to his store. When nearly across they (perhaps in sport) demanded his return. He stubbornly refused and rowed steadily on. They fired two or three shots in the direction of the skiff. Devol claimed that he dodged each of the bullets by "ducking" his head the instant the smoke issued from the guns.

At the upper store in Eagleport, conducted by Silvey and Price, Mr. Silvey was likewise pressed into service with his skiff. While he was reputed to be a "rebel sympathizer" and a rank Democrat (and those terms were in those days considered by many as being synonymous) the rebels were no respecters of persons, and he performed labor equally as arduous as Devol. When he had assisted the last load to the east side, an officer handed him a Confederate bill for his pay and, applying an epithet which it would not be appropriate to repeat here, ordered him to "pull for the shore" on the west and not look up, and if he ceased "pulling" before he got there he would never "pull" any more. He obeyed and had no bullets to dodge. The other member of the firm, Wm. Price, when he learned that Morgan was in town hastily emptied the money drawer which contained a large pocketbook with considerable money therein, several hundred dollars as I now remember. He was trying to reach his home about a quarter of a mile above — a near cut taking him through a rank patch of timothy. As he was hurrying through this, pocketbook in hand, he was halted by the rebels and ordered to return and unlock the store. He immediately loosed his grip and the money fell unobserved in the high grass. After he had concluded waiting on his "customers," he was permitted to return to his home. He found the pocketbook unmolested, where he had dropped it.

A man named Henry Kelly, from Hocking county, as I always understood it (Dr. Robinson says from Nelsonville) was shot by Morgan's men on the bluffs overlooking Eagleport. He

had had several horses taken by Morgan and had followed them all the way to Eagleport, vainly endeavoring to get them, and frequently firing at them. Morgan, by the use of his glasses, identified him. He, at the time he was killed, was in company with Alex Stinchcomb, of near Deavertown, who had also lost some horses. He stepped out on the rocks in full view of Morgan watching his movements in crossing the river. Stinchcomb, but a few yards away, remained under cover and pleaded with Kelly to be more cautious, who insisted that there was no danger. Robertson says: "Five of the raiders standing on Devol's store steps took deliberate aim at him; three of their shots took effect, killing him instantly. The distance is about 250 yards." The writer's understanding, gathered from what was told shortly after, is that the shots were fired from the eastern shore, that an officer by the use of his field glass recognized Kelly and ordered him shot and that thereupon the five men laid their guns across their horses and fired with above results. This would make the distance at least 100 yards farther.

Morgan remained in the immediate vicinity of Eagleport and Rokeby about one and a half or two hours. He started up the river ostensibly for Gaysport, and perhaps thence to Rural Dale. He had gone but a short distance when he saw a steamer loaded with troops coming. It was the steamer "Dime" with a portion of the 86th regiment aboard from Zanesville under the command of R. W. McFarland. The troops were landed about two and a half miles above Rokeby and ascended the steep hill on the Eli Barr farm. Morgan wheeled about, came back to Rokeby, leaving the river by the road that leads east. There is quite a bend in the river at Eagleport and this road passes northerly through the Barr farm only a short distance from the river hill. Here, at Barr's Ridge, the opposing forces unexpectedly met. Morgan, not knowing the enemy's strength, avoided an engagement, and wheeled square to the right for the McElhiney hollow. Here was McFarland's opportunity. Through lack of judgment or courage or both, he failed to seize it. Morgan could easily have been captured in that hollow. In fact, Morgan wanted to quit then and there, as reported, but declared that he could find no one worthy to

accept his sword. Whether this report was true or not, I do not know. This hollow is wild and the hills on either side are so steep and rocky that only in a few places in the section where they crossed it, can a man and horse scale them, and a company of 50 men, it seems to me, could have shot or captured every man of them as they attempted to emerge from that ravine.

I remember of following their trail in company with my father, not long after and the fresh marks from the horses' shoes were yet visible on the huge rocks down over which they clambered and it seemed almost miraculous that anyone would be able to reach the bottom without being killed or receiving serious injury. Not a few shots were fired at Barr's Ridge.

McFarland, the commander of the union troops, in a recent article in the "Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly," relating what occurred after the landing of his troops says: "In about two miles we came to the road on which Morgan was retreating. The soldiers at the front of the column were able to give Morgan one volley at long range. No one was hurt but some of the raiders dropped a part of their plunder. We picked up a bolt or two of calico and also a bolt of muslin. On the west side of the road and about a hundred yards distant there was a small frame house on the face of the hill. The woman living there was on the porch at the east side of the house, watching Morgan's men as they passed along the road. One of the soldiers shot at her as she was leaning against a post. The bullet hit the post about a foot above her head and buried itself in the hard wood. This outrage occurred about the time when my men discharged their guns at long range. I saw the mark of the bullet and gave the woman the dry goods which we had picked up in the road, to offset as far as possible the fright which she had suffered. Early in the morning, only an hour or so after my troops had landed, there occurred the following incident which probably gave Morgan an exaggerated estimate of the number of my men. While waiting for developments, I saw two cavalrymen approaching my position. They were in the woods a couple of hundred yards distant, but proceeding very cautiously. They were attempting to make some reliable estimate of our numbers. I called on the half dozen

soldiers who were closest to me 'to shoot those spies.' The guns rang out in an instant, but the soldiers, further away from my position knowing nothing of the facts, all fired their guns also, but fired at random. The roar of these 350 rifles was grand, and as we were concealed by the timber, our numbers were largely overestimated." (Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 245).

Mr. McFarland's memory does not correctly serve him as to distance of his position on the ridge from the river. It does not much exceed a quarter of a mile if any, from the landing at the foot of the bluff. The house referred to is a log building, still standing on the Barr farm and was then occupied by Mrs. Julia Thomas.

One confederate was shot here. He was found unconscious, but later regained consciousness and was carried on a litter to our home. I well remember of looking with much curiosity, upon him, a real live rebel (or at least not dead), who wouldn't hurt me. He was shot in the lung. Can remember of seeing the blood blubber in the wound in his breast as he breathed. He was taken to Eagleport and after a few weeks' nursing, he sufficiently recovered so that he was able to be sent to Columbus.

In the hollow a dead rebel was found, with a pillow placed under his head, where Morgan's men, unable to convey the body out of there, had left it. He was found by Chas. Patterson and Dave Bailey and perhaps others, who hastily laid the body under a shelving rock near by, cast some leaves over it and left it. On the following day Jas. Shilling (afterwards the father-in-law of our fellow townsman, J. M. Betz, and an uncle to J. L. Shilling on Kennebec Ave.), who is yet living, Joseph M. Briggs and Mr. Bailey took the remains and buried them near by. A few years after this the run cut into the grave and it was again moved to the opposite side only a few yards away. The grave is marked with a rough sandstone at either end and this romantic spot has been an object of interest to many a curious visitor. About 20 years ago a rumor was in circulation in that locality that some of the dead rebel's friends had been in that vicinity searching treasure supposed to have been hidden in that hollow at the time of crossing. It was then that the name was discovered rudely inscribed on the headstone of the grave

"Tommy McGee" which is yet plainly visible. Dr. Robertson says that the evidence is strong that this man was killed at Eagleport where another rebel lost his nose, both from shots fired from my father's house and that this was the cause of the special attention given the house by the carbines.

That afternoon a portion of Hobson's army still in hot pursuit, under the command of Gen. Shackelford, crossed the ford at Rokeby. About 25 of them rode up to our house and ordered dinner. While I do not remember what was set before them, it must certainly have been a slim meal.

What transpired at McConnelsville and elsewhere I will leave for others to tell, who know more about it. If history portrays the facts I believe that a monument of donkey skulls should have been erected somewhere near the crossing, to the memory of Col. Hill, for his bravery and valor. He left Marietta the morning of July 22 by the Steamer "Jonas Powell," with 500 troops and two brass cannons aboard. In the afternoon of that day a message was received at McConnelsville from Hill that Morgan was approaching McConnelsville or Eagleport. With this knowledge, he came with his troops as far as Stockport, 10 miles below, where he landed the steamer and waited. This was the evening of the 22nd. Three times that night he was notified and urged to proceed to McConnelsville and on to Eagleport, for it was that night positively ascertained that Morgan was encamped on the head waters of Island Run. Without an effort he could have steamed up in the vicinity of Eagleport that night and there thwarted Morgan and without doubt captured him. But he would not do so, neither would he permit Capt. Marsh, under him, to take a company and march up. Along about 9 o'clock that day, the 23rd, Hill arrived at McConnelsville. Then a brilliant idea struck him. He took a portion of his men and started out the Zanesville road to head of Morgan who long before he got started, had the last of his forces safely across the river at Eagleport eight miles above. Col. Marsh took one division and started up the river. After going up about three miles to the Doc Reed farm Marsh learned that Morgan had crossed, so he bore to the east leaving the river and joined Hill. On the Ritchey farm, less than one-half mile this side the

Pisgah church, stands a high and commanding knob. There the bold (?) Hill planted a cannon; and observing some stir in the neighborhood of Meloy's barn which stands about 1 mile to the northwest he, without further investigation, concluded that Morgan might be in that barn. Brilliant thought! The main body of his men never were near this barn. A few straggling foragers, not to exceed perhaps, half dozen, were in the vicinity at the time the shot was fired. More likely was this building to have been then occupied by women and children, but it chanced to be empty. Hill succeeded in hitting the barn. The cannon ball hole may yet be seen from the public road and its destructive work inside by opening the barn door. Robertson says Hill returned to the Steamer Powell without the loss of a man or material. How remarkably and mysteriously strange.

Mr. James G. Crisman, who lives on the River road, north of town, was living with his uncle and aunt, Daniel Meloy and wife, on the Meloy farm, when Morgan went through. Mr. Meloy was absent, so he and his aunt were, that day, holding the fort, the old brick building, which is still standing near the barn, which Hill shot into. Jim was a boy of ten — old enough for some vivid and lasting impressions. He was called upon, by two of Morgan's men, to serve as guide for his army. Jim didn't just take to the crowd, and declined to go alone. His aunt was at once drafted into service. Her movements afoot were not rapid enough, so one of the soldiers dismounted and Mrs. Meloy was assisted to the saddle. A large portion of the troops was in waiting at the forks of the road, at the election house a mile further up the road. They, the guides, did not go far. After getting from them the information desired, they were permitted to return home. As they started back, the troops parted to either side of the road as an act of courtesy, and Jim and his aunt, on dress parade, marched between, with an escort, who accompanied them almost to their home. Mr. Crisman says the shot, which penetrated the Meloy barn, was not fired from the Ritchey knob, but from a position nearer the barn, along the east side of the road, and that several cannon shots were fired. Mr. E. M. Stanbery, a spectator, says that other shots were fired from Ritchey's Knob in bombarding

Meloy's woods to the right. He did not witness this from a location similar to that of Mr. Forgrave's in Eagleport. He had taken safe refuge in an impregnable wheat shock hard by. Judge Evans who was involuntarily doing service for Morgan in that section as a guide, reported that the confederates were not within hearing when this cannonading was done. These conflicting statements may be accounted for from the fact that Morgan's men were widely scattered. They were compelled to forage their living and necessarily covered a wide scope. Mr. S. A. Thissell, a farmer living two miles below Eagleport, claims to know the exact spot where the rebel found in McElhiney's hollow was killed. He says his father, Benjamin F. Thissell, in company with Fred Merriam, a brother of the late Charles Merriam, was hidden behind the willows at the river's edge, just above the dam, watching the rebels as they passed along the road within a few rods of them; that just as this man was passing by the shot was fired from the hillside above, which killed him; that the dead man's comrades strapped him on the horse he was riding and left his gun which Mr. Thissell procured; that the gun was in their residence which was consumed by fire in the early seventies and that he still has the barrel and lock. This may account for the shooting of Mr. Kelly (above) by Morgan's men, on the same hill, a few minutes thereafter. Many amusing incidents, of that stirring day, might be mentioned but I pass on.

Morgan passed on northeasterly, thro' Bloom, leaving Rural Dale to his left, and on through Museville and High Hill, Muskingum county, and through Noble, Guernsey, Carroll, Harrison, and Jefferson and into Columbiana county, with Shackelford not far behind. At Washington, Guernsey county, he overtook the rear guard of Morgan's forces, and some skirmishing took place. On July 26th, 1863, he succeeded in reaching Salineville, Columbiana county, (again almost to the Ohio), between Steubenville and Wellsville. He was being guided to the Pennsylvania line by one Mr. Burbeck, a private citizen. — Perceiving in his flight, clouds of dust rising on a parallel road, he recognized that a cavalry force was fast cutting off his escape. Shackelford was close pressing him in the rear. Burbeck, who

had with him a small squad of volunteeers, was conducting him through his county on consideration that Morgan would destroy no property within its limits. Morgan realizing the situation, proposed to surrender to Burbeck on condition that he and all his men would be immediately paroled. Here was an opportunity for Burbeck to immortalize his name. Who would not have looked upon this coveted prize with favor! Burbeck accepted his sword on these terms. The arrangement was barely completed when Major Rue, 9th Kentucky cavalry, arrived, then Shackelford. This sly move by Morgan, of making terms of capitulation with a private citizen (for, in fact, with Burbeck, such was the case), did not meet with the approval of Rue, who referred the matter to Shackelford, and the latter refused to accept or recognize it. Morgan appealed to Governor Tod, but the latter, upon consideration, held them not binding or effective, and the prisoners were at once taken to Columbus.

Here Morgan and his officers, as a matter of retaliation, it seems, for similar treatment our men had received in the South, were confined in the Penitentiary — their heads duly shaved. After several months of confinement, Morgan and six other prisoners, on the night of the 27th of November, made their escape, it is said, by cutting through the stone floors of their cells, with knives from the prison table. Tunneling under the walls of the building, they scaled the walls that surrounded the grounds by aid of ropes made of bed clothes. It is claimed that this opportunity for escape presented itself through willful neglect on the part of the prison officials, to care for these prisoners' cells. — Many others think they left the prison through doors that opened at their bidding.

On the outside they changed their prison clothes, and Morgan proceeded to the depot and took a train for Cincinnati, about 1 o'clock a. m. Alighting from the car in the suburbs of Cincinnati, he ran to the Ohio, crossed on the ferry and immediately found shelter. — He then made his way through Kentucky and Tennessee to northern Georgia. He proceeded to Richmond, where he was greeted with an ovation. In a speech he declared that "his escape was made entirely without assistance from any

one OUTSIDE" the prison. "An assertion," says Greely, "not needed to incite and justify a strong presumption that the fact was otherwise."

Morgan lived to make one more "raid" in the "Blue Grass" regions, to witness the decline of his popularity, to be harassed by officers, in Richmond, who did not understand him, and by difficulties in his command, and finally, the next year after his escape, at Columbus, to fall while fleeing through a kitchen garden in a skirmish, in an obscure little village in East Tennessee. "He left a name second only to those of Forrest and Stuart, among the cavalrymen of the Confederacy, and a character which, amid much to be condemned, was not without traces of a noble nature."

EDITORIALANA.

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SERPENT MOUND TOWER.

It will be recalled that the Seventy-Seventh General Assembly (1908) in the appropriations for the Society, made provision by a special appropriation of $500 for the erection of a tower at Serpent Mound. At the meeting of the Executive Committee, held July 16, 1908, the matter of making a contract and supervising the erection of this tower was placed in charge of a special committee consisting of Treasurer Wood and Secretary Randall. After negotiating with various concerns competent to build such a tower, and submitting the matter to competitive bids, Messrs. Wood and Randall in behalf of the Society finally made a contract with the Columbus Wire & Iron Works Company for the amount of $500.00. The company immediately proceeded to construct the tower. It is made entirely of steel, which complete weighs about 6,000 pounds, is twenty-five feet high with ascending stairs to the top platform, which is eight feet square. The tower was completed in August and erected at the factory by the constructing company in Columbus for inspection by the committee and found to be satisfactory and according to contract. The material for the tower was duly transported to Serpent Mound and on September 2, 1908, Secretary Randall there met the force chosen by the manufacturing company for the erection of the tower. A location for this observatory was selected near the tail of the serpent. The erection of the tower was completed in four or five days.

Observatory Tower at Serpent Mound.

The location selected proved to be well chosen and the purpose of the tower satisfactorily fulfilled. From the platform the observer may see and carefully study the entire length of the serpent which heretofore could not be viewed entire from any one point, owing to the irregular convolutions of the serpent and the peculiar contour of the hilltop upon which it is located. We give a reproduction of a photograph of the tower as it now appears.

THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The second annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held at Marietta, Ohio, on Friday and Saturday, November 27 and 28 (1908). The first meeting was called to order by the President of the Association, Mr. E. O. Randall, at 10 a. m. in the assembly room, Library Building of Marietta College. The morning was devoted to a conference on historical manuscript collections. The leaders of the conference were Prof. I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati, and Mr. Harry B. Mackoy, Covington, Ky. Those participating and the topics discussed by the respective speakers were as follows:

(a) Colleges and Public Libraries—Prof. Harlow Lindley, Earlham College.

(b) Local History Societies—Prof. Charles T. Greve, University of Cincinnati Law School.

(c) State and County Collections—Virgil A. Lewis, State Archivist and Historian, Charleston, W. Va.

(d) Private Collections—Prof. Frank T. Cole, Columbus, Editor "Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly."

A general discussion of the above papers was entered into by the members present, with reports of local representatives not designated upon the program.

Mrs. A. J. Gallagher read a paper, "How to Treat Manuscripts Found in Old Desks," written by Mrs. Mary McArthur Tuttle, Hillsboro, the writer being unable to be present.

Then followed a discussion of plans for locating the manuscript collections of the Ohio Valley and preparing and indexing the same. Prof. Cox discussed the methods of locating manuscripts and Mr. Mackoy the methods of indexing manuscripts.

The morning session was closed by a most delightful paper on the Charles G. Slack collection of manuscripts in the Marietta College Library, by Miss Hortense Fogelsong, Assistant Librarian. After the adjournment, an inspection was held of the Slack Collection, which had been especially arranged in one of the rooms of the College Library, for the observation of the visiting delegates. This collection is probably the most extensive and valuable collection of autograph letters of distinguished Americans in this country, embracing letters of all the Presidents, signers of the Declaration of Independence, colonial governors, Revolutionary generals, etc.

The afternoon session, which was especially open to the public, was held in the auditorium of the First Congregational church, Muskingum avenue, at 2 p. m. The meeting was called to order by President Randall, followed by an address of welcome from President A. T. Perry, Marietta College. Prof. W. J. Holland, Ph. D., LL. D., Director of

the Carnegie Library, Pittsburg, delivered a most admirable address upon the "Historic Beginnings of the Ohio Valley." This was followed by an address from Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, Louisville, Ky., the author of two books upon the subject of her discussion, namely, "The Relation between Geography and History." It was a very scholarly and elaborate treatment of the theme. Miss Semple has traveled the world over to secure data for the study of her subject. Colonel John L. Vance, Columbus, President of the Ohio Valley Improvement Association, was to have been present and deliver an address on "The Ohio River, Its Improvement and Commercial Importance." Colonel Vance was unavoidably absent and President Randall presented his paper, reading excerpts from it and briefly outlining the contents not fully read. The session was closed by an address from Prof. Virgil A. Lewis, State Archivist and Historian of West Virginia, Charleston, W. Va., on "Lord Dunmore's War." Prof. Lewis spoke entirely extempore and thoroughly covered the cause, events and result of Dunmore's War in the fall of 1774. The literary proceedings noted above were then followed by a most delightful reception to the visitors to Marietta, held in the historic Ohio Company's Land Office, the oldest building in Ohio, standing on the original site. This reception was tendered by the Marietta members of the Ohio Society of Colonial Dames, the reception committee consisting of Mrs. S. U. Lovell, Mrs. Woodbridge, Mrs. Daniel H. Buell, Miss Rowena Buell and Mrs. Putnam. In the evening in the Young Men's Christian Association Building the Historical Association held its annual banquet. At the conclusion of a palatable menu and appropriate music, President Randall of the Association spoke briefly of the significance of the meeting and compared the banquet in question with the first one held in Marietta, namely, that of July 4th, 1788, not far from the spot upon which the present one was being enjoyed. At the historic banquet described, the speaker stated, were present the officers of Marietta, Fort Harmar, together with a few friendly Indians. The speaker produced portions of the speech made at that time by Judge James Varnum and after relating some amusing incidents concerning the Marietta pioneers, he introduced as toastmaster of the evening, Prof. Charles T. Greve, Cincinnati, who gracefully and entertainingly conducted the banquet to its finish. The main address of the evening was delivered by President F. C. Mitchell of the University of South Carolina, his subject being, "The Vicarious Element in Virginia's History." It was a masterly and eloquent discussion of the negro problem of the South in its historic, economic and future aspects. Impromptu toasts were then responded to by Mayor McKinney of Marietta, Mrs. Livia Simpson Poffenberger, Editor of the Point Pleasant (W. Va.) State Gazette, Prof. Bradford, Miami University, Ohio, Hon. W. W. Longmoor, Secretary Kentucky State Historical Society, Prof. Isaac J.

Cox, University of Cincinnati, W. C. Culkins, formerly Auditor of Hamilton county, Prof. A. W. Dunn, Public Schools of Indianapolis, and Prof. Archer Butler Hulbert, Marietta College.

The second day of the meeting, namely, Saturday, was ushered in by an early excursion of the visitors under the charge of Captain William N. Hall, United States Engineer, to Dam No. 18, which is one of the extensive and interesting pieces of engineering being constructed by the United States Government, and now rapidly nearing completion; it is regarded as one of the most modern wonders of mechanical ingenuity, as well as one of the great improvements which redound to the benefit of the industries of the Ohio Valley. At 10 a. m. in Assembly Hall of the Marietta College Library, under the auspices of the Historical Association, was held a special meeting of the history teachers, conducted by Prof. F. P. Goodwin, Cincinnati. Addresses were made by Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, Director of Civics, Indianapolis Public Schools, upon "Civic Value of Local History." This was followed by a discussion of the paper by Mr. W. C. Culkins, Cincinnati, and Prof. Henry R. Spencer, Ohio State University. The formal literary program was closed by an address by Miss Mary Lowe, Circleville, on "The Present Status of History in the Schools."

The annual business session of the Association was then held, at which changes were made in the constitution and reports of officers heard and the following officers elected for the ensuing year:

President, Charles T. Greve, Cincinnati.

Vice Presidents, Dr. W. J. Holland, Pittsburg; Hon. Virgil C. Lewis, Charleston, W. Va.; Hon. W. W. Longmoor, Frankfort, Ky., and Prof. A. W. Dunn, Indianapolis.

Recording Secretary, Prof. A. B. Hulbert, Marietta.

Corresponding Secretary, Prof. I. J. Cox, Cincinnati.

There were elected as additional members of the Executive Committee, Harry B. Mackoy, Covington, Ky.; Harlow Lindley, Richmond, Ind.; Prof. F. P. Goodwin, Cincinnati; W. H. Elson, Athens, and E. O. Randall, Columbus, ex-officio.

On Saturday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, in the same room, a meeting was held devoted to the historic highways, which meeting was presided over by Prof. A. E. Morse, Marietta College. Papers were presented as follows:

(a) Braddock's Road, by Prof. Henry W. Temple, Washington and Jefferson College.

(b) Zane's Trace, Prof. C. L. Martzolff, Ohio University.

(c) The Old Maysville Road, Samuel M. Wilson, Lexington.

Mr. Wilson being unable to be present, the paper was read by Mr. Harry B. Mackoy.

The meetings were all well attended both by the people of Marietta and delegates from abroad. The hospitality of the good people of

Marietta could not have been surpassed. The place and time of the next annual meeting was left in the hands of the Executive Committee. The proceedings in full of the meetings above, including addresses, etc., will be published either in a later number of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly or in a separate publication by the same Society.

PALEOLITHIC MAN IN THE WESTERN RESERVE.

[The following article was written by P. P. Cherry and published in the *Wadsworth Banner,* February 9, 1908. We deem it of sufficient interest and importance to reproduce in this Quarterly.—EDITOR.]

Near the highest land in the state of Ohio, near the great watershed, has been found evidences of the existence of human life during the ice age in America.

Southern Western Reserve in itself is a veritable wonderland to the scientific man, the antiquarian, the geologist and the student. Here is to be found the inland lake region of Ohio with its some 60 odd freshwater, inland, glacial lakes whose bottoms are far below the level of Lake Erie's deepest depths. These lakes were ground out by immense glaciers from one-half to a mile in depth. The wash of thousands of years, from neighboring hillsides, have but served partly to fill up these ice-plowed grooves.

Commencing at the present site of Akron and extending to within 14 miles of Lake Erie, was a large glacial lake containing an area of 55 miles. From the southwest end of this lake a wide river ran southwardly through Summit lake, and entered the Tuscarawas river on its way to the gulf. Summit lake today lies 396 feet above Lake Erie and empties its waters therein.

The rock bottom of the old Cuyahoga channel lies 200 feet below its present muddy bottom.

When we consider that Lake Erie's average depth is not over 200 feet we realize that that body of water did not, could not exist in those days. It was probably at that time a wide and fertile valley with a stream running through it which emptied into the Tuscarawas.

With the recent discoveries of Dr. Metz at Madisonville, W. C. Mills in the Tuscarawas valley, and Prof. G. Frederick Wright in Wadsworth, it has been fully established that man did exist in Ohio during the ice age; not only in the southern part of the state, but in the Western Reserve as well.

For several years, Capt. T. D. Wolbach had in his collection what he believed to be a paleolith from the ice age. Placing himself in communication with Prof. G. Frederick Wright, who occupies the chair of Geology in Oberlin College, member of the U. S. Geological survey, and author of the "Ice Age in America," who is probably the greatest living

authority in the world, he induced that gentleman who is now over 70 years old to visit Wadsworth. The venerable president of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society came and was convinced that he held in his hand the finest paleolith that had ever been discovered. The professor wanted to see the place where the stone was found. Here he and Professor Bronson of Oberlin College found the finest specimen of a kame or an eschar terrace that either had ever examined.

In the spring, Professor Wright who has but recently returned from Siberia, in the interest of the government, will send a force of some half dozen geologists to Wadsworth to complete further investigations.

The surrounding country has given up freely, upon investigation, the bones of the walrus, musk ox and mastodon, animals contemporaneous with the ice age in America.

In the early 70's of the last century, the writer found, three miles south of Wadsworth, on a terrace on the Chippewa, a paleolith, but in a bad state of preservation. It was found at the bottom of an immense prehistoric stone tumuli, the largest in the state. The neighboring roadways had needed repairing, so, this magnificent monument of a mighty race long since passed away, was leveled for modern purposes. On a short haul it took two teams 36 days to level this lordly work of a dead race. The ground under this work had been burned hard, and among the burned roots of a still live tree was found this paleolith.

Thus has been established the fact that man lived in northern Ohio some eight or ten thousand years ago.

Rock shelters abound in Medina, Lorain and Summit counties, some of which have been scientifically examined and under many feet of kitchen midden, charcoal and bones of various animals were found human remains, thus agreeing with the finds of France.

Professor Denton in his book "Our Planet," relates of pre-Adamic man that "his long arms are in front of his hairy body, and hands are between his knees, while his legs are dangling down. His complexion is darker than an Indian's, his beard short and like the hair of his body; the unkempt hair of his head bushy thick; his eyebrows are short and thick; and with his sloping forehead and brutal countenance, he seems like a caricature of a man, rather than that of an actual man."

One of the oldest Vedic odes, older than any of the sacred scriptures, asks:

> "Nature below, and power and will above.
> Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it here?
> Whence, whence? this manifold creation spring?"

Some cheap papers throughout the country have endeavored to belittle the Wadsworth "find" even going so far as to suggest "a plant." On Thanksgiving day, 1907, I had a talk with Captain Wolbach about this stone, and he was anxious to have it passed upon by the greatest

living authorities. He informed me at that time that he had been trying to induce Professor Wright to visit Wadsworth, for that purpose. Every one who is acquainted with Capt. T. D. Wolbach knows that it is utterly impossible for him to deceive. Habit makes character, and his word alone is worth most men's bond.

WERE THE MOUNDS USED FOR DWELLINGS.

[As a sample of the various curious theories advanced by different writers concerning the purposes of the mounds, we give the following, written by Dr. I. N. Smith, Westerville, Ohio, and published some time ago in *The Ohio State Journal.* — EDITOR.]

Were the earthworks which the Mound-Builders left built for dwelling places? Dr. I. N. Smith of Westerville is urging this theory. He says:

The unknown has a certain fascination for many who will work away for years, or until the mystery will be in certain degree solved. We, as a people, have been planted on this American continent, where we found a people scattered over its entire extent, who knew nothing of the people who preceded them. They knew nothing as to who built these ancient works, nor what became of them. The people we found here — The American Indians — or native Americans — showed different physical build, according to the tribes to which they belonged.

Not so the Mound-builders. So far as can be ascertained, they presented a certain fixed type of manhood, that was alike over the whole extent of the North American continent. Their works were alike. How came this similarity over so vast an extent, where the only communication was by footpaths and trails?

A theory to be of any value must account for existing known facts, or a greater percentage of the known facts than some other theory. The theory I wish to advance now is that these people came from the south, gradually working farther north along our system of rivers, going south each year with birds and returning to their northern haunts the next spring. This ebb and flow of a people who gradually increased until they became millions were the means by which we find the similarity of physical constitution and the sameness of all their works.

NOT JUDGED BY PRESENT CONDITIONS

Now let us look at the enigma — the mound. There has been too much judging by our own mode of living — by our own civilization — by what might be termed "extreme poetic license," if I may be allowed such an expression. Let us again theorize. Suppose that after these people had grown in numbers to such an extent that the locality where they spent the greater part of the year began to be of some value. Well, sup-

pose they selected a certain few to stay on this ground and hold possession: What would these people most need? A house to protect them from the rigors of the winter till their friends came back from the South.

These mounds as we find them here in Ohio were to live in during the winter. Some have the remains of human being in them. Some have not.

In the West, Iowa, for instance, there are no human remains — so far as my experience goes. But there are the bones of deer and other animals. The general formation of the mound is the same, except in the Des Moines river. Each has a sand well in the center to dispose of the water from the melting snow that might come in during the winter.

In the ancient mounds in Ohio, will be found human remains in all manner of shapes and positions, of which I will speak later on. Now these were made with split logs, providing a frame work in a circular form, after which the dirt was piled against it, making the house two or three times the height of the mound as we see it.

But as the frame rotted away the earth settled down by its own weight, which always left a depression in the center. Here in Franklin county we find the hearthstone in this center, which was for fire. In other parts of the world today we find this plan of a rude house, with the forked body of a tree to climb out on. Smoke did not cut any figure with these people.

TO GO FROM ONE TO ANOTHER.

In Iowa we see the same general plan as here. But in addition we find that a well had been dug from 5 to 8 feet in depth and this filled with sand. On top of this was the hearthstone, as here, and strewn about are ashes and charcoal with bones of game animals. But in a great majority of cases no human bones are found. Some of these mounds still show the imprint of the split timber in the soil after the timber has long since decayed.

In Webster county, Iowa, we could see in the early settlement of the country that a line of mounds would extend due east and west, from one river to another. Another feature which we do not see here is that on the large streams these earth houses are connected by a covered earthway, so that one could go from one house to another.

There have been two great centers of population known as "mound builders," viz, in Missouri, Illinois and Ohio, as one center, and the south, especially Tennessee, the other and the mixing of these people did not come by way across the continent, but by the mingling of north and south migration. The little clay stew pot found in the mounds of Iowa and Missouri was made with exactly the same tools as those found in Ohio and Tennessee.

But the clay in Ohio would not stand the touch of time. In Chattanooga, Tenn., and in Missouri and Iowa we find wagon loads of these clay stew pots. These are washed out by the rivers in Iowa and found in mounds in Missouri and Tennessee.

Ohio was at one time undoubtedly a prairie country, or nearly so, on whose broad stretches of plain roamed uncounted millions of buffalo and other wild animals. Then came the mound builders, who lived on this vast game preserve, in undisputed possession. This state of affairs may have continued for centuries, with the gradual tendency of acclimation and localization, which may have changed them to a difference in type as we find the American Indians.

SWEPT AWAY BY INDIANS.

Or the old mound builders may have been swept away by the red men, who may have caught them in Ohio in their winter houses, like rats in a trap, the houses falling down on them and making for them their only monuments known to us, the ancient mounds.

I mentioned the fact that in Iowa there are no human remains in the mounds. This may have come from the fact that this people were driven out in summer, when these earth houses were not in use, and in consequence no one in them.

Now I am not interested in any pet theory, only so far as it may offer a solution or plan to work out a solution of an unknown problem. If some one has a better way of accounting for what we find left by these mysterious people I will be pleased to have him bring it forward. Some may say: "What reason have you for thinking they came from the South?"

We find things here in Ohio that were made of onyx and stone from Mexico.

Some may say: "Why, these mounds were for burial mounds." If so, all mounds would have human remains in them. But they have not. Again, some may say: "What about Circleville, where there were hundreds of skeletons carted away when the mound was leveled?" That's easy to account for. There had been a battle. The mound builders had been killed and thrown into their own houses by the victors.

In a great many instances there seems to be the evidence that the houses had been set on fire on the outside, then the dead bodies thrown in.

THE LATEST PREHISTORIC NEWS.

The actual results of archaeological explorations in Ohio and elsewhere in this country are sufficient to arouse interest and curiosity in the life and world of the lost and unrecorded people. But what the newspapers say concerning these explorations surpasses the tales of Arabian Nights or Baron Munchausen. For instance, concerning the exhumations by Prof. W. C. Mills at Fort Ancient the past summer (1908), a leading Ohio daily exploited the following:

"A remarkable stone, bearing what is thought to be the hieroglyphics of the mound builders, was found yesterday on the portion of old Fort Ancient recently purchased by the state. Surveyors are busy laying off plans of the new possessions preparatory to making excavations and the stone was picked up. It is about the size of a man's hand and is very dark, almost black. Upon the surface are small markings resembling the Chinese picture writing. This is the first evidence of a writing by the mound builders that has ever been found, it is claimed, and an effort will be made to cypher out the meaning of the writing."

And another metropolitan journal went on — or better, went *off* — to say:

"The entrance to what is thought to be a cave of large dimensions has been discovered at Fort Ancient, the historic earthworks of the Mound Builders in eastern Warren County. Workmen are clearing away the underbrush from that section of the old fort recently purchased by the state and slight excavations have brought to light some new facts.

"At the base of the fort immediately within the Great Gateway, while the workmen were about the base of a tree, a layer of stone was struck. Further excavations showed that it was at some pavement, which had been covered with about eighteen inches of earth.

"This pavement leads to the base of the fort where a small opening was found in the rock. The tearing away of earth and rock revealed a larger opening, which seemed to lead into a cave of gigantic dimensions. A torch was thrust in at the opening and the walls were seen to gleam with great brilliance. A stone was thrown into the opening, but could not be heard to fall. The mouth is only a foot in diameter and the solid rock so surrounds it that the cave can not be entered without extensive blasting."

These are samples of the latest news received by the reporters over wireless connections concerning the Mound Builders who are unable to deny or disprove the statements. Of course no such hieroglyphic stone or cave was ever discovered because neither ever existed.

ME-SHE-KUN-NOGH-QUAH,

OR LITTLE TURTLE—1783-1812.

N. B. C. LOVE, D. D.

O River, weird historic water,
What tales of bloody human slaughter
What scenes of hate, and tragic acts,
What woeful pictures, solemn facts,
Thou couldst before the world portray!
What greed and hate and wrong betray!

No subject claimed the attention of President Washington more after the close of the War of the Revolution 1784 up to his death 1799, than the settlement and occupancy of the territory ceded to the United States by England.

Little Turtle.

With that part of this territory known as the Northwest, we are especially interested in when writing of the life of Little Turtle, the great Miami Chief. The scenes of his life are located here. The territory known as the Maumee Basin, includes Northwestern Ohio, Southern Michigan and Northwestern Indiana. At the ending of the 18th Century and the beginning of the 19th, it was a region of vast natural resources. Its fertile soil, and natural drainage by creeks and rivers, into the lakes, made it productive of vast forests, wide prairies covered with nutritious grass, and valleys producing, with little cultivation, immense crops. The streams and lakes abounded in choice fish, and the forests in wild animals in great variety and numbers. Wild nuts and fruits were plentiful and could be laid by in store for winter use.

The Indians raised large quantities of corn, pumpkins and beans. General Wayne reports continuous fields of corn along the Auglaize, Maumee and St. Joseph rivers.

Huts of bark and poles were easily made, the bark of the elm being a substitute for shingles and boards.

The skins of animals furnished clothing and bedding. Large trees were shaped into canoes and pirogues.

After the French Traders penetrated these wilds the Indians sold them choice furs, taking in return trinkets, vessels for cooking, axes, tomahawks, knives, guns and ammunition. Also cotton and woolen goods for clothing.

The French and other trading posts were mostly on navigable streams, that is to the canoe and larger craft.

Unfortunately, rum was a standard article of trade. The Spanish, French, Dutch, English and American traders were alike guilty, and then as now was a prime cause of blood shedding and savagery.

Gen. Harrison.

At the close of the War of the Revolution the English continued to encourage the Indians in their hostilities against the American settlers. Gen. W. H. Harrison, who was a member of Gen. Wayne's Staff, and Commander of the American Army in 1812-1814, witnesses to this effect, but indeed we know of no historian who denies it. And up to 1795 the English urged the Indians to claim the Ohio River as the boundary line between them and the United States, which they perseveringly did up to 1795.

During the seven years' war with England the Indians generally sided with that government. Of course, the borders of the United States suffered greatly from the savage attacks. The backwoodsmen were not slow at retaliation, and engaged sometimes in the promiscuous killing of Indians, men, women and children, and how dreadful for men calling themselves Chris-

tians to be perpetrators of foul murders, as the killing of Chief Logan's family simply because they were Indians, and the large number of Christian Indians at the Moravian Mission at Gnadenhutten!

Indians from birth were taught to cruelty and bloody revenge, but not so the whites. The Americans as a people deplored this at the time. The Indians were, as they understood it, fighting for their homes. Many of the great chieftains deplored the killing of captives, and women and children. Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Tecumseh, Buck-on-ge-ha-las and Tarhe were of the number. Among the white frontier squatters were men very ignorant, children or grand-children of criminals, imported to this country from Europe, charged with crimes, and thus by heredity as well as environment, were ready when opportunity came to perform deeds of barbarism. Of course there were Indians who, too, were blood-thirsty by inheritance, and their sense of pity undeveloped.

The following named tribes lived in the great Maumee basin during the Indian war period, 1783-1812: Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottowatomies, Kickapoos, Weas, Pinkeshanes, and Kaskaskias, and some smaller tribes.

One of the many evidences of the good intentions of President Washington and Congress toward the Indians was the granting two of the first named tribes a thousand dollars each, paid them in goods, and the other five hundred paid in the same way, and this to be continued annually. The goods to be valued at cost and first prices. Large portions of land were to be held by them. Many other favors by him were proposed. One was that of hunting on ceded lands, and they had authority to arrest and report trespassers.

These conditions of peace were not fully endorsed by the Indians until the treaty of Greenville, when in substance they were agreed to.

The treaty of Paris seemed to be the end of war between England and America, but it soon was evident England did not mean to keep it. The boundary line was to be a central line through the middle of the Great Lakes, and the Western bound-

ary the Mississippi River, but notwithstanding, the British did not surrender the fortified posts along the chain of the lakes from Niagara to Mackinac. The British were strong, and we were weak, and had to, for the time, consent tacitly. For 15 years this violation of the treaty existed, and all this time the unsurrendered posts were the rallying points of the Indian Tribes; receiving their furs and other articles of trade, giving in return clothes, utensils, guns, knives, tomahawks and ammunition. The emissaries of England had helped to formulate the thoughts in the Eastern States of opposition to the expansion of the government throughout the West. They said the West and Northwest were not worth what it would cost to make them inhabitable.

When in 1790 Washington issued a call for volunteers but few responded, and men were drafted in New York and Pennsylvania for St. Clair's army.

England set up the excuse for continued violation of the treaty that the Americans had not kept good the treaty of 1784 by making good certain losses claimed by Englishmen. This territory was organized as the "Northwest Territory" in 1787 with Gen. Arthur St. Clair as Governor.

Emigration set in from the east. Settlements sprung into existence. Marietta and Cincinnati were founded. Lands were surveyed, granted to companies and purchased. The Indians became enraged; their hunting grounds were invaded. Something had to be done. The Indians could count on comparatively a large army of brave trained marksmen as soldiers, with the source of supplies in the English Forts. Savages foraged the borders of civilization to kill, plunder and burn. St. Clair

called on Congress for help. Washington endorsed the call and recommended Gen. Harrison as commander. The army was organized.

LITTLE TURTLE.

Say not that those who chased the game
O'er hillsides and o'er plains,
For border wars were alone to blame,
And white hands free from stains.

Little Turtle was the head and war chief of the Miamis, and in 1790, and on until after the Peace Treaty of Greenville in 1795, the leader of the confederate forces of the Indians of the North West Territory.

He, by his harassing of the white settlers by frequent inroads with small bands was hardly known, but in 1790 he appeared as the leading commander of the Indian forces.

Little Turtle's father was also head chief of the Miamis. In 1760 he with the war chiefs of the six nations was invited by Gen. George Washington to meet him in Philadelphia, Pa., which they did, and there adjusted some difficulties between them and the Colonial government. The name of this chief was Ke-qun-ac-quah. Washington gave him a parchment with an inscription burned on it, expressive of good will toward the Miamis. We have in history no other mention of this chief.

The Miamis during the period of which we write, 1783-1812, occupied the upper Maumee Valley and in part the Wabash.

Not far from the site of Fort Wayne, Little Turtle was born. Of course he was in evidence when a boy and young man. His associations were with the French and English Traders as well as with the Indians. He by some means had learned the arts of European war. He tells that when a young man he excelled in manufacturing Indian war implements. He became head chief of his tribe while a young man.

In one of his expeditions into Kentucky he captured a boy about eleven years old, by the name of William Wells, and after a time, when married, he adopted him as a son.

Wells belonged to a good Kentucky family. While he

adopted Indian life readily, yet his blood told, for he was unlike the Girtys, and Magee and other renegade white men, who, no doubt, had inherited vile traits from their low down and ignorant parents. As Wells grew up to manhood he won the esteem and affection of Little Turtle and wife. In time he won and married his adopted sister, Little Turtle's beautiful daughter, and thus Wells became in fact the son-in-law of Little Turtle. He and his foster father became life-long friends.

A View on Maumee River.

Wells took a prominent part in the campaign against Harmar and St. Clair, and rendered valuable services. Also in the Chief's associations with the English he was principal interpreter.

On the eve of the Battle of the Rapids, or "Fallen Timbers," Captain Wells was satisfied from what he had learned of the feeling of the American Government, the ability of Gen. Wayne as a Commander, and the large and well organized army

under him, that defeat of the confederated Indian army was certain if a battle were fought. Therefore he had advised peace, and had proposed to unite with the Americans. Little Turtle was of the same mind.

Wells on a beautiful afternoon invited Little Turtle to take a stroll with him, and they passed together to a promontory on the Maumee, from which up and down the river the picturesque scenery could be seen in all its midsummer glory. There he broke the news of his purpose to him, saying, "My father, we have long been friends, but I now must leave you to return to my people, and we will remain friends until the sun reaches its midday height, and from that time on we will be enemies, and if you wish to kill me you may, and if I wish to kill you I may."

They warmly embraced each other, and the large tears coursed down the sun-bronzed cheeks of the chieftain, who was unused to manifesting emotion. Both felt deeply as they separated. Each had his work to do, and there was no escape except by performance. And what they afterwards respectively did helped to shape the destiny of the American Nation, as well as favoring the Indians, who were finally led to see that antagonizing the extension of it was to wipe out the Indian tribes.

Little Turtle was more than ever convinced of the futility of war, but to be consistent he felt he must act with the Indians, so as not lose his influence over them. In this he evinced the greatness of his character. He would sooner take all the chances of disaster than seem to be untrue to his people. In the last council before the Battle of the Rapids he stood for armistice, for one more effort for peace, for, as he said, he saw fearful disaster if they ventured a battle. And further said: "We have beaten the enemy twice under different commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him. During all the time he has been marching on our villages. Notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers in my mind it would be well to listen to his offers of peace." Blue Jacket, and other chiefs were for the battle. Little Turtle then suggested a plan

that would, he thought, end in victory: it was with a part of the Indian army to hold Wayne in check, but fall back. Let a large part of the army that night quietly ford the river and make forced marches for the rear and deposit of supplies. Then join the army on the north side again. To all Little Turtle proposed Blue Jacket vehemently objected, even calling Little Turtle a coward. Little Turtle in his reserved but concise way only replied: "Follow me!"

Of the battle the next day we shall speak later. The plan of the fight for the next day was all arranged that night. Little

Old Lucas County Court House at Maumee.

Turtle was in command. One authority that we know of, among the older historians, says that Blue Jacket was in command. Another says Brant was, but all others say Little Turtle was the Commander-in-Chief.

Little Turtle accepted Wayne's offer of peace after the battle, and the Indians' defeat. He was among the first. Wells' knowledge of him, and confidence in him, and Wayne's knowledge of Wells and his bravery and loyalty, were in Little Turtle's favor, and his brave effort in the Battle of the Rapids, gave him credit with the Indians. In the part he took at the Treaty of Greenville, he was second to none. While he hesitatingly

made concessions to Wayne, yet he was slow to accede to the proposition to make the treaty ceding away to the Americans all the North West Territory, but finally consented, but wanted a *lasting peace*. Tarhe, The Crane, a great Wyandot chief, took the same position. Finally all the representatives of the tribes fell in line. Tecumseh, chief of the Shawnees, refused to sign the treaty, but other representatives of his tribe did sign. Tecumseh fought valiantly at Fallen Timbers.

A careful study of the leading minds among the Indian chieftains, we find that there were none in real statesmanship superior to Little Turtle, and in clear discernment of the relations of the Americans and Indians he stood foremost.

Be it to the credit of the chiefs of this treaty that all who signed it never rescinded their action. Although when the war of 1812 was on, Little Turtle died, yet he had the desire to do service for the American Government. He was loyal to the last.

Tarhe, the Wyandot chief, an old man more than seventy, at Gen. Harrison's request, went at the head of his Wyandot warriors to see a part of the tribe in Canada to have them side with the Americans.

Some of the younger chieftains of the treaty of 1795 took an active part for our country in the War of 1812.

Mr. Mansfield, when a boy, 1798, saw Little Turtle at Cumminsville, Cincinnati, he says:

"One day a dark man with swarthy countenance, riding a very fine horse, dismounted at our house and went into my father's office. I wanted to go in and see him, but for some reason I was not permitted. After some time I saw him come out and mount his horse and rapidly ride away. I was struck with the appearance of the man and said, who is that, Ma? She said it was Little Turtle, the *Great Indian Chief*."

Col. John Johnson, Indian Agent, in his personal recollections published many years ago, says: "Little Turtle was a man of great wit, humor and vivacity, fond of the company of gentlemen, and delighted in good eating. This great chief died in 1812. He was buried with military honors by the troops of the United States. He used to entertain us with war stories

and adventures, and would laugh heartily with us at the recital of them."

He said a Kentuckian, a prisoner of the Miamis for some years, had sought permission to accompany a raiding war party but was refused, but at last he gained the opportunity, and went in a company commanded by Little Turtle. Reaching the border of a settlement in Kentucky, in the early hours of the morning they stealthily approached a large hewed log house occupied by a number of Americans. All was quiet and the Indians were crawling on their hands and knees, and the Kentuckian, ahead

Fort Miami on Maumee.

of the rest, when he suddenly arose and shouting, "Indians! Indians!" ran into the house, while the Indians retreated. From that day on Little Turtle never trusted a white man in conflict with his own people.

He was a generous and humane chief. Schoolcraft, the historian, says: "He was alike courageous and humane, possessing great wisdom. There have been few individuals among the aborigines that have done so much to abolish the rites of human sacrifice. The grave of this noted warrior is shown to visitors near Ft. Wayne. It is frequently visited by Indians in

this part of the country, by whom his memory is cherished, with greatest respect and veneration. He was opposed to burning captives and did much to abolish the practice. After the peace of 1795 he devoted much of his time in trying to improve the condition of the Indians and encouraged them in efforts at civilization. He went east, visiting Philadelphia and other cities, dressed in American costume. He met Volney in that city and with him had a long interview which is recorded. Among many things said by the French writer was, "Do you not think that the Indians descended from the Tartars?" Little Turtle replied: "Why not think the Tartars descended from the Indians if they look so much alike?"

Little Turtle had the honor of visiting the President Washington, and never forgot the kindness shown him by "The Great Father."

While east, in Philadelphia, he met the great Kosciusko, the Polish patriot, who presented him with a brace of valuable pistols he had used in contests in Poland. They were prized highly by Little Turtle.

It is said of Little Turtle that he never was intoxicated, and did all he could to keep his people from drink. He urged his Indians to avoid it and set them a good example. This cannot be said of Gen. Harmar, who on September 3rd, 1790, was remonstrated with by Secretary of War Knox, for drunkenness. His defeat may have been in some measure attributed to his drunkenness.

Rum, alas, was sold to the Indians by Spaniards, French, Dutch, English and Americans, and many of the most cruel deeds were intensified by it, whether perpetrated by red or white men. The great wonder is that greater injury was not done by drunken backwoodsmen, and the Indians when under its influence.

The moderate use of liquors was thought right and important in the early American armies. Gen. Wayne in his journal complains bitterly of the small amounts of liquor sent to him to give as part of the daily rations. As an article of traffic there was no depreciation of its value. The loneliness of the sick or

wounded soldier was driven away by its use, so thought the commanders of that day.

More battles were fought, more people were killed, more peace councils held in the Maumee Valley, from the time of the French occupancy up to 1795 than elsewhere in the great Central West and Northwest. The history of the Indian Councils held, and of the treaties signed, would make a large volume. And from 1783 on to the death of the "Father of his country," it was his continual desire to protect and treat justly the Indians. To this end did Washington time and again instruct special agents sent to the Indians, and the Generals in command of the armies, not only to protect the border citizens, but urge them to seek the good will of the Indians. Especially did he, through Gen. Wayne, try to negotiate peace and secure a better understanding with them. In this work the aid of the Chieftain Brant was sought, but declined, and after the defeat of the Indians at the Rapids Little Turtle was much in evidence as the friend of peace and fair adjustment of all difficulties without shedding of blood.

During all this period the British were active sowing the seeds of discord among the tribes, and giving encouragement and sanction to the murderous attacks upon the American frontiersmen.

After the great defeat in 1794 Tecumseh, entering into mature manhood, and being the inveterate foe of the Americans, commenced an aggressive career, which only ended with his death at the Battle of the Thames in 1813.

Sir John Johnson, the representative of the English in Canada, wanted the border wars to continue, so the emigrants of the colonies instead of going westward would go to Canada.

All these efforts of the British and the Indians under their influence were contrary to the Treaty of Paris 1784. Generals Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne were under instructions from the President to exhaust all their resources in repeated endeavors for peace.

In 1798 Washington employed Antoine Gamelin, of Vincennes, who was commissioned by Major John Hamptramck, to visit and conciliate the Indians of the Northwest, but he was un-

successful. He had hardly returned from his trip when word came that an American captive had been roasted and eaten by the Indians at the headwaters of the Maumee. Also that all the Indian Tribes had sent war parties to massacre the invaders of Indian territories, and even to attack settlements south and east of the Ohio.

This threw a damper upon peace efforts, and the border whites under Generals Scott and Wilkinson, and others, paid the Indians back in their own coin.

During this period Little Turtle was a recognized leader and adviser in war movements among the aborigines. After the Treaty of Greenville, border wars ceased until Tecumseh and his brother undertook the formation of an Indian confederacy to drive the white men back. His plans embraced a battle line of a thousand miles, extending from the Lakes of the North to the Gulf. It was largely a failure. The distance was too great and communication too slow. His brother, The Prophet, precipitated the war in 1811. Harrison defeated him at Tippecanoe, Indiana. The influence of Little Turtle and other prominent chieftains were against this war. They had not forgotten Wayne's victory.

TECUMSEH.

We must not forget the fact that the Indian Tribes as such, were divided in their adherence to the whites. The largest number were for peace, and were true to the American Government. These "friendly Indians" Harrison trusted and controlled during peace, before the war of 1812, and during the war, and afterwards. The others, who had been inspired by Brant and Blue Jacket to hate the Americans, had a fitting successor in the brave ardent Tecumseh, who was idolized by his braves, petted and liberally paid by the English. Of him we need not write. His complete life has been written at different times and authors,

and fully portrayed by the historians of the last century and the present. In each battle in which he fought he holds in the historical records a more prominent place than any other Indian chieftain. The same is true as to the treaty councils in which he figured. He was an orator, and dressed up to the highest conception of the Indian thought of great magnificence; at times wearing the costume of an English Brigadier General. Nor did any white general of His Majesty's army look more imposing. He was spectacular and yet great, a natural leader of men.

View on Upper Maumee.

Little Turtle, we think, was a greater chieftain than Tecumseh. The latter was more imposing in appearance. Little Turtle was six feet high, but slender and muscular and not fleshy.

Tecumseh evinced upon his countenance his emotions. Not so Little Turtle. He could smile and yet feel angry. He was said to be cunning, but was simply a diplomat. He had complete control of himself at all times. He was able, fluent, earnest, logical and consecutive in his speeches.

Tecumseh undertook establishing a confederacy of all the Indian tribes of the South, West, and North, and East of the Mississippi, but failed.

Little Turtle, aided by Blue Jacket and Buch-on-ge-ha-las, undertook to confederate the tribes of the Northwest Territory, and succeeded.

Tecumseh never gained a great battle, but Little Turtle gained two complete victories over two great armies and their ablest generals. Back of these generals and armies was the great General Washington, and the great War Secretary Knox.

The President was surprised at the defeat of his armies under Harmar and St. Clair. Both these generals were retired in turn after their defeat. They had proven themselves able and worthy in the War of the Revolution, and Washington had the utmost confidence in them. He did not know of Little Turtle and his ability. He called upon "Mad" Anthony Wayne to raise an army, and to well organize and equip it before he ventured into the Indian country. He told him not to underestimate the power of the Indians now elated with victory, and to *beware of surprises.* He knew that the leaders of the western Indian army were crafty and had generalship.

E. D. Mansfield, in his personal memoirs published in 1879, says: "The figure that stands out on the historical canvas in bold relief is Me-she-kun-nogh-qua, the Little Turtle Chief of the Miamis." We could give other statements concerning his pre-eminence but space forbids.

Little Turtle foresaw the victory of Wayne, but *all* the chiefs, young and old, were against him. Tecumseh, although young, must have been of the opposing number.

After defeat he was the first chieftain to surrender of his own mind and enter into an effort for a general peace conference. He saw the only hope of the American Indian was the triumph of the American government.

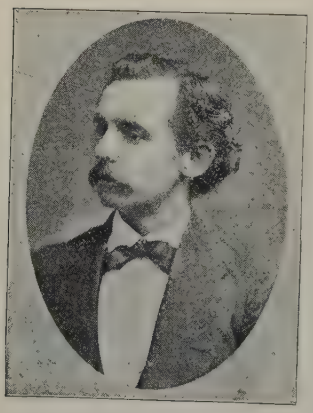
Tecumseh believed that ultimate victory would be with England.

Little Turtle, in the vision of prophecy, saw the American Eagle soaring on this continent over the English Lion. He, like our great President, was first in peace, and first in war. He

established a home, a permanent home, on the Maumee near Ft. Wayne, and there attempted a civilized life, planting a field and rearing domestic animals, but his wild Indian neighbors killed his animals and tried to make life unpleasant, yet in his retirement he was respected by Indians and white men, the English and French being among the number.

Tecumseh delighted in war, and brave chieftain as he was, died in the front of the battle.

It is said by only one writer we have consulted that Little Turtle had at the same time two wives, one about 50 and the other 18. This was about 1807. Let this be as it may, he was a heathen, and had not been the subject of missionary instruction. The writer thinks the historian that made this statement was misinformed. Mr. Wolcott had never heard of it. Little Turtle's grand-daughter, now 98, says nothing about it.



J. M. Wolcott,
Great Grandson of Little Turtle.

The money given him for services, and the large quantity of land, by Congress, made him comfortable. He had a good plain building furnished up to pioneer style, and a farm cultivated so that he had bread and meat.

Mr. J. M. Wolcott is the last descendant of the great chieftain in the lower Maumee. It is claimed by one history of the Maumee Valley that there are several people descendants of his about Ft. Wayne, other than the old lady, Kill-so-quah.

Mr. Wolcott is married but has no children. He has been recently Mayor of Maumee City, and for several years Trustee of the Maumee Memorial Association, through which the grand granite monument now stands on old Fort Meigs, at an expense of $25,000, besides what was paid for thirty-five acres including the Fort. The monument and all the land was paid for by the State, excepting eight acres paid for by the Association.

Mr. Wolcott is satisfied that he, as a direct and legal heir, is entitled to a large tract of land near Ft. Wayne. Mr. Wolcott has a Government Patent that was issued for the land, and upon record at Washington, discovered by his attorney, Hon. Gen. I. R. Sherwood, member of Congress from the Ninth Ohio District. The suit is pending and will no doubt, to a great extent, be in favor of Mr. Wolcott. Gen. Sherwood also found an old affidavit given by Gen. John E. Hunt, who located in Maumee in 1815. He was a Major General and Commander at the time of his death, of the 18th Division of the Ohio militia. The writer knew Gen. Hunt, and he was an honest reliable man. The historical account he gives of Little Turtle and family he swore to before Mr. D. R. Austin, notary public, in and for the County of Lucas, the 29th day of October, 1870. It was witnessed by Victor Keen, clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. Gen. Hunt was only about nine or ten years of age when he had knowledge of the things he swore to in 1870. We knew him in 1870 and he was in his right mind then.

Home of Kil-so-quah.

In 1807 General Hunt resided in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, and during his residence became well acquainted with the celebrated Indian Chief, Little Turtle, of the Miami Tribe of Indians, whose name was Me-she-kun-nogh-quah. General Hunt, up to his death knew the living members of Little Turtle's family. Little Turtle had an adopted son, William Wells, who was afterwards killed at the Indian massacre at Chicago in 1812. Wells married the daughter of Little Turtle, whose name was Wan-mau-ga-pith, or Sweet Breeze.

The following is the chronological table as given and sworn to by Gen. Hunt:

Captain William Wells (Wau-mau-goh-pith).
Children: —
Ann Wells, or Au-piz-a-quah
Married Mr. Turner.
Rebecca Wells, or Tes-ma-soh-quh
Married Hackley.
Mary Wells, or Au-mau-quah-zah-quah
Married Judge James Wolcott.
William Wayne Wells, or Wau-me-mor-gah
Who died August 1832, without marriage.

Mary Wells and James Wolcott resided in Maumee City 1828. Mary Wolcott died at Maumee 1843. Was well acquainted with her and her family during the time of her residence here.

By her husband she had the following children, towit:

Mary Ann Wolcott, 1848, married Smith Gilbert.
Henry C. Wolcott. Dead since.
Fredrick A. Wolcott. Killed in Rebellion 1864.
James M. Wolcott. Resides in Maumee City. Has no children.

List of Smith Gilbert's children living in Maumee in 1870:

Fredrick E. Gilbert,
Albert W. Gilbert,
Smith W. Gilbert.

Captain William Wells did grand service as an Indian scout for Wayne in his campaigns and battles with the Indians. He was true to Wayne, as he had been to the Indians. After the battle he did much to induce the Indians to make peace with Wayne, and he was the friend of every Indian who was for peace. The high esteem in which he was held by Wayne was a great help to his father-in-law, Little Turtle, who had surrendered. For the years between 1795 and 1812 he lived a neighbor of Little Turtle near Ft. Wayne. He was a sober, honest, loyal citizen, respected by the Americans and Indians. He had, about 1812, gone to Ft. Dearborn, Chicago. Mrs. Held, the wife of the Commander at Ft. Dearborn at this time, was the

daughter of Col. Samuel Wells, brother of Captain William Wells.

Col. Wells was in the American Army under Wayne. Captain Held was in charge of Ft. Dearborn, where Chicago now stands. He was advised by a friendly chief, Win-ni-mac, to evacuate and go to Ft. Wayne. William Wells, with twelve men, had been sent to assist in the retreat. The head chief of the Pottawatomies, the tribe in that locality, was a bitter enemy

of Captain Wells. His name was Black Bird. His coming exasperated him. Col. John Johnson says, that he had often spoken of Wells to him in the most bitter terms. Johnson had been agent there. On the 14th of August a council was held between the officers and chiefs, and agreed that the whole garrison with their arms and ammunition sufficient for the journey, and clothing, retire unmolested to Ft. Wayne, and the garrison and all it contained should be delivered up to the Indians. The night preceding the evacuation all the powder and whiskey were

thrown into the canal leading from the garrison to the Chicago river. The powder floated out and revealed the deception to the Indians. This exasperated them and brought matters to a crisis. The 15th of August the troops marched out to commence their journey, and had gone but a short distance when they were attacked by the Indians. Wells, seeing all was lost, and not wishing to fall into their hands, as he knew in that case a lingering and painful death awaited him, wetted powder and blackened his face as a token of defiance, and commenced addressing the Indians in opprobrious and insulting language he could think of. His purpose was to have them dispatch him forthwith. His object was accomplished as they became so enraged with his taunts and jeers that one of them shot him off his horse, and immediately pouncing upon him cut his body open, took out his heart and ate it. Most of the troops were massacred. The commanding officer and wife were saved. Mrs. Held fought bravely, but was made prisoner with her husband.

Another account states that the most of the women and children were murdered. Twelve little children sheltered in a wagon were tomahawked. It was said by historians that Tecumseh had much to do with intensifying the hatred of the Pottawatomies against the garrison.

Little Turtle's death was in his own home about the same time.

* * * * *

There are other descendants of Little Turtle. One of these is a grand-daughter. Of her we learned in an article in the Toledo Blade a year since, by H. L. Askew, Blade correspondent. We quote from this article the following in substance:

Her name is Kil-so-quh. She is now 98 years of age. Her home is near Roanoke, Ind., 16 miles west on a few acres of the original reservation. Only a short time ago she posed for a photo at the request of the Blade reporter which is here reproduced. She is the last of the full blooded Miamis. She was born in the month of May, 1810. Her birthplace was an island at the forks of the Wabash River just west of the present city of Huntington, Ind., and the tract is now known as Miami Park.

Her mother was one of the best Miami maidens. The land she lived on was given her by her mother, who received it from her father, a chief, Wak-shin-gah, who gave land in Ohio for it.

In 1830 Kilsoquah became the bride of a Miami, John Owl, but he soon died, and a few years later the grand-daughter of the great chief married Anthony Revarre, a half-blood Indian who was known as Shoop-in-au-wah, or Thunder Storm. Revarre died in 1849, and his remains are buried on the Reservation. Here was an Indian burying ground, but all has been plowed over and the location of the graves lost. Her son, Anthony Revarre, is now fifty-nine years old, and has charge of the little farm, and provides well for his royal mother, Kill-so-quah. He speaks English well and has a common English education.

KIL-SO-QUAH.

Her husband and she lived in a log house, but long ago it burned and was replaced by the little frame building now standing.

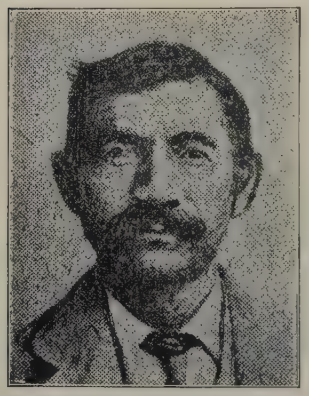
Kill-so-quah a few years ago, after much entreaty, attended a pioneer meeting at Ft. Wayne, and enjoyed it. Still later, going in an automobile, she attended one at Columbia City. She was carried to and fro in charge of a committee, her son enjoying her honors. It was a great treat on both occasions to the almost centenarian, the last full-blooded Indian of the Northwest Territory living in the Wabash and Maumee Valleys; and no less a pleasure to the thousands who gazed upon her.

She is a large fleshy woman and walks with difficulty. Excepting the infirmities of age she has never been sick. She, like most Indians of the Valley, has been an immune to malaria. She lived close to Nature, and Nature has been a kind mother to her. Her knowledge of Christianity is limited, but she trusts in the Great Spirit. Living up to the best light received, she is looking for the "Happy Hunting Grounds" of her forefathers.

LE BALM'S ADVENTURE AND LITTLE TURTLE'S FIRST BATTLE.

In 1760 the English captured from the French Ft. Miami at the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's rivers. The French had held it for fifty years. Three years afterwards Pontiac took it from the English and the Indians held the position for thirty years. During this period it was the scene of savage and barbarous government. The glory and power of the Miamis was unchecked until the advent of Wayne.

In 1780 a Frenchman living at Vincennes, conceived the idea of the surprise and capture of Detroit, which was held by the English. Vincennes was then under American rule. Three years before the intrepid George Rogers Clark had captured this place from the British without firing a gun or shedding blood. No doubt this gave the thought to Le Balm, a wealthy Frenchman, of undertaking the surprise and capture of Detroit. His motive was plunder, but his pretext was to aid the Americans in their struggle for liberty. Le Balm quietly enlisted a hundred men, mostly Frenchmen. Two French traders took stock in the enterprise furnishing the sinews of war, money, arms and ammunition.



ANTHONY REVARRE.

It was a freebooting expedition without the knowledge or sanction of the governor of Vincennes. Starting on their journey these men planned for the capture, first of Ft. Miami. This they did. No resistance was made by the Indians and French and English traders, as all were taken by surprise. The victors tarried but for a day, and went away only a few miles distant. The French traders were not in favor of pursuing, but a few young Miamis with Little Turtle, not yet a chief, by the unanimous voice of the young braves, was put in command. In turn, after few nights, Le Balm and his party were taken by surprise by the Miamis, who killed the majority, the others taking

flight. The particulars of this expedition of Le Balm and the attack of Little Turtle's band, if known, it would to the lovers of heroic adventure be interesting.

HARMAR'S CAMPAIGN.

Flowing onward swift and free,
Through tangled forest gloom,
Many sought and found in thee
Sweet rest midst lillies bloom.
O calm, O gentle moving stream,
O fair Miami of the Lake,
Is human kindness all a dream?
Is there no balm for hearts that ache?

The most important events connected with the history of the West, from 1790 to 1795, were the Indian wars. The Indians, in their depredations after the close of the War of the Revolution, were not alone prompted by a desire to shed blood, but to prevent the settlement of what they claimed to be their lands. They had sold only to the French small tracts about their trading posts, so that in the treaty between the English and French in 1763, in Paris, the latter only transferred to the English these tracts about Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, etc. Then followed Pontiac's war and defeat. Then the grant by the Iroquois at Ft. Stanwix in 1768 of the land south of the Ohio, and even this deal was not respected by the Indians, who continued to hunt in the Ohio country. Then came Dunmore's war in 1774, without any transfer of land to the whites, when at the close of the Revolution in 1783 the British could turn over to the United States only the small grants about the forts and the land south of the Ohio.

In justice the Indians were the owners of the Northwest Territory. As to the Miamis, Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots and tribes still further north and west, England transferred nothing, not having owned it.

In October, 1784, the United States held a council with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, and secured from them the title to all their claims in western lands.

Then came a treaty with the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa

and Ottawa Nations, but the council of sixteen tribes, 1793, of the Northwestern Indians objected to this treaty, and that of Fort Stanwix in 1784 as having been brought about by intimidation. This was the last general Indian council before 1795.

The Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Weas, Pinkeshaws, Pottawatomies, Kaskaskias, and Eel River Indians, claimed they had not been through their head chiefs bound by treaties and councils. The Miamis, with their leaders, Little Turtle and Le Gris, were at the head of this sentiment.

Washington in 1790 hesitated about offensive war on these

Old Fort Defiance.

tribes until all peaceful means were exhausted. After this repeated efforts were made for peace with these tribes, but without avail. There were those who thought it unwise not to make a persevering effort with the Indians and secure a final adjustment.

The government decided upon immediate aggressive movements. To delay was only to encourage the Indians in their obstinancy, and the British in their unscrupulous work of feeding, clothing, and equipping the Indians for the depredatory incursions against Americans.

The first army in this Indian war, organized by the general

government, was placed under Major General Josiah Harmar. In the Revolutionary struggle he had as a Colonel distinguished himself. At this time he was Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces.

The army of invasion under his command was composed of 320 Regulars from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and 1,133 drafted men from Pennsylvania and Kentucky. A company of artillery with three brass cannons. Majors Wyily and Doughty had charge of the Regulars; Col. Hardin, of Kentucky, the Militia, with Cols. Trotter and Paul, and Majors Hall and McMillen as subordinate commanders.

December 29th, 1789, he arrived at Cincinnati. For several months previous he had been at the mouth of the Muskingum waiting for the militia and supplies from the upper country, and the completion of Fort Washington. He continued his preparations until the 30th of December, 1790. No doubt the Indians were aware of his plans and movements.

Harmar's arrangements were all made and he started that day with the Regulars, the Militia under Col. Hardin having started a few days before. His general course was to the Northwest by slow marching. The third day the Militia were overtaken and passed. It would be interesting to give an account of the daily march, but space forbids.

October 11th the army passed an old French trading post called Twigtwees, or Miamis. The next day passed Loramie's Creek and across to the head waters of the Auglaize. Keeping on to the northwest without seeing the enemy, on the 14th day of October Col. Hardin was detached with one company of Regulars and six hundred of the Militia in advance, being charged with the destruction of towns at the forks of the Maumee. They found the towns deserted, and the best one burned. At this Maumee village the main body arrived in two days. The Indians had seven villages.

The 17th of October, search was made and there was found a large quantity of corn buried. The army burned all the houses in all the villages and destroyed at least 20,000 bushels of corn.

On the 18th search was made for the Indians. Col. Hardin's detachment was given this work. He met the Indians in

good position, and after a brief fight the Militia fled. The enemy pursued. One sergeant and twenty-one regulars were killed. There were in a brief time one hundred Americans killed and many wounded.

Harmar's other forces had commenced a retreat, but hearing of a body of Indians at one of the burned towns, Harmar sent Col. Hardin with a strong force to meet them. An en-

Old Wolcott Mansion—Maumee.

gagement ensued. The Indians fought with desperation, rushing on the whites in a hand to hand encounter. During this time, Indian sharpshooters were picking off the officers. Majors Fountain and Wyily fell, the former with eighteen bullets. Fifty-one of the regulars shared the same fate. There was a total of one hundred and eighty killed and wounded that day. The officers and troops were brave, but they lacked generalship. The army should have kept together. There was abundant evi-

dence of these things with the enemy having plenty of arms and ammunition, good generalship and intense patriotism. Gen. Harmar felt the defeat. He retired to private life and died in obscurity in 1803.

This defeat showed the government that a stronger force was needed, and the best commanding general. Little Turtle commanded the Indians, and had the distinguished Blue Jacket the first in command under him.

Harmar's defeat caused sorrow throughout the States. It was a great source of grief to the President and Congress.

Washington's idea of a string of military posts was to be carried out, and first of all, the key to the whole situation must be won by establishing a post where Fort Wayne after this time was built.

St. Clair was appointed Major General and in person had chief command of the frontier forces. Of course he acted under the general direction of President Washington, as did Harmar before and Gen. Wayne after the defeat of St. Clair.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

Orators, with each passing year
Have made the multitudes to hear
The glorious valor of thy dead,
Patriots who for their hearth stone bled.

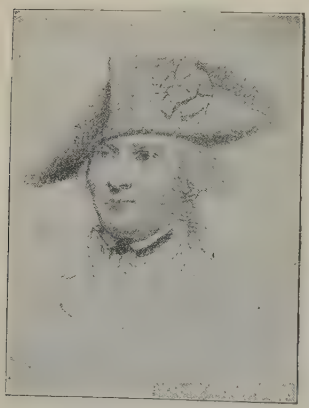
Washington was authorized by Congress to raise an army of three thousand men.

The command was given to St. Clair. This number was needed. The Indians were elated after the defeat of General Harmar. Little Turtle had the aid and counsel of Blue Jacket and Buck-on-ge-ha-las, Chief of the Delawares. The warriors were informed of St. Clair's army and approach, and were preparing for the fray. Washington had learned of Little Turtle's ability when he cautioned St. Clair to *beware* of *surprises*. He urged this. No doubt he remembered Braddock's defeat.

One object of St. Clair's expedition was to establish a strong fort at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph Rivers, and he wanted to strike a blow at the Indians they would

not soon forget. St. Clair's army built Fort Washington at Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 6th, 1791, advanced twenty miles and built Fort Hamilton on the east bank of the Great Miami. This fort was to be headquarters for supplies.

All the spring and summer he had been drilling and equipping his army. While what were offered as reasons for his defeat, such as raw soldiers poorly equipped, poor ammunition and poor arms, when we remember how much time and money was used to prepare for the battle, lose much of their weight. St. Clair was out-generaled. He had two thousand four hundred men, and had this army been kept together, duly picketed by experienced scouts; had he not divided his army on the eve of battle; had he thrown up breastworks bullet proof; had Gen. Butler reported the vicinity of the Indians the night before, the defeat might have been averted.



St. Clair.

Little Turtle, as the details of the battle show, had the plan of attack well arranged, and carried it out to perfection. St. Clair's army was panic stricken. At dawn the Indians began the attack with deadly volleys and frightful yells, which, by their nearness and numbers were terrific. St. Clair, though sick, rallied his forces and again and again drove the enemy back, but the Indians returned as fierce as ever. In the meantime, sheltered behind and in trees, the sharpshooters picked off the officers and artillerymen. St. Clair was brave; four horses were shot under him. For three hours the battle raged, when a retreat was ordered. An opening was made in the Indian lines by Col. Drake and a company of the best men. Through this the army retreated, St. Clair on a pack-horse. The Indians only followed a short distance and returned to the battlefield to secure part of the booty.

The rout continued until the army reached Fort Jefferson, forty miles distant. Nearly seven hundred were dead, thirty of

these were women, and three hundred wounded lay on the field. Among the prominent officers killed were General Richard Butler, Major Ferguson, Colonel Oldham, Major Clark and Major Hart. Among the wounded were Colonel Sargeant and Lieut. Col. Gibson, Major Thomas Butler and Viscount Malartie, aide-de-camp of St. Clair.

The Indian loss is reported one hundred and fifty killed and a few wounded. The probability is the Indians had two thousand or more engaged, while the Americans had not more than fifteen hundred. A thousand troops had been sent back. This, no doubt, Little Turtle knew, and improved his opportunity to overcome the invading army.

The whole land mourned. It was an awful defeat! The exposed backwoodsmen along the border had greater dread than ever. Emigration by land and water ceased. Many people fled eastward, leaving their homes. Washington at first news was in a rage. "Why didn't St. Clair take my advice and avoid a surprise," he said. After a while he said, "I will wait and hear it all."

Bridge on site of Roche de Boeuf.

St. Clair was tried, and exonerated from all blame.

The Indians were arrogant, and the British of Canada were happy. The Indians increased their depredations in 1792 and 1793. They knew the war was not ended, for they would not submit to the terms of the Americans.

Had it been known to Congress and the people what St. Clair had to meet in the Wilderness far away from supplies; and the opposition of Gen. Butler next in command; the inferiority in numbers and arms of his army; the insubordination of drafted men, and especially that he had to meet the greatest army of Indians ever assembled, under the command of the great Little

Turtle, and his staff — an army fully equipped with English arms, there would have been more sympathy for St. Clair. The government let this hero of liberty, who gave his time, talent and fortune to the Republic, live in a log cabin in Alleghany mountains on the summit of Chestnut Ridge, live forsaken until a short time before he died in 1818, when Congress gave him a pension of $60 per month and $2,000 for back pay.

GENERAL WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN.

O deep and wide and rapid river,
O rough and dark and icy stream,
Who filled with death the red man's quiver?
Who bade his deadly arrow gleam?
Thy face has known a crimson blush,
Thy spray a bloody rain,
Thy waves have heaved with death's mad rush,
Thy depths been gorged with slain.

November, 1793, the Indians made a raid south of Fort Jefferson, and meeting a company of Kentuckians, killed six and wounded more. This occurred near Fort St. Clair in the vicinity of the town of Eaton. Little Turtle was in command. This was a convincing object lesson to Wayne, and he increased his efforts for a decisive conflict.

GEN. WAYNE.

The autumn of this year Wayne brought his army to Fort Greenville, where it was drilled and fully prepared for the campaign of 1794. The 28th of July of this year the army commenced its march for the Maumee River. The Indian spies were on the alert, and called Wayne when reporting to Little Turtle, the "Black Snake," and "Wild Wind," suggestive of his impetuosity and tact.

August 1st the army crossed the level of Ohio and was moving as rapidly as possible toward the Indian villages. It made a

halt of a few days on the site of old Fort Loramie. Then proceeding northward came to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, where a fort was at once built, armed and furnished, and named Fort Recovery. Then northeast to Girty's town, St. Marys; thence up that stream as if intending to surprise the Miami villages. Then crossing, turned back toward the east, then proceeded across the Auglaize and thence down to the junction with the Maumee.

This devious route deceived the Indians, but not entirely, for they had no time to gather the golden corn from many miles of fields skirting the Auglaize. A stockade at the confluence of the Maumee and Auglaize Rivers was erected and called Fort Defiance.

At this time Anthony Wayne offered to the Indians "overtures of peace, as they have everything that is dear and interesting at stake, I have reason to expect that they will listen to the proposition in the enclosed copy of the address, dispatched yesterday by a special flag which I sent under circumstances that will ensure the safe return of the bearer, and which may eventually spare the effusion of much blood. But if war be their choice that blood be on their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all-powerful and just God I therefore commit myself and gallant army."

The bearer returned with the message that "if Wayne would wait ten days at (Grand Glaze) Defiance, the Indians would decide for peace or war."

Wayne would wait no longer. On the 20th day of August the army moved down the north bank, leaving in a small Fort Deposit all extra baggage.

In reporting the engagement General Wayne says:

"It is with infinite pleasure that I announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal Army under my command in a general action with the combined forces of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th inst., on the banks of the Miami in the vicinity of the British post and garrison at the foot of the Rapids."

This is the sum of the whole battle. Only one thousand

two hundred Americans were in the battle, while there were two thousand Indians.

The Delawares had 500 warriors in the battle; 200 Miamis; 300 Shawnees; 250 Tewas; 300 Wyandots; 200 militia from Fort Miami, and other Indians of weaker tribes. Fort Miami after the defeat kept its gates closed against the Indians. This fact led the Indians to see they had nothing to hope for from the English and led to the treaty of Greenville.

The Indian loss was heavy. There were twelve leading Wyandot chiefs in the battle, and eleven of them were killed.

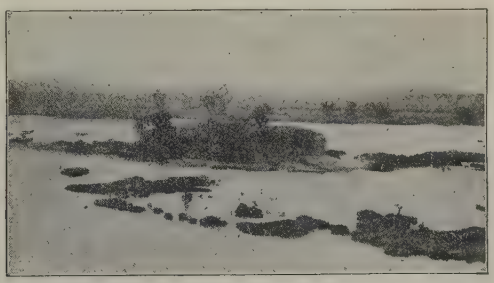
Turkey Foot Rock—Original Site.

Many leading war chiefs would not retire or surrender, and hence died in the fight. Turkey Foot, a brave chief, fell wounded, near a great bowlder at the northeast end of the battlefield. On this bowlder are engraved turket feet, and it is said before the warrior died he engraved the first one. "Turkey Foot Rock," as it is called, remains in place to this day.

This battle was an object lesson to the Indians of the impossibility of coping with the American Government and stopping the incoming of the white people. They realized that their only hope was in submission.

General Wayne and most of his army remained on the battlefield several days. At the close of the engagement he reconnoitered Fort Miami. He had it in mind to attack the fort, but prudence prevailed. A brisk correspondence occurred between the commander, Capt. Campbell, of the British Army and General Wayne. Wayne suggested the propriety of his getting on British territory to the nearest British post. Campbell replied he would await the orders of his superiors. Wayne sent out his cavalry and burned the Indian villages, and then repaired to Fort Defiance, which he strengthened.

Wonderful results followed the defeat of the Indians by Wayne's army. These we may not more fully describe as all are well known. The principal one was the abiding friendship



Roche de Boeuf on the Maumee.

of the majority of the Indians of the Northwest Territory. Also the adjustment of territorial lines and the opening of the west and northwest to civilization.

Monuments should be erected to commemorate the battlefields in Ohio of Gen. Anthony Wayne and his brave officers and men, and second Little Turtle and brave Blue Jacket and their associated chiefs. We are as a nation under obligation to these noble Generals Washington, Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne, and their coadjutors for their great patriotic efforts, even after they had passed the meridian of human life, — for the extended establishment of a free government, giving security to homes, and happiness to all the people. May the time soon come when rising in marble above each battlefield of Ohio these monuments shall arise to remind the generations yet to come of the heroism

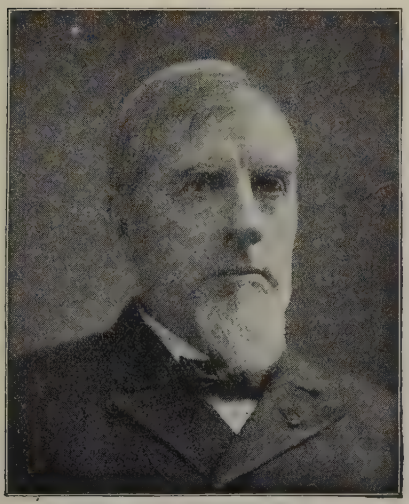
of our pioneer fathers! And why not to the great Ohio Indians. We only have one such monument, that to Leatherlips. While the exact spots of the resting places of the great red men are not known, why not erect monuments for Tarhe of the Wyandots, Pontiac of the Ottawas, Logan of the Mingoes, Tecumseh, Black Hoof, and Blue Jacket of the Shawnees, and Little Turtle of the Miamis?

GENERAL BENJAMIN RUSH COWEN.

W. H. MACKOY,

ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, CINCINNATI.

The death of General Benjamin Rush Cowen, January 29, 1908, at his home in Cincinnati, removed one, who, during the eventful and critical period beginning with the nomination of General Fremont for the Presidency in 1856 and ending with the inauguration of President Hayes in 1877, was a prominent actor in the affairs of his party, his state and the United States, and whose public services entitle him to high rank among the patriotic and distinguished men who have given fame to Ohio.



BENJAMIN R. COWEN.

He was born August 15, 1831, at Moorfield in Harrison County, Ohio, a county that has the honor of having been the birthplace of General George A. Custer, the home of John A. Bingham and the scene of the early legal practice of Edwin M. Stanton, and the character of whose sturdy population must have exerted a formative influence upon young Cowen during his boyhood years, as the beauty of its landscapes must have quickened his imagination and aided in the development of the faculty, which he possessed to an unusual degree in his mature years, of expressing his thoughts in a pleasing and forceful style.

To those who knew General Cowen personally in his later life, but who knew nothing of his forbears, it would not have

been necessary to state that he came of honorable lineage. His handsome and expressive face and features, the quiet determination which he manifested in the conduct of important affairs, his gracious manners, and his well modulated voice, all indicated that generations strongly endowed intellectually and physically, had handed down to him their best qualities of mind and person. The evidence afforded by his appearance, his manners and his speech was borne out by the facts. His ancestors were among the early settlers of the colonies of Plymouth and of Massachusetts Bay. Ebenezer Sprague, his great-grandfather, was a member of the Rhode Island General Assembly prior to the year 1779. Joseph Cowen, his grandfather, served in the Revolutionary War, and, in 1790, removed from Rhode Island to New York, settling first in Saratoga County and then in Washington County. Esek Cowen, one of Joseph Cowen's sons, was a Reporter of the Supreme Court of New York from 1823 to 1828 when he was appointed Circuit Judge for the Fourth Circuit, and, in 1835 or 1836, an associate Justice of the Supreme Court. He was self-educated but he became an able lawyer and had the reputation of being one of the most accomplished scholars of the state.

Benjamin Sprague Cowen, father of General Cowen, removed to Ohio and settled first in Harrison County. He was a soldier of the war of 1812; afterwards practiced medicine for a time; then read law, and, when admitted to the bar, removed while General Cowen was in his early boyhood, to St. Clairsville in Belmont County, where he engaged in the practice of his profession, and gave a portion of his time to the conduct of a weekly newspaper, the Belmont Chronicle, in which he acquired an interest. He was a Representative from Ohio in the Twenty-seventh Congress (1841-43); a member of the Ohio House of Representatives during the years 1846-1847, and, from the years 1848 to 1852, presiding Judge of the Common Pleas Court of his District.

It was in the classical academy in St. Clairsville, which his father had assisted in establishing, that young Cowen was educated. Then, entering the office of the Belmont Chronicle, he learned the art of typesetting, and, before he had attained his

majority, became the sole owner and editor of the paper. While he was engaged in managing and editing the newspaper, he read medicine, taking a full course, but never practiced.

His connection with the newspaper introduced him to political life, and, in 1856, as an alternate, he attended the National Convention of the Republican party in Philadelphia which nominated General Fremont for the Presidency. During the session of the Convention, he acted as one of its assistant clerks although his name as such does not appear on the records of the Convention.

He disposed of his interest in the Belmont Chronicle in 1858, and, for a time, engaged in the real estate business in Bellaire. At the commencement of the Fifty-fourth General Assembly of Ohio, he was chosen Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives and served as such during the session of 1860 and the adjourned session of 1861.

Whitelaw Reid, in his Work, "Ohio in the War," makes the following mention in regard to the military services of General Cowen: "His first military appointment was that of Engineer in Chief, with the rank of Colonel, on Governor Dennison's Staff. This post he resigned upon the fall of Fort Sumter, and enlisted as a private in Captain Wallace's Company, in the Fifteenth Ohio. He did not, however, sever his connection with the Legislature, which was then in session, until its adjournment, when he joined his regiment at Zanesville. He was commissioned First Lieutenant May 24th, and assigned to duty as Assistant Commissary of Subsistence. In the summer of 1861 he received the appointment of Additional Paymaster, dating from June 1. He served at Washington and in West Virginia in that capacity. He also served at the same time as Pay Agent for Ohio, in forwarding soldiers' pay to their friends at home.

"In December, 1863, he was ordered to New Orleans, as chief paymaster of the Department of the Gulf; but, before leaving for that post, he was tendered the position of Adjutant General of Ohio, by Governor Brough. He accepted this, and having obtained leave of absence with suspension of pay and allowances, he entered upon his new duties in January, 1864."

As Adjutant General he rendered meritorious services in bringing into the field Ohio's quota of the One Hundred Day Men. In less than two weeks after the acceptance by the War Department of the offer of the One Hundred Day Men, he brought together, at the appointed place of rendezvous, over thirty-six thousand members of the National Guard of Ohio who were organized, mustered, clothed, armed, equipped and turned over to the U. S. authorities for transportation.

For the important work performed by him in this regard he received the thanks of the War Department, and it was upon this account that, March 13, 1865, he received the successive appointments of brevet Lieutenant Colonel, brevet Colonel and brevet Brigadier General. Governor Cox retained him in the position of Adjutant General.

In the fall of 1861, while he was with the army of the Potomac, he was nominated and elected Secretary of State of Ohio upon the ticket with Governor Tod, and, under leave of absence, served for a few months, in that capacity, and then resigned and returned to his duties in the army.

In the Republican State Convention of 1867, he was a candidate for nomination as Governor but was defeated by General Rutherford B. Hayes by ten votes.

From 1866 to 1876 he was a member of the National Republican Executive Committee and in 1868, was a delegate to the National Republican Convention of that year.

After the close of his term as Adjutant General he removed to and engaged in business in Cincinnati, and, while there, in the fall of 1869, President Grant sent him to the Pacific Coast to investigate irregularities in the Revenue service in which men politically prominent were implicated. This mission occupied several months of his time.

In the spring of 1871, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Interior, a position that he continued to hold for nearly six years, during a portion of which time in consequence of the feeble health of Secretary Delano, he was the Acting Secretary.

While connected with the administration of President Grant, he was frequently selected to execute special commis-

sions which required tact, good judgment, ability to deal with conditions hostile to the Government and the faculty of observing closely and reporting accurately.

One of these commissions took him, in 1872, to the Upper Missouri Valley and the Yellowstone Country. The only instructions given to him by President Grant on this occasion were, "To amuse Sitting Bull while the Northern Pacific R. R. engineers make their reconnoisance up the Yellowstone River."

He was sent by President Grant in 1873 to Northern California to remove the Modoc and other Indians from Round Valley reservation, and to survey a new reservation and establish them upon it. The instructions of Grant to Cowen at that time, were the briefest possible.

In 1874, he was directed by President Grant to visit New Orleans with Admiral Rodgers of the Navy, during White League troubles in Louisiana, which culminated in September of that year in a bloody encounter in front of the Custom House in which one hundred negroes of General Longstreet's militia were shot down. The instructions to General Cowen were "To go secretly and find out who was to blame."

The following year, he was sent by President Grant to Utah, where Judge Kean had confined Brigham Young in the territorial penitentiary for a contempt of court in refusing to pay alimony to one of his wives, pending a suit for divorce. The action of Judge Kean had aroused the passions of the community and the instructions to Cowen were, "To see what's the matter with the Mormons."

It was upon the occasion of one of his trips as a Special Commissioner that he was with the Hayden expedition during a part of the official exploration of the Yellowstone Valley. After his return from that trip, he aided materially in securing the passage of the law setting aside the Yellowstone Valley as a National Park.

All matters relating to the Park were referred to him by Secretary Delano. The first superintendent of the Park, N. P. Lanford, in his book on the "Discovery of Yellowstone Park," pays high tribute to him for his efforts to promote the park and

says that the firmness of Assistant Secretary Cowen, in his action against landgrabbers, saved the park to the country.

Following his resignation as Assistant Secretary of the Interior until July 1, 1882, he was engaged in business first at Bellaire and later at Cincinnati, and from the last mentioned date until November 26, 1884, he was the Editor of the Ohio State Journal at Columbus, an occupation more congenial to his tastes than any other.

From the termination of his connection with the Ohio State Journal in 1884 until his death, a period of nearly twenty-four years, he was the Clerk of the United States Circuit and District Courts for the Southern District of Ohio, and made his home in the city of Cincinnati.

During his incumbency of the clerk's office he was frequently appointed by the presiding Judge of the Circuit Court as referee or master in important cases in which it was necessary to unravel intricate conditions of fact, to settle complicated accounts and to make clear and correct findings.

Soon after General Cowen took up his residence in Cincinnati and entered upon the performance of his duties as Clerk of the Circuit and District Courts he became a member of the Literary Club of Cincinnati and of several patriotic societies.

As a member of these societies he found compensation in some measure for the lost occupation of editor as he was frequently appointed to write and read papers for the entertainment and instruction of his fellow members.

His experience in life had been wide, his connection with the stirring events of the civil war and of the exciting years immediately preceding and following it, had been intimate, and he had known personally a large proportion of the men who were prominent in public life during that period.

His memory was very retentive and he had, therefore, a large mass of material to draw from in the preparation of the papers which he wrote, and which he read in a voice that gave pleasure to those who had the privilege of listening to him.

His literary efforts were not confined to the Clubs of which he was a member but he was frequently invited to make addresses upon public occasions. One of those occasions was the

dedication of the Lincoln statue in Avondale, December 23, 1902, and his speech then was one of the best examples of a field in which he excelled.

Another occasion was the annual meeting of the Kentucky State Bar Association at Winchester, Kentucky, in the latter part of June, 1906, when, as the invited guest of the Association, he delivered an admirable address on the Life and Public Services of Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite.

The modesty of General Cowen prevented the publication during his life time of any of the numerous essays and addresses which he wrote and read or delivered.

A limited edition of one only has been published since his death, entitled, "Abraham Lincoln, An Appreciation."

His finished sketches of eminent men, all of whom he knew more or less intimately, are eleven in number.

Among them are recollections of President Grant, Chief Justices Chase and Waite, and Governors Thomas Corwin, Wilson Shannon, John Brough and Charles Anderson.

His memorandum book shows the names of nineteen other prominent men, sketches of whom he had intended to add to those which he had completed, with a view to publication under the title of, "Some Men I Have Known."

A short introductory note written by him and preceding one of his sketches, indicates their character as well as the modesty of the author. It reads: "This paper and others of similar character which I have inflicted on the Club from time to time are not intended in any sense as a history of the men nor of the periods in which they flourished. I have neither the time nor the fitness to write an acceptable history of anything. What I have written in this and other papers is merely some personal recollections derived from my acquaintance with the men named which may or may not throw a sidelight on characters who have been instrumental in making our history."

The title of a few of the interesting papers written by him, other than his sketches of eminent men, are, "The Launching of the Greenbacks," "The One Hundred Day Men," "The Battle of Monocacy," "The Beginning of the End of Mormonism," and "Three Months in the Rockies."

The narrative style of General Cowen as manifested in the papers which he has left behind him is as attractive as that of either John Fiske or Francis Parkman and all of his sketches have a historical value which should lead to their publication in book form.

In social life he was a most charming companion. His sympathies were broad, his interest in humanity was keen, his judgment was good, he observed closely and was tolerant in his opinions.

He had attained a ripe age at the time of his death but his mental faculties remained unimpaired until shortly before his dissolution.

He left to survive him his widow, whose maiden name was Ellen Thoburn, and three sons, James L., Benjamin Sprague and Sidney J. Cowen.

DAVID ZEISBERGER CENTENNIAL.

NOVEMBER 20, 1908.

E. O. RANDALL.

As the result of the plans of a committee appointed, several weeks previous to the event, by the Trustees of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, a celebration was held commemorating the Centennial Anniversary of the death of David Zeisberger, which occurred November 17, 1808, at Goshen, Tuscarawas County, Ohio. The day selected for the celebration was Friday, November 20th, (1908). It proved a most successful occasion in every respect. The weather was propitious, bright, crisp and cheery. The program was opened at the little burg of Sharon, some two miles from Goshen, and about six miles from Gnadenhutten. The day's commemorative services began at the Sharon Moravian Church at ten o'clock. The people, not only of the Sharon community, but from the neighboring towns for a radius of many miles had gathered to participate in the exercises and a large company of interested guests filled the beautiful church recently renovated. The teachers and pupils of the Tuscarawas high and grammar schools attended in a body, occupying the front seats in the church. Professor G. Frederick Wright, President of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society presided. After the opening hymn, "Come, let us join our friends above," Rev. C. Weber, of the Moravian Church in Canal Dover, led in the responsive "Te Deum Laudamus," and Rev. Walter V. Moses, of the Uhrichsville Moravian Church, read

David Zeisberger.

the Scripture lessons. The choir of the Gnadenhutten Moravian Church sang the classic anthem, "The Heavens are Telling," with fine effect. Rev. Jos. E. Weinland, the Sharon pastor, then spoke warm words of welcome, to which President Wright made fitting response. After another hymn, "Jesus makes my heart rejoice," the historical address on "David Zeisberger" was delivered by Rev. Wm. H. Rice, D. D., pastor of the John Heckewelder Memorial Moravian Church of Gnadenhutten. Rev. Mr. Rice is a lineal descendant of John Heckewelder for many years the companion and co-worker of David Zeisberger. Dr. Rice's address, therefore, comprised not only an intensely interesting resume of the life and services of Zeisberger but had in it also the flavor of personal sympathy and historic kinship. We print on a later page a summary of Dr. Rice's address which was delivered entirely without notes owing to his great familiarity with the subject. His little book entitled "David Zeisberger and his Brown Brethren" is a classic and one of the leading authorities upon the life and character of the great Moravian Missionary. Mr. Rice's address held the close attention of old and young in the audience to the end. Short and informal addresses were made by Prof. Archer Butler Hulbert, of Marietta College, author of the "Historic Highways" and many valuable volumes on Ohio and American History, and Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. Prof. Hulbert spoke on the great courage, fortitude and perseverance displayed by the Moravian Missionaries in their efforts to reach the Ohio country and of the incomparable deprivations which they endured during their missionary service. Mr. Randall spoke briefly of the Christian influence exerted upon the Ohio Indians by Zeisberger and his companions and dwelt upon the treatment of the Indians by the white race in the pioneer days, and the efforts employed by the United States government today to make some sort of restitution for the old injustices in the present national efforts to care for and elevate the remnants of the Indian tribes now on the Western reservations.

The services in the Sharon church were very impressive and served to deepen the interest in the day and in the man whose life and labors were thus commemorated. During the noon recess

the people present were served with an elegant dinner by the Ladies' Aid Society of the Moravian Church in the spacious basement of the Sharon church. The noonday repast completed, the assembly proceeded to the Goshen Cemetery, some two miles distant on the road to New Philadelphia. The present Goshen consists of but half a dozen houses, one on the site of the missionary house in which David Zeisberger lived and died. The little enfenced Goshen Indian Cemetery contains the remains of the following former White and Indian Christians:

Rev. David Zeisberger, Rev. William Edwards, William Henry, Nicodemus, Thomas, Christian Gottlieb Henry, Benjamin Henry, Moses, Abel, Ignatius, Joseph.

Boys.—Francis's son, Abraham James, Levi Moses, Jacob Henry, Joseph Warner Mortimer, (son of the Rev. Benjamin Mortimer), Benjamin Henry, Arnold, Joseph, Deborah's son, John Christian's son, John Henry's Charles.

Joachim's Anna Mary, John Henry's Anna Benigna, Charles Henry's Anna Caritas, Ignatius' Christiana Sophia, the elder, Sophia, the younger, Salome, Rachel, Anna Maria, Rachel.

Girls.—Lisetta, Gertrude, Beata Henry, Ignatius' Agnes, Abel's Rebecca, Charles Henry's Anna Rosina, Joseph's Anna Salome, C. Gottlieb's Rebecca, J. Henry's Nancy, C. Gottlieb's Anna, Carolina Louisa Luckenbach (infant daughter of the Rev. Abraham Luckenbach).

The names of those whose bodies lie buried here in this historic sanctuary of the dead as given above are preserved on a time stained sheet, fragile from age, in the Gnadenhutten Archives.

The after mid-day exercises in the little Goshen graveyard were most beautiful and heart appealing. The assembly gathered about the graves, including the officials of the State Society, the visiting clergymen of the several denominations, and the pupils and teachers of the Beidler and Goshen Hill public schools. Just after the adults from the nearby homes, and more distant communities, had assembled in and about the little graveyard, the pupils of the two schools just mentioned, were seen emerging from their respective school buildings in two processions, the arms of the children filled with flowers. The two little columns slowly

approached the Cemetery, solemnly entered therein, and each little boy and girl deposited a flower or sprig upon the grave of Zeisberger. It was a beautiful tribute to the religious hero of the pioneer days. Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Rice lead in the praying responsively of the Moravian Easter Morning Litany, which translated by Zeisberger in 1774 was used that year in the Easter services of the churches of the Tuscarawas Valley for the first time. We give a paragraph from that Litany, both in the Indian tongue and its English translation:

"Machelemuxowoaganitetsch nanni Amuiwoaganid woak Pommauchsowoaganid! auwen welsittawot pommauchsutch quonnatsch angel."

"Glory be to Him who is the Resurrection and the Life; He was dead and behold! He is alive for evermore and he that believeth in Him, though he were dead, yet shall he live."

The following is one of the hymns in the Litany as rendered in the Delaware language by Zeisberger:

"Tamse jun ugattumane,
Ajane Wdulhewink,
Mocum nhagatamane
Nhakeuchsowoaganink,
Wentschihhillak Erchauwesit,
Pakantschitsch kikeuchgun,
Nenicchink hokunk epit
Ndaan, Christ ndamuignukgun."

The English rendering of the above as translated from the German in the German Hymn Book of the Moravians is as follows:

When I shall gain permission
To leave this mortal tent
And get from pain dismission
Jesus, thyself present;
And let me, when expiring
Recline upon Thy breast,
Thus I shall be acquiring
Eternal life and rest.

There were then sung by the assembly the hymns of the Moravian Burial Service, Rev. William T. Van Vleck, the Gnad-

enhutten organist, acting as precentor. This simple, but impressive service was brought to a close with the benediction pronounced by Rev. G. Frederick Wright. The families of Rev. Dr. Rice and Rev. Calvin R. Kinsey, relatives of John Heckewelder, furnished a beautiful floral cross which was laid on the grave by Miss Rebekah H. Rice and Miss Martha Kinsey.

These two services fittingly honored the memory of the great Zeisberger amid the very scenes of his labors and at the spot where his body was laid to its well-earned grave-rest on Sunday,

Sharon Church and Cemetery.

November 20, 1808. Of that day, one hundred years ago, the chronicler says: "The thick fog of the early morning was dispelled by the bright sunshine, which made the day of the funeral one never to be forgotten."

The children of the neighboring schools present at the afternoon service will long remember the scene, at the grave of Zeisberger, on this memorable and beautiful centennial day of his burial, and will in a large measure help to keep green his memory.

Upon the evening of the same day, the public commemorative meeting was held in the Union Opera House at New Philadelphia.

An audience that filled every seat in Union Opera House was

present and heard fitting and beautiful tributes paid to the life and services of David Zeisberger. School children, who had been given some taste of a knowledge of Zeisberger during the day at special memorial exercises in their school rooms, were no small part of the audience and their attention bespoke their interest in what was being said on the platform.

County Treasurer W. A. Wagner, President of the New Philadelphia Board of Trade, presided at the meeting and his introductory remarks were in excellent form. The exercises were opened with a beautiful selection by the New Philadelphia Musical Club, followed with an invocation by Rev. Mr. Rettig, pastor of the First Reformed Church.

Superintendent G. C. Maurer, of the New Philadelphia Public Schools, explained to the audience the significance of the meeting at which the people were present, and dwelt with much earnestness upon the value and necessity of keeping fresh in our minds the brave deeds and good works of the generation who first settled the wilderness of Ohio. The example and encouragement that their efforts and achievements should set before the youth of today, and the necessity of marking historic spots by fitting monuments, that the historic sites might not be lost.

Prof. G. Frederick Wright spoke of the geological interest of the Tuscarawas Valley, its wonderful earth history, and made the unique suggestion that the most fitting material that could be used for monuments upon the historic sites would be some of the great bowlders that were to be found in the immediate neighborhood, imperishable rocks that had come down on the ice drifts from the regions of Northern Canada.

Mr. E. O. Randall spoke of the rich historic interest of the Tuscarawas country, and related briefly the story of the siege of Fort Laurens, the site of which was only a few miles from New Philadelphia. He thought that site should be secured by the State Historical Society and properly marked. At that place in the winter of 1778 and 9, and the spring months following, there was enacted one of the great scenes of the American Revolution. It was indeed the Valley Forge of Ohio.

Rev. William H. Rice spoke most enthusiastically and feelingly concerning David Zeisberger and his "Brown Brethren."

Prof. Archer B. Hulbert in his remarks compared the trials and triumphs of the Moravian Missionaries with those of the Jesuits through the Northwest.

Prof. C. L. Martzolff, of Ohio University at Athens, eloquently portrayed the early history of Ohio.

The meeting was one of marked significance, revealing the interest which the people at large will take in the historic events of our State when properly brought to their attention.

The addresses were informing, interesting and eloquent, and

Indian Cemetery, Goshen, Ohio.

the beautiful sentiments so well expressed, extolling the high Christian character and the untiring efforts of David Zeisberger in planting the Christian religion in this county, filled every one in the large audience with an admiration for the man whose services have been so far-reaching in good results. The development of the great Buckeye State as brought out by the speakers was also a source of intense interest and pride to all.

The celebration at New Philadelphia was given under the auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, immediately directed by the local committee consisting of School Superintendent G. C. Maurer, ex-Mayor Apollo Opes and Mr.

C. L. McIlvaine, representing the New Philadelphia Board of Trade.

The announcement was made of the organization, under the auspices of the Board of Trade, of the Schoen-Brunn Monument Association, and the names of the Board of Officers were announced as printed on the program: President, Wm. A. Wagner, President Board of Trade; Vice-President, Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Rice, Gnadenhutten, O.; Financial Secretary, Professor George C. Maurer; Treasurer, James F. Kildenbaugh; Associates, Laurence E. Oerter, Canal Dover; Oliver Peter, Uhrichsville; M. McDevitt, Scio; Apollo Opes and Charles L. McIlvaine, New Philadelphia.

It is the purpose of the Schoen-Brunn Monument Association to erect a fitting monument to the memory of David Zeisberger. Superintendent Maurer, in a short address that was attentively listened to, said that the money for the proposed monument would be raised by public subscription and he was sure that the people of Tuscarawas County and the school children would be happy to contribute to perpetuate the memory of so good a man as David Zeisberger, whose life was a model.

An original poem from the pen of Judge J. W. Yeagley, of New Philadelphia, entitled: "The Grave of Zeisberger," was read with much expression by Miss Bertha Kelly, and was well received. A pleasing number on the program was a vocal solo by Albert Senhauser, entitled: "The Lord is My Light."

The celebration throughout was a splendid success and reflected much credit upon the local committee.

DAVID ZEISBERGER.

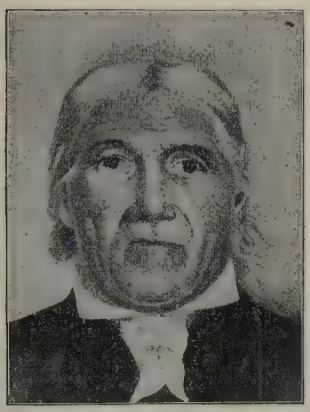
ADDRESS OF REV. W. H. RICE AT SHARON, NOV. 20, 1908.

DEAR FRIENDS: We are assembled in the Sharon Moravian church, on this Friday morning, to make memorial of the death, and of the burial one hundred years ago, of David Zeisberger.

He died in the Goshen Mission House at half past three o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, November the seventeenth, 1808, and his Indian brethren and friends with their white brethren and friends, laid the body of their revered pastor and friend to its well-earned grave-rest in the near Goshen Indian God's-Acre on the following Sabbath morning, in loving obedience to his dying injunction, *"Bury me amongst my*

Indians." And in that consecrated spot his body has now been resting for a century, awaiting the Resurrection morn.

He and his illustrious co-laborer, John Heckewelder, — younger by twenty-three years than Zeisberger, and who, after his subsequent removal to Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, in 1810, died there in 1823,— although dead are more alive than ever in the esteem of all who love the Gospel and their fellowmen. Their names can never die; they are "writ large" in the annals of men. John Heckewelder, in his 65th year, stood this day, a century ago, at the grave of his honored leader and co-laborer, David Zeisberger, who rested from all earthly labor in the eighty-eighth year of his heroic pilgrimage, sixty-two of which were devoted to missionary work amongst the Indians of North America. In our State and especially here in Tuscarawas County and the Valley of the Muskingum, they are honored as the earliest pioneers in the establishment of Christian civilization within the borderes of Ohio's imperial domain. Their foot-marks will never be blotted out so long as the names of Schoen-Brunn (the Beautiful Spring); Gnadenhuetten (The Tents of Divine Grace); Lichtenau (the Meadow of Light); Salem; and Goshen, shall have a place in the records of our State.



JOHN HECKEWELDER.

Your presence here this morning in response to the invitation of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society of Columbus, and the presence here of the Society's representatives testify to the deep interest and affection with which the names of Zeisberger and Heckewelder are cherished by the people of today; an interest and affection which Ohio has always cherished for these heroic pioneers and their illustrious achievements in the beginnings of the establishment of Christian civilization in her broad domain.

It is a matter for special gratification to note the presence here this morning of the teachers and pupils of the neighboring grammar and high schools. It augurs well for the perpetuation of the memory and record of the men who were instrumental in the establishment and conduct of the first schools for the instruction of the children and youth of the inhabitants of this section. In 1776, there was published in Philadelphia, Pa., "A Delaware-Indian and English Spelling Book for the use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River," by David Zeisberger printed by Henry Miller, pp. 113. John Heckewelder was the teacher of the Schoen-Brunn school.

It is a good omen for the success of the proposed plan to erect a

monument in memorial of the first school in the territory of the State of Ohio, which stood on the eastern bank of the Tuscarawas (then Muskingum) at Schoen-Brunn, that the teacher and pupils of the neighborhood are showing their intelligent interest in this centennial memorial observance.

In the time at our command I will attempt a brief sketch of the outlines of the history of David Zeisberger.

He was born in the Province of Moravia, in the Austrian Empire, of old Moravian stock. His parents, David and Rosina Zeisberger were dwellers in the (Valley of Kine), Kuhländl, in Moravia, and had their home in the village of Zauchtenthal in that valley. One night in July, 1726, his parents arose with their family of children, including the five-year-old David, and leaving house and lands, fled from religious oppression to find their way across the Saxon mountain border to the estate of a young Saxon nobleman, Count Zinzendorf. Here, since 1722, refugees from Moravia had been permitted to begin the building of a settlement for exiles from their fatherland. They called it Herrnhut, the Lord's Watch. To this asylum the Zeisberger family found its way in 1726.

Ten years later, in 1736, the parents were sent on missionary errand, to the Province of Georgia in North America, where at Savannah, under the patronage of General James Oglethorpe, they joined the colony of Moravians who under Bishop David Nitschmann, were carrying on mission work amongst the Indians of Georgia.

In the intervening ten years, their son David, now a lad of fifteen, whom they left behind, had been attending the schools of the Herrnhut settlement, and shown great aptitude as a diligent scholar. He was very quick in the thorough study of Latin, a talent which he afterward improved in the acquisition of Indian languages and dialects. The lad of fifteen was sent to a newly-established church-settlement in Holland near Utrecht, as an errand boy in a mercantile establishment.

One day he was sent to accompany a gentleman of rank as a guide to a neighboring castle. The lad's manner so pleased the visitor that he offered him a very liberal gift, on parting with him. The lad refused to accept the gift because it was against the rules to do so. But the gentleman compelled him to take the gift. On stating the case to his superiors the boy was at once denounced as a liar and thief, and severely punished. He was told that nobody would think of giving so large a sum of money to a mere youth, and that he must have come by it in a dishonest way. This the lad resented. And we must give him credit for resenting such unreasonable conduct on the part of his elders. He made up his mind to run away from his unjust superiors. He made his way across the channel to London, where he hoped to find the opportunity to join his parents in the Georgia colony. In this he was entirely successful. He found friends who introduced him to General Oglethorpe, the patron of the colony. He readily furnished the lad a passage to Savannah. On his arrival at the American port, Zeisberger's parents could

scarcely believe their eyes on seeing their son David, who had almost grown out of their recognition. But their joy on receiving their son was greater than their surprise. David was happy now in the new home in the American wilderness; for such it was as compared with the soft civilization of Holland.

In the third year after his arrival, the lad of eighteen accompanied his parents and the rest of the Moravian colonists to Pennsylvania. Here, in the "forks of the Lehigh," within twelve miles of the confluence of the Lehigh and Delaware rivers, they founded the Moravian town of Bethlehem, in 1741. Here amid the hard experiences of a church settlement in the new country, the youth grew into the years of early manhood, strong in body and resolute in purpose to do his part in the common work.

The Moravian church settlement at Bethlehem was organized for missionary work, primarily amongst the Indians of the provinces. Zeisberger was ordered back to Europe by the authorities of the settlement, who had chartered a vessel to carry a company to England. On the dock, at New York, as they were preparing to embark, Bishop David Nitschmann, inquired of the young man, "Are you anxious to go?" The prompt reply was given, "No! I am not; I would much prefer to remain in America! I want to be thoroughly converted to Christ and to serve as a missionary to the Indians of this country!"

The Bishop was surprised and delighted. His answer came quick, "Then, if I were you, I'd at once go back to Bethlehem!"

Without another word Zeisberger jumped ashore, saved for his great life-work.

In a year he is the smartest scholar in the class of young Moravians studying the Mohawk Indian language as candidates for missionary work amongst the Five Nations in the Province of New York. This proficiency in acquiring the language of the Delaware Indians in the neighborhood of Bethlehem caused his appointment as official interpreter to the civil authorities in the meanwhile.

In 1745 he began his missionary career. He accompanied Christian Frederick Post, on a mission to the Indians of the Mohawk Valley. The sequel of this first attempt was the imprisonment of both of these Moravian missionaries as spies in an Albany, and then a New York prison.

After their release and return to Bethlehem, Zeisberger accompanied Bishop Spangenberg through the trackless wilderness, on a visit to Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy, in New York. On this visit Zeisberger was adopted into the Tribe of the Onondagas and the Turtle Clan, and received the name of "Ganousserarcheri," which signifies "On the Pumpkin." This first expedition was followed by a second visit to the Iroquois capital, on which occasion a treaty was made, by the terms of which two resident missionaries were to be sent to the capital to learn the language.

On his return from Europe whither he had been sent by the Elders

of the church at Bethlehem, to report to the elders at Herrnhut the present outlook for successful missionary operations amongst the Indians of the Provinces of New York and Pennsylvania, Zeisberger proceeded to Onondaga, the Iroquois capital, and took up his abode in the quarters assigned to him by the Indian Council. In the following year, 1754, with his assistant, Frederick, he erected a substantial Mission-House, at Onondaga, with a view to the establishment of a permanent Mission center in that section. The good will of the Iroquois friends seconded their effort. The Grand Council of the Iroquois Confederacy appointed Zeisberger, Keeper of the Archives, and deposited in the Moravian Mission House many belts and strings of wampum, written treaties, letters from colonial governors, and other similar documents of importance.

He was encouraged to believe that his favorite plan of evangelization, with Onondaga as a center of mission work in the Confederacy, was now in a fair way to success. He had gained a complete mastery of the Mohawk Indian language and spoke several of the dialects fluently. His labors in the compiling of an English-Mohawk Dictionary were approaching a successful completion. But the breaking out of the French and Indian War, in 1755, put an end to active evangelization, and marks the close of Zeisberger's missionary operations in that quarter.

At the close of the War, in 1763, Zeisberger entered again upon the life-work which he had chosen, as an apostle to the Indians. But now he was called to the field which he occupied until his death among the Delaware Nation of Indians in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The first mission station was established in the Wyoming Valley, on the Susquehanna. In their eagerness to respond to the invitation sent them by their Delaware friends, Zeisberger and his assistants "crept for miles on hands and feet beneath and between laurel-bushes whose tangled mazes made walking impossible." The results of his pastoral labors were phenomenal. Amongst the converts was the foremost "prophet" of the tribe, Papunhank. At his baptism he received the name of John. He played a very conspicuous part in after years, in Zeisberger's work amongst the Delawares. Rev. John Heckewelder, who at this time became his assistant, says, in his manuscript Biography of Zeisberger, "Had Zeisberger inherited a kingdom, his joy would not have been as great as it was over the conversion of the Indian 'prophet,' the first one whom he brought into the Church of Christ."

The visiting Quaker Evangelist, John Woolman, attended the services in Zeisberger's church and prayed, "that the great work which Zeisberger had undertaken might be crowned with success." But again war —the "Pontiac War"— put an end to Zeisberger's Indian work. His converts were imprisoned in Philadelphia, where small-pox decimated their ranks.

In the Spring of 1765, on the return of peace, the Pennsylvania Provincial authorities released the imprisoned converts, who like a flock

of partridges that have been cooped up in the winter quarters of a farmer's barn-yard and are set free, these "children of the forest" flocked to their forest home on the Susquehanna, and at once began to rebuild their Mission Station which they called Friedens-Huetten, Tents of Divine Peace.

This village is described as having twenty-nine log-houses, with windows and chimneys, like homesteads of white settlers, and thirteen huts. These were built along one street, in the center of which stood the Mission Church, a structure thirty-two feet in length by twenty-four in width, with shingled roof and a wing used as a school house. Each house-lot had a frontage of thirty-two feet. A ten-foot alley ran between every two lots. Gardens and orchards, stocked with vegetables and fruit trees, lay to the rear of the homesteads.

A post and rail-fence enclosed the town. In summer time the street and alleys were kept scrupulously clean by a company of women. They swept with wooden brooms and removed the rubbish. Two miles of fencing enclosed two hundred and fifty acres of meadow land, between the town and the river. At the river bank a canoe for each household was tied. Cattle, hogs, and poultry of every kind were raised in abundance. More time was given to farming than to hunting. Plentiful crops were raised. They sold corn, maple-sugar, butter and pork, and canoes of white pine, to the white settlers, and visiting Indians.

But the spiritual prosperity of the Indian church in the wilderness, exceeded the material prosperity.

The beginning of a great revival was marked by the baptism, in the autumn of the first year, of an Indian convert. From near and from far came visiting Indians, — Mohawks, Cayugas, Senecas, Onondagas, Mohicans, Wampanoags, Delawares, Tutelas, Tuscaroras, and Nanticokes. Zeisberger wrote: "For several months a great revival has been prevailing among the visiting Indians. They listen as though they never had enough of the message of a Saviour. They tremble with emotion and shake with fear. We have many candidates for baptism." Of one of the Indian Helpers or Elders, of the church, he says: "Anthony enjoys the particular esteem of his unconverted countrymen and he sets forth the Saviour's love with such feeling that not infrequently his hearers burst into tears, and Anthony weeps with them." After four years of unvexed prosperity the beginning came of the trouble which ultimately compelled the abandonment of their prosperous settlement. The land was to be sold to the white settlers.

Without waiting for the inevitable crisis, Zeisberger set out in the fall of 1767, on a tour of exploration to the head waters of the Allegheny. The path of the intrepid apostle to the Indians, (he was accompanied by his two Indian Elders, John and Anthony, with a pack-horse between them), was through the trackless wilderness, never before trodden by the white man. In the following year (1768) Zeisberger and a company of Indian converts from Friedenshütten established the mission station

Friedenstadt, (City of Divine Peace), on the banks of the Beaver River, in what is now Lawrence County, on the Ohio border. Here the preaching of Zeisberger was attended with the usual results. The most signal gospel triumph was the conversion of the Delaware Indian war captain, Glikkikan, who was baptized, receiving the name of Isaac. Zeisberger was adopted into the Monsey Indian Tribe and the religion of Jesus was recognized as that of the majority of the Tribe.

Here in March, 1772, an urgent invitation from the Grand Council of the Delaware Nation led Zeisberger to visit the Delaware capital situated in what is now Oxford township, in this county of Tuscarawas. It was his first visit to Ohio. Post and Heckewelder, then a mere youth, not yet of age, had been here in 1761 and 1762. But this was the be-

INDIAN CEMETERY, GOSHEN, OHIO.

ginning of the first permanent mission in Ohio. Zeisberger was just fifty years old when he first came to Ohio. For the thirty seven after years of his life he was an Ohio Missionary, to the Indians of this region.

In 1772 the entire body of Moravian Indians, at the settlement of the Susquehanna (in Bradford County) and at the settlement on the Allegheny (in Lawrence County) were transferred to Tuscarawas County, under the leadership of Zeisberger and his principal assistant, John Heckewelder. The site of the first settlement, on the Muskingum, near Tuscarawas River, marked out for them by Chief Netawatwes, was occupied in May, 1772, and named Schön-Brunn (The Beautiful Spring—in the Delaware language, Welhik-Tuppeek). The site of the second settlement, that of Gnadenhütten (The Tents of Divine Grace) was occupied in October, 1772, by a party of Mohican Moravian converts, under

the leadership of Joshua, the Mohican Elder. Lichtenau (Meadow of Light) was settled in 1776 on a site just below the city of Coshocton, on the Muskingum. In 1780, on a site a mile and a half below Port Washington, John Heckewelder founded the settlement of Salem. After having built the Chapel at Salem, he welcomed his bride, Miss Sarah Ohneberg, the daughter of Rev. George Ohneberg (a Moravian missionary) who was escorted from Bethlehem, Pa., by the Rev. Adam Grube. The wedding took place in the newly built chapel July 4, 1780, with Rev. Grube as the officiating clergyman, at what was, probably, the first wedding of a white couple performed in Ohio.

Schön-Brunn, the first settlement, begun in May, 1772, had two streets laid out in the form of the letter T. The main street ran east and west, and was long and wide. About the middle of the transverse street, and facing the main street, stood the church, in which, on June 27, of the same year, the Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time. In August following the first church-bell used in Ohio was hung in its steeple. Adjoining the church on the right hand stood the house occupied by Zeisberger.

At the northwest corner of the main street stood the school-house. The first school-house erected in the territory of the State of Ohio.

I am sure I may gather from the interest these pupils have shown in my story of Zeisberger, that there will be no lack of enthusiastic support of the proposed movement to mark this historic site in the near future with a monument worthy of the work to be commemorated.

This is not the occasion nor would the time permit me to give the history of the heroic missionary campaigns with all its record of sufferings and of murderous persecutions with fire and sword, and cruel captivities and banishments and wanderings in the Ohio wilderness, and in Michigan and in Canada, which extend, over a period of years from 1781 to 1798. In 1782 occurred the Gnadenhutten Massacre, on March the eighth.

From "Captives-Town" in Wyandot County, the Moravians fled across the border into British territory, and for four years lived in their new settlement in Michigan, in Clinton County, Macomb township, within the present municipality of Mt. Clemens. At the close of Indian hostilities they were compelled by their Chippewa hosts to give up their settlement, and they crossed Lake Erie to return to the Muskingum Valley. On their arrival near the site of Cleveland — at the site of what proved a short-lived settlement — Pilger Ruh, Pilgrims' Rest, was occupied for a few months. In the meanwhile Zeisberger selected a site in Huron County, near Milan, for a new settlement. It was named New Salem. At this mission station the palmiest days of the Indian work of Zeisberger were revived. Amongst other gospel triumphs in the prolonged revival which characterized the labors of Zeisberger and his Indian Helpers, was the conversion, among other prominent Indians, of Gelelemond, chief of the Delaware Indians, who at his baptism was named, at his

own request, William Henry. Here died that veteran assistant missionary, Joseph Schebosch, or more properly, John Bull, aged 68. Since 1742 he had been identified with the Moravian Indian Mission work. On the day of his funeral, Friday, September 5, 1788, Zeisberger writes this memorable tribute:

"Bruha Schebosch was serviceable to every man without distinction white or Indian, at all times ready to help when he could. He bore his cross with patience, for in this life he seldom had things cosy and good. But he was never heard to complain or fret, even if things went hard with him, and he had not even enough to eat. He loved and was loved. We shall long miss him among us. His stay here below will remain with us and with the Indian Brethren in blessed remembrance."

"Dear old Abraham," converted at Friedenshutten on the Susquehanna, 1765, who went through all the sufferings and hardships of the Indian church, in the years intervening, died and was buried here at New Salem. "We have had but one Abraham," is Zeisberger's tribute to William, a National helper, an interpreter in early manhood in the service of Sir William Johnson, of New York, who joined the church at Friedenshutten on the Susquehanna, in 1770, died here. A man of "fine gifts," honored by Indians and whites as a man of consequence, Zeisberger pays high tribute to his fidelity as a Christian and his great helpfulness in the service of the church and against the hostile Indians.

But the final break-up of this flourishing mission station came, when on April 10, 1791, the day before the seventeenth anniversary of his birth, Zeisberger preached the farewell sermon preliminary to removal.

They removed once again to a settlement under the British flag, near the mouth of the Detroit river, on the Canada side. After the lapse of a year, on a grant of land by the British government, on the River Thames, in Oxford township, Canada West, Zeisberger founded the Mission settlement of Fairfield. The tract of land was six miles wide and twelve miles in length. Here they established a flourishing settlement of forty-two regularly-built houses, with a church and parsonage. For six years, until 1798, Zeisberger labored here. In 1798, John Heckewelder, commissioned by the Mission Board of the Church, at Bethlehem, Pa., with the venerable William Edwards, led a colony of Indian converts back to Tuscarawas County and built a new Indian settlement, here at Goshen.

Hither, in October, 1798, the venerable David Zeisberger in the 77th year of his pilgrimage, came to spend the last of his honored career. Here in the Goshen Mission Home he lived from October, 1798, until the autumn day in 1808, November 17th, when he fell asleep in Jesus, and rested from a period of missionary labors which extended over more than sixty years.

He enjoyed during the two months of his last illness the counsel of a physician and the nursing care of his fellow missionaries and friends.

During the closing days of his life, when scarcely able to speak, he

signified his great satisfaction and comfort when his Indian brethren, who watched with the dying saint, sang some of the Delaware hymns for the dying, which he had rendered into their vernacular years ago.

And thus on the afternoon of November 17th he fell asleep amid the prayers of his brethren and the singing of his converts, after the benediction had been spoken in the name of the church.

On the following Sunday, at noon, after funeral sermons in English and in German, interpreted into the Delaware vernacular, three of his Indian brethren and three of his white brethren bore his body to the near Goshen God's-Acre, followed by a large concourse of the inhabitants of the vicinity. There they buried him, one hundred years ago this very hour. And to-day his name is more alive than ever in the memory and esteem of the people of Ohio, and of this neighborhood, as everywhere in the world where men value apostolic love and fidelity to Christ and to those for whom Christ lived and died.

GRAVE OF ZEISBERGER.

The following is the Poem written by Judge J. W. Yeagley and read by Miss Bertha Kelly at the celebration of the Centennial of the death of Zeisberger at the New Philadelphia Opera House, November 20, 1908.

Close by a placid river's shore,
  Near where its waters lave
The sylvan banks that fringe a plain,
  I saw an ancient grave.

And by it rose a monument,
  On which thereon was traced
The name of one who toils endured,
  And many dangers faced.

The name of one who came from far,
  Who crossed the ocean wave,
That he might be an instrument
  The red man's soul to save;

Might make his home in wilderness,
  And teach the savage rude
The mission true of human life,
  And all it does include;

Might tell him of the loving One,
  Who loves his creatures all,

Who came redeeming all mankind,
Who marks the sparrow's fall.

For SIXTY YEARS he labored hard,
Braved danger, threat and frown,
In faith sublime that blessings sure
Would all his labor crown.

What toils encountered, perils braved,
What sacrifices made!
What dangers run, what want endured,
What holy zeal displayed!

Ah! who should chronicle and tell
The varied good he wrought?
What savage feuds he stayed and quelled,
And how dissolved the plot?

Zeisberger, rest! thy labor's o'er,
Thy mission nobly done;
Thy battles fought, the triumph gained,
The brightest vict'ry won.

Rest "faithful servant of the Lord,"
Sweet rest from all thy strife;
Thy name is writ on hist'ry's page,
And in the Book of Life.

And thy red brethren pass'd away,
Who with thee trouble bore,
Bright jewels in thy crown are they,
And saved forever more.

Oh! sweet the greetings must have been,
In mansions of the blest,
As one by one they gathered in,
And entered into rest.

Zeisberger, rest! thy honored name
Adorns our early age;
Oh! rest secure in noblest fame
Upon our hist'ry's page. ***

A SCENE AT ZEISBERGER'S GRAVE.

C. L. MARTZOLFF.

From *The Ohio Teacher,* January, 1908.

A beautiful November day it is. One of those rare last days of the autumn time whose minutes pass too lightly, for you want to keep them by you. One of those days when you are watching the sun and calculate mentally how much of it you have yet to enjoy. You know that you cannot have many more such glorious days, and you want every bit of this one.

This is the 20th of November, in the year of our Lord 1908. The records tell us that it was just such a day as this, a hundred years ago, that a little band of Moravians — white and red — moved slowly from yonder site where stood the mission house to this spot and reverently interred the body of their teacher in the virgin soil of the Tuscarawas valley.

I like that word "teacher." It is Anglo-Saxon. It has in it the strength of the English oak. It is cosmopolitan. It means the minister, the educator, the leader. So they laid to rest their teacher. Over the open grave of David Zeisberger his "brown brethren," as he loved to call them, chanted the Moravian litany in the hope of the Resurrection. Many of his "brown brethren" had gone on before and had received Christian burial. The remaining followers digged his grave that he might rest beside those whom he loved, for whom he lived, for whom he labored and for whom he sacrificed.

Now a century has gone by. The broad valley of the Tuscarawas, dotted with homes, churches and schools, lay basking in the sunshine. In the small iron enclosure a little company waited until a party of children from a neighboring school could be present. In each child's hand was a sprig of evergreen. These were laid on the grave. Then with bared heads the men and women joined in reading the Easter morning litany of the Moravian Church. The minister who conducted the ceremonies was a great-grandson of John Heckewelder, a fellow laborer of Zeisberger. It was a beautiful service.

But why stand by this simple slab in a country graveyard?

DAVID ZEISBERGER

Born April 11, 1721, in Moravia.
Departed this life November 17, 1808.
Aged 87 years, 7 months, 6 days.
This faithful servant of the Lord labored among the American Indians as missionary during the last sixty years of his life.

It is the story of a hero. Near him is the tomb of his co-worker, Edwards. All around are the graves of the forest children whom he taught. Yonder is the site of the mission house which he built and to which he retired in his later years. A farmhouse now stands there. Some of the rock foundation is still in use under the modern structure.

Two miles up the river is Schoenbrunn, where Zeisberger and Heckewelder began a settlement in 1772. Here was built a church and school. A little plot of ground now owned by the Moravian Society reminds us of this pioneer movement of civilization. It was the beginning of a series of Moravian communities on the Upper Tuscarawas — Gnadenhutten, Lichtenau, New Schoenbrunn and Salem. Here within a few years were gathered by the devoted Moravian missionaries hundreds of converted

Schoenbrunn Spring.

Indians. They were prepared for the future world by preparing them to live well in this one. Agriculture and stock raising and the manual trades were taught. Rum was not to be brought into the community. They were not to go to war.

To get an Indian to agree to all this in such a short time is certainly a compliment to his teacher. A hunting, roving, rum-drinking, blood-thirsty aborigine to be transformed into a law-abiding citizen of a community is enough to cause one to doubt the doctrine of total depravity.

Dr. Winship, of Boston, expresses the idea in describing two small boys whose behavior was at opposite poles. He said that there was no difference between the boys; they had different mothers only.

Schoenbrunn was the first "dry" territory in Ohio. At Schoenbrunn

was written the first civil code in Ohio. At Schoenbrunn was built the first church in Ohio. At Schoenbrunn was the first school in Ohio. At Schoenbrunn was prepared a spelling book for use in teaching the Indians. Two years at Schoenbrunn, and on Easter morning, 1774, Zeisberger led the people in the praying of the beautiful Easter litany of the Moravian Church, which he had translated into the Delaware Indian language.

Who said that there were no good Indians but dead ones? We are told that we graduate them at Carlisle, and the graduates hang their diplomas in a tepee, lay aside their civilized garb and go back to the blanket. Is it a difference of teachers only?

The Zeisberger Indian did not go back to the blanket and bear's grease. Neither did he cultivate some of the civilized (?) habits of his white neighbors. He was trying to throw off savagery. Experience had told him that fire water didn't tend that way. It has taken 6,000 years to evolve a civilized man out of a savage, but it only takes six minutes, with plenty of "booze," to turn it the other way.

The Zeisberger education was no veneer. It did not rub off. Brother Schebosch, the Indian convert, identified himself with the Moravians in 1742. Zeisberger says on his death in 1788, "He was serviceable to every man without distinction." The Indian woman Agnes died in 1783. Thirty-two years had she passed through the many hardships that fell upon her people and then "died in peace." "Our dear old Abraham," as Zeisberger calls him, died in 1791. He was converted in 1765. "He was formerly one of the greatest drunkards and fighters, so that all had to flee before him." William became a Moravian in 1770. In 1772 he came to Ohio and for the remainder of his life worked as a missionary among his own people.

Over at Gnadenhutten is a monument upon which is inscribed these words:

Here Triumphed in Death
Over Ninety Christian Indians.
March 8, 1782.

Yes, David Zeisberger, you were a teacher, and it is because of your work as teacher that I linger a little at your grave today and stand by the waters of Schoenbrunn.

When the last page of the world's history is writ and the scroll is about to be made up and placed in the archives of the eternities, there will be no pages more replete with heroism, sacrifice and service than those upon which are engrossed the achievements of the teacher, and none of these will be brighter than the one devoted to David Zeisberger, the first Ohio teacher.

MEMORY OF ZEISBERGER.

A poetical tribute by John Milburn Harding, New Philadelphia, Ohio, November 17, 1908.

AT ZEISBERGER'S GRAVE.

[One hundred years after he died.]

There are tombs of the high, there are graves of the low,
  There are sepulchers sacred in story
But the grave hollowed here just a century ago
  Has a halo of unselfish glory.
'Mid the scenes of thy triumphs and direst defeat,
  Near the spring rich in savage tradition.
Here you gave up the ghost and at Jesus' feet
  You implored but a Christian transition.

Sixty years of your life you had headed the strife
  To upbuild in the Indian nation
The Moravian faith in the heavenly life,
  And a prosperous civilization.
Whether "vagabond" preacher, or pris'ner in jail,
  Or advisor in savage commotion.
Or guest in the lodge, or a guide on the trail,
  You possessed the sincerest devotion.

Though your labors were vain as to saving the race,
  Yet the souls that were saved numbered many.
The success of your work on our fair valleys' face
  Has scarcely been equaled by any.
Could you now, brave Zeisberger, return to this vale
  When the church bells on Sabbath are pealing,
With thy "Brown Brethren" gone, and the faces all pale,
  Would it bring you a sad hearted feeling?

Still the stars twinkle down, and the river still flows,
  And the flowers bloom in springtime at Goshen,
Still the sunshine still falls, and the rains and the snows,
  But our life has a greater commotion.
'Twas the strength of the race — the invincible one —
  That o'ercame your high hopes and ambition,
And that forced the brave Red Man to follow the sun
  Would this be to you now true fruition?

Slumber on, and may Christians of whatever creed
Bow their heads to the altered condition,
And as years roll along with eternity speed
Give thy tomb its deserved recognition.
Slumber on in the vale far away from thy birth
Where pure beauty and plenty fail never,
Where thy victories were in the efforts put forth
For the Race almost vanquished forever.

SITE OF LICHTENAU.

Regarding the location of Lichtenau, founded by Rev. David Zeisberger of the work of Heckewelder and Zeisberger and the first spelling book used in Ohio, Rev. W. H. Rice, D. D., says the following:

Lichten-Au is a German word, signifying a Pasture or Meadow of Light here the name is significant of God's smile upon the green pasture lands. It was the name given by Rev. David Zeisberger to the Christian village settlement which he founded in April, 1776, on the eastern bank of the Muskingum river, two and a half miles below Goshochkunk (Coshocton) in accordance with the urgent wishes of the chief of the Delaware Indian Nation. Chief Netawatwes whose capital was Goshochkunk the Indian name which has survived in "Coshocton." Netawatwes selected the site in such proximity to his capital because, "If the brethren will live near me, I will be strong. They will make me strong against the disobedient."

The site is a broad level of many acres stretching to the foot hills with a slight rise. The river bank has an arc-shaped outline and was covered with maples and sycamores. There was a rich soil, and an abundance of materials for building.

The pre-historic relics tell of its having been occupied once before as a village site. There is a circle of five acres and a mound. The former is quite near this site of Lichtenau and the latter three-quarters of a mile down the river.

Forty-five years ago the site of Lichtenau was identified as stretching across the long lane that runs from the river to the foot hills, separating the farms then owned by Mr. Samuel Moore and Mr. Samuel Foraker, in Tuscarawas township, in Coshocton

county. The church probably stood in the yard of Mr. Moore, and the town stretched across over the farm of Mr. Foraker.

The settlement of the Lichtenau village was begun by Rev. David Zeisberger on April 12, 1776, just one day after his 55th birthday anniversary. Eight families accompanied Zeisberger and his assistant, Rev. John Heckewelder, a young man of 33. It was Saturday. On the following day, April 13, Chief Netawatwes with almost the entire population of Goshochkunk attended the first Sunday services. Zeisberger preached on the text Luke XXIV, 46 and 47.

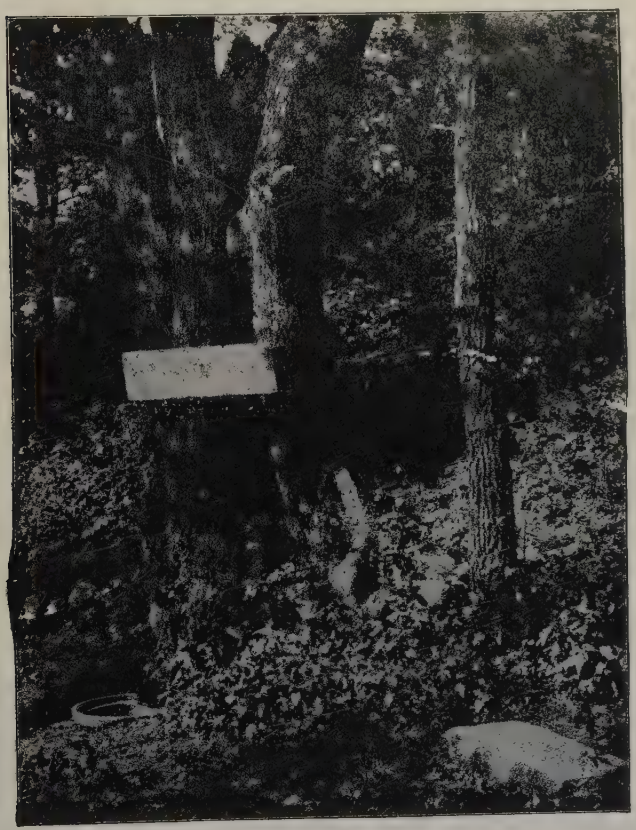
"Thus it is written and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations beginning at Jerusalem."

The one street of this village ran parallel to the river. The church was erected on a lot half way between its northern and southern ends. The work prospered from the outset and continued as this letter of Pastor Heckewelder shows. Among the converted were members of Chief Netawatwes' family, as well as himself. The first service at which the Lord's Supper was celebrated was on Sunday, May 18, 1776.

At this time the Delaware-English spelling book by David Zeisberger, printed for the use of pupils in the Mission schools of these Ohio towns in Philadelphia, Pa., was completed and came into use in these parts. It is the first Ohio spelling book published 132 years ago, for schools at Schoen-Brunn, Gnadenhutten and Lichtenau. In July, 1776, the first baptism took place at Lichtenau. The convert from among the heathen Indians was a grandson of chief Netawatwes. He was named John. To a friend who advised him how perilous it would be for him to risk religion, John made quick answer, and brave as it was quick.

"If my life is in danger, I will the more cheerfully witness of the truth. Do you imagine that a baptized Indian fears your sorceries as he did when he was a heathen, and that he will hesitate to make known what the Saviour has done for him and for all men? No! While I live I will not hold my peace, but proclaim salvation. This is the command of God."

Among the men who wielded the axe in cutting timber for the building of Lichtenau was the converted Indian Chief and brave warrior, Isaac Glicklican, who was a church elder as eminent for his piety as for his prowess. He perished in the Gnadenhutten massacre in 1782.



Schoenbrunn Spring — Discovered by Zeisberger in 1772.

CHARACTERISTICS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF DAVID ZEISBERGER.

REV. WILLIAM N. SCHWARZE, M. A.,

Professor of Historical Theology, Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa.

In the middle of the eighteenth century Nathaniel Seidel and David Zeisberger were deputed by the Board controlling Moravian activity in America to report to Count Zinzendorf and his coadjutors, in Europe, the character which the mission among the Indians was assuming, as well as to explain its needs. The second of the two men was peculiarly fitted for the task. Though not yet thirty years of age, he had been seasoned in five years of missionary effort of unusual difficulty among the aborigines of America. The Count conceived so high a regard for him that with the imposition of hands he appointed him perpetual missionary to this people. The commission thus laid upon him was faithfully executed by Zeisberger in a missionary career perhaps not equalled, certainly not surpassed, in point of length of service by any missionary of any Church among any people. In the eighty-seventh year of his age he rounded out sixty-two years of continuous and unwearied labor in behalf of the "red man," the narrative of which forms one of the most uplifting stories of early American daring and enterprise. Characteristics and achievements of such a career are of manifold interest.

W. N. Schwarze.

Imbued with a spirit at once unselfish and devout, the Moravian settlers of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, naturally turned

with pious yearning to the savages who roamed the American forests. In Zeisberger, grown out of such fine missionary soil, this yearning quickly ripened into the fixed purpose to devote his life to Christian work among them. Unselfish devotion focussed his energies and abilities on the effort. He began his labors by applying himself to the study of the Indian languages, not only taking instruction from a competent teacher but also taking up his residence among the Indians for months at a time. Self-denial such as this involved he practiced always. Self-denial became wellnigh complete in him. No selfish interest was allowed to cross his purpose to devote his life to the service of the Lord among the heathen. Through the channel of this devotion he poured all the power of a consecrated life into what he conceived to be his mission. It was a devotion clear in its aim, as it was strong in its purpose, because it was free from fanaticism. He wearied under no labors, however exacting, and shrank from no hardships, however severe. His burning zeal for the religion which was his life ever held his aims distinctly before him, though he might have to face the fury of a white mob or the opposition of Indian conjurors, but it never consumed itself in uncharitable feelings for fellow Christians or fellow laborers. His devotion was as sane and kindly as it was unselfish and intense. It was capable of husbanding the resources of his energy and applying them freely and unhesitatingly to every effort that commended itself to his sound judgment.

His work, directed by an intense and wise devotion, extended over a wide field of operations. Necessities proceeding from conditions of the time determined that Zeisberger's missionary life should be largely a succession of missionary journeys. In many respects the frequent enforced wanderings were a hindrance to his work. They foredoomed the failure of certain hopes entertained in the prosecution of missionary work among any people. No Christian Indian state was established to crown his own and other faithful missionaries' labors. Yet frequent removal of the mission from place to place and the journeys incident thereto served to spread the knowledge of the Gospel over vast stretches of territory and among many tribes.

Comparing his work with that of other missionaries to the aborigines of our land, Zeisberger stands foremost in respect of extensive missionary effort. One of the "Master Missionaries," as he has been called, he traveled through Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and entered Michigan and Canada, preaching to many nations in many tongues. He brought the Gospel to the Mohicans and Wampanoags, to the Nanticokes and Shawanese, to the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Wyandots, to the Unamis, Unalachtgos and Monseys of the Delaware race, to the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas of the "Six Nations," and those who heard often carried the message

Moravian Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa.

of the truth into regions where the missionary never appeared. These journeys acquire additional significance when it is remembered that they represent Zeisberger's resolute faithfulness to the remnant of his people, cruelly and heartlessly driven from one locality to another. Like a Moses he led his people always. The route of many wanderings, in quest of an asylum for them, is quite unique in missionary annals. The history of missions presents no instance of more intrepid persistence in seeking the welfare of a wronged community amid endless perils and dangers, reviled by men who should have known better but were incapable of appreciating the motives of Moravian missionaries. Scarcely a journey or undertaking of any kind did the devoted

missionary enter upon that had not the welfare of the Indians as its object.

Constant inspiration for such continuous endeavor despite never ending, and sometimes heart-rending, discouragements was supplied by a pure and holy passion for souls. Zeisberger was not attracted to the Indians by any romantic notions about the character and traits of these men of the woods. He learned to know them if ever man did. In his historical account* of the Indians, their country, manners and customs, he denounces their cowardice, treachery, licentiousness, indolence in all but unmeasured terms, even as he does full justice to their few redeeming qualities. His testimony is clear and well-founded, is couched in calm and deliberate language and must be regarded as conclusive evidence of the degradation and moral deformity of the savages. More than this, he shows in a single significant sentence how the pen of romance could have been misguided to invest them with a distinction they could not rightfully claim. "They love to be deemed honest and good, even when detected in the worst villainies." To gratify their eagerness for praise they became past masters in the art of dissembling. Yet Zeisberger loved them. He spent his life in the effort to do them good. So great was his passion for their souls that, as Paul "unto the Jews became as a Jew, in order that he might gain the Jews," so Zeisberger became to the Indians as an Indian that he might gain the Indians. He learned to move with ease and grace in the Indian forms of courtesy. He employed the manner of speech in vogue among them for greetings and in the council. He observed the Indian ideas of propriety. He could smoke the peace-pipe comformably to the rules of the ceremony. In some respects he became like the natives, particularly in taciturnity and adaptation to their modes of thought. All this did his unquenchable passion for souls bring about, in order that he might bring to bear on Indian hearts those Scripture truths that

* A voluminous manuscript, now in the archives of the Church at Bethlehem, written by Zeisberger in 1778, giving a full account of the Indian nations with which he was acquainted. A translation of this manuscript is about to be published by the Ohio State Historical and Archaeological Society.

are facts of prime moment for every man, savage and civilized alike.

No less significant are the achievements of a career so admirably furnished for successful effort. It follows very naturally from what has been stated that Zeisberger should have attained to great influence among the Indians. No man of this country was more sincerely honored, loved and trusted by the Indians. Early in his career, at the Iroquois capital, he was adopted a sachem of the Six Nations in the Clan of the Turtle. On that occasion an Indian name was given him, Ganousseracheri. Subsequently, he was formally naturalized among the Monseys. Whenever he appeared among these or related tribes, he was received not as a stranger but as one of their own people. At one time he was keeper of the Archives of the Iroquois Confederacy, said to have comprised "the most valuable collection of treaties and letters from colonial governors ever made by an Indian nation on this continent." For a number of years he swayed the Council of the Delawares. During the War of Independence of the American Colonies, he was able to keep that powerful people neutral, else had the Colonies experienced far greater difficulty in making good their declaration of independence. The power which the attainment of such influence placed in his hands Zeisberger used both to christianize and civilize the Indians.

No man of his century did more for the development of the Delaware language and the Onondaga Dialect of the Iroquois, the two most important languages of the North American Indians. The former particularly, the Lenape tongue, he set himself to master, and proved his competency as a Lenapist by reducing it to a uniform orthography. In both languages he left important philological works for later students. In the Delaware tongue he gave to the people hymns, liturgies, sermons and portions of Scripture. His literary works representing life-long labor were a precious heritage to the Christian Indians and are the best earthly monument to Zeisberger's memory.

The most illustrious features of his work were the Christian Indian communities he established. He founded no less than

thirteen. They were a source of wonder to all who saw them. They proved beyond shadow of doubt how much could be accomplished by a practical application of Christianity to savage life. They were not aggregations of hunting lodges, they were agricultural colonies. The chase was not neglected but played a subordinate part. These settlements, moreover, were governed by a published set of laws. They proved that under the matchless power of the Gospel even the Indian could be con-

Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa.

strained to exchange his wild habits and unsettled ways for peaceable life and regular duty, to give up unrestrained and arbitrarily used liberty in order to submit to municipal enactments that secured the greatest good to the greatest number.

Most of all did Zeisberger exert his great influence to move the Indian heavenward. His pure and strong religious character was such as to constrain his charges to holy living, to the cultivation of similar traits and the engaging in similar service. Amid multitudinous activities he never forgot that it

was his vocation to preach the Gospel to the Indians and spread the Kingdom of God. Perseveringly, zealously, faithfully and courageously he presented his message. Nothing afforded him greater joy than the real conversion of those to whom he preached. Gracious seasons of revival blessed his ministry. Large numbers were through his instrumentality brought into the Church of Christ. Among the hundred and more men sent by the Moravian Church to the Indians he stands pre-eminent as the soul-winner, even as he takes rank above them in other respects. He was happily successful in the character of the native helpers whom he raised up, and thus his missionary work sustains one of the severest tests applied in estimating the real value and advance of such effort. Of the many excellent natives who came forward to preach with boldness Anthony may be named. Zeisberger himself bears this testimony, "Anthony was as eager to bring souls to Christ as a hunter's hound is eager to chase the deer." Anthony succeeded in winning amongst others Glikkikan, equally renowned as warrior and orator. Glikkikan in turn became a most efficient coadjutor of the mission. Only that great day, when "every man's work shall be made manifest," will reveal how many precious souls were led out of darkness into light through the ministry of Zeisberger and the faithful men trained by him to be spiritual leaders of their brethren.

Even so brief an outline of the characteristics and achievements of this remarkable missionary career points again the admonition that we ought never to let the memory of a great and good man perish. It is worth too much to the living age to be suffered to go with him into the grave. The memory of Zeisberger's completed activity has now blessed us a full hundred years. To the devout and thoughtful, to the seriously-minded and those really desirous of serving their day and generation it yields both instruction and inspiration. They, appreciating the towering excellence of this man, recognize that unselfish devotion, large and generous aims, pure passion for mankind should be incorporated in the lives of noble purpose and will assure achievements that are profitable "for the life that now is" and that will receive their true rating and fullest valuation in "the life that is to come."

DAVID ZEISBERGER.

REV. JOHN GREENFIELD.

Memorial delivered Sunday, Nov. 15, 1908, in Nazareth, Pa.

"That ye be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises." — Hebrews 6:12.

Our congregation celebrates today a threefold festival. We commemorate, first of all, "the powerful experience" made by our Fathers, November 13, 1741, "that Jesus Christ is the Chief Shepherd and Head of the Church." We celebrate, in the second place, our annual congregation festival, for it was on November 13, 1756, that "the consecration of the Chapel in Nazareth Hall" took place, it being apparently the first house of worship which was built and set apart for this exclusive purpose. We observe furthermore today the David Zeisberger Centennial, for it was on November 17, 1808, that this "Moravian Apostle to the Indians" died at Goshen, Ohio, after a service of sixty-three years.

The town in which we live was founded in the year 1740 by eleven Moravian immigrants, under the leadership of Bishop Peter Boehler. One of the eleven, and perhaps the youngest of the party, was the man whose triumphant death a century ago we today commemorate. David Zeisberger, in 1740, then a youth of nineteen, was one of the Moravian woodsmen and carpenters sent to Nazareth by the great English evangelist, George Whitefield, to build here a school for negro children. These early Moravians, in more than one sense, builded better than they knew. That structure which they began in 1740 still stands and bears the name of its illustrious founder, being known as the *"Whitefield House."*

David Zeisberger, whose happy departure we today "call to mind with joy," and who was one of the first founders of this town and congregation, is also the best practical illustration of one to whom Christ has become Chief Shepherd, Head and Elder. Let us briefly consider I. His Decisive Conversion; II. His Evangelistic Zeal; III. His Triumphant Death.

I. HIS DECISIVE CONVERSION.

David Zeisberger's conversion stands out as clearly and strongly as does that of John Wesley. In January, 1743, a little company stood on the deck of the "James," ready to leave for Europe. It was a group of Moravian Brethren, most of whom had come to take leave of their beloved leader, Count Zinzendorf. Belonging to this company was a young man, twenty-two years of age, who had been appointed to return with the Count to Germany. He stood alone and looked mournfully upon the land of his choice. "Cast off the cable!" commanded Captain Garrison. At that moment Bishop Nitschmann, who had been the last to take leave of Count Zinzendorf, passed by, and, observing the young man's dejected looks, stopped short.

"David," said he, "do you not return to Europe willingly?"

"No, indeed!" was Zeisberger's reply. "I would much rather remain in America."

"For what reason?"

"I long to be truly converted to God and to serve Him in this country."

This declaration deserves our careful consideration. David Zeisberger was a *"born Moravian"* both nationally and denominationally. His birthplace was Zauchtenthal in Moravia, where he first saw the light of day on Good Friday, April 11, 1721. His parents belonged to the Ancient Church of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren. They were evidently most godly people, for in July, 1726, they left their large earthly possessions, forsaking all for Christ's sake, and sought a refuge in the new settlement in Saxony called Herrnhut. And yet, born Moravian that Zeisberger was, and brought up in a pious home, he himself apparently remained unchanged by the Divine grace and Spirit. Heredity was not sufficient. Not that he despised his birthright; far from it! He prized his privileges and opportunities. With the great Scotch preacher and poet, Horatius Bonar, he would have said:

> "I thank Thee for a holy ancestry;
> I bless Thee for a godly parentage;
> For seeds of truth and light and purity,
> Sown in this heart from childhood's earliest age."

Another circumstance to be noted is this: David Zeisberger passed through the great revival of 1727 and the following years in Herrnhut. Ten years he spent in that place of which John Wesley wrote: "God has given me at length the desire of my heart. I am with a church whose conversation is in heaven, in whom is the mind that was in Christ, and who so walk as He walked." In this congregation David Zeisberger lived during the most impressionable years of a person's life, from five to fifteen, and yet without being "converted to God." He listened to the strong Scriptural preaching of the Moravian carpenter, Christian David; he heard the joyful testimonies of that "little preacher of righteousness," Susannah Kuehnel; he witnessed the remarkable prayer-meetings of the children when they spent hours in supplication and praise; yet, though deeply impressed by all he saw and heard, there was in his case no definite decision, no absolute surrender. He still was not "converted to God."

Let us learn from this that neither *heredity* nor *environment* can save a soul. Zeisberger's opportunities were certainly of the best. Pious Moravian parentage, godly Moravian training and education were all enjoyed by him, and not without much profit. It is a matter of record that he was the "brightest Latin scholar of his class, a diligent student who showed a natural facility for acquiring languages." Moreover, he lived a morally pure and clean life. He was a truthful, honest and industrious lad. The first year spent in America, 1739, he acted as a traveling companion and assistant of Peter Boehler, that masterful preacher and soul-winner, just arrived from England, where he had been the means in the hand of God for the conversion of hundreds, among them being John and Charles Wesley. With him David Zeisberger spent upwards of a year and yet was not "converted to God." In later years when speaking of this period of his life he said: "At that time my heart was not yet converted to God, but I longed to enjoy His grace and that fully." On board the vessel, therefore, Bishop Nitschmann advised the young man to leave the ship and return to Bethlehem. Zeisberger did not wait to be told a second time. He returned to Bethlehem in a state of deep spiritual concern and of longing.

for the assurance of the pardon of his sins. A Brother by the name of Buettner, four years his senior, acted the part of Andrew and Philip in bringing the young man to Jesus. "Some days thereafter, during the singing, by a company of young men in the Single Brethren's House at Bethlehem, of a familiar hymn of praise to Jesus, the Saviour of sinners, a great light came into his soul, and *Zeisberger realized the joy of thorough conversion in the assurance that the Saviour had taken all his sins away.*"

This great change was such a distinct and unique experience in his life that Zeisberger might truly with few variations have adopted John Wesley's words, who described his own conversion at a little Moravian meeting in London as follows: "About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and *an assurance* was given me, that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine,* and saved me from the law of sin and death."

II. HIS EVANGELISTIC ZEAL.

David Zeisberger at once became an evangelist. The old martyr-spirit of the Ancient Bohemian and Moravian Church was both in name and in fact the "witness-spirit" of the Renewed Brethren's Church. Zeisberger put at once into practice what another young Moravian in Europe was doing at the same time, viz., John Cennick, who testified:

> "Then will I tell to sinners round
> What a dear Savior I have found,
> I'll point to the atoning Blood
> And say: Behold the way to God!"

Zeisberger, like his Master, practiced both personal and public evangelism. In John's Gospel, chapter 4, we are told how Jesus dealt with one poor sinner in such a way as to lead her to repentance and faith. This might be called personal evangelism. It led into a larger field. This woman became such a witness, that Christ was invited to spend several days

in her town, and to conduct there a public evangelistic campaign resulting in the conversion of hundreds. Some one has called it "The Revival at Sychar."

Following in the footsteps of the Savior, young Zeisberger felt his heart drawn out in pity towards the lowest and poorest of mankind. He began to speak to some Indians near Bethlehem and Nazareth of "Jesus and His love." Proceeding further through the wilds of Pennsylvania he preached to the Indians in the Mohawk Valley of New York. When he and a brother-missionary were arrested as spies and asked by Governor Clinton at Albany, N. Y., as to their designs, they made this truly Moravian and Scriptural reply: "We hope to get liberty to preach among the Indians the Gospel of our Crucified Savior, and to declare to them what we have personally experienced of His grace in our own hearts." This became the supreme passion of his life — "to declare to the Indians what he had personally experienced of Christ's grace in his own heart." In order to do this, he mastered their languages and dialects, translated the Holy Scriptures, Litanies and Sacred Songs, prepared school-books, grammars, dictionaries, etc., and spent sixty-three years of his life amongst his brown brethren, often in pathless forests, frequently exposed to privations, hardships and death, all with one object in view, viz., "to declare to them what he had personally experienced of Christ's grace in his own heart." He became a plodding student, a thorough scholar, a famous linguist, a noted writer, an accomplished administrator, in order that he might be a successful evangelist. Frequent revivals accompanied his faithful testimony.

The famous picture of Zeisberger preaching to the Indians well illustrates the supernatural power of the Gospel which he preached "with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven" At one time when laboring in Central Pennsylvania Zeisberger wrote:

"For several months a great revival has been prevailing among the Indians who visit us. All who attend our services are deeply impressed and listen as though they never had enough of the message of the Savior. Often while I am preaching the power of the gospel message makes them tremble with emotion

and shake with fear, until they almost lose consciousness and seem about to faint. This shows with what violence the powers of evil within them oppose the work of the Cross. As a rule when such a paroxysm is over they weep in silence."

Special methods and meetings were found to be necessary in dealing with those under conviction of sin. Zeisberger's biographer tells us: "A revival broke out at the new mission, named Friedenstadt, in Western Pennsylvania. In the house of Abraham, the Helper, inquiry meetings were held every evening, sometimes lasting until midnight. Even the children were impressed and talked of Jesus." St. Paul's maxim or rule of methods had evidently been adopted by David Zeisberger: *"By all means save some."* Like Alleine he was "insatiably greedy after souls." With David Brainerd he could say: "I had no notion of joy from this world; I care not where or how I live, or what hardships I went through, so that I could but gain souls for Christ."

Brainerd finished his course with joy after five years' service; Zeisberger toiled in the vineyard sixty-three years. A biographer thus describes one of his many journeys: "For two days, amid drenching rain, in the pathless forests and swamps of the Broad Mountain, in what is now Monroe County, these two messengers of Jesus crept for miles on hands and feet, beneath and between laurel bushes whose tangled mazes made walking impossible. Their only guide was a pocket compass. After two days they struck the trail to Wyoming. Although thoroughly exhausted by the toil of their journey, Zeisberger at once began to preach the gospel. The Indians flocked from every side to hear his blessed message. Next morning, after a short night's rest, the work was resumed, and for three days he preached Christ with great power. Tears rolled down the cheeks of his hearers and their whole frames were convulsed with emotion."

"He is wise that winneth souls," said Israel's royal sage, and David Zeisberger was indeed a wise soul-winner, for, like John Wesley, he organized the newly converted into societies and drew up rules and regulations for their guidance. One of two articles of their "brotherly agreement" may well be heeded in these times:

"We will rest from work on the Lord's day and attend public service."

"We will have nothing to do with thieves, murderers, whoremongers, adulterers or drunkards. We will not take part in dances, sacrifices, heathenish festivals or games."

"We will not admit rum or any other intoxicating liquor into our towns. If strangers or traders shall bring intoxicating liquors, our Helpers shall take it from them and not restore it until the owners are ready to leave the place."

No wonder in view of all this that one of Zeisberger's admirers exclaims: "Rich fruitage of the veteran missionary's life labor! Happy indeed amid all the countless trials and poignant sorrows that clouded his career, in the triumph of the Savior's grace over the powers of darkness, in the salvation of hundreds and thousands of precious souls!"

III. HIS TRIUMPHANT DEATH.

A century ago this valiant soldier of the Cross stood face to face with "the last enemy." In spirit let us gather around that death-bed. The historian tells us: "Zeisberger lay calm, without pain and perfectly conscious. The converts sang hymns, treating of Jesus, the Prince of Life, of death swallowed up in victory, and of Jerusalem, the Church above. He occasionally responded by signs expressive of his joy and peace. Amid such strains, at half past three o'clock in the afternoon, he breathed his last, without a struggle, and went to God. All present immediately fell on their knees."

"Oh may I triumph so,
When all my warfare's past;
And dying find my latest foe
Under my feet at last!"

What now was the secret of Zeisberger's peace in death, of his victory over the mighty conqueror? What was the ground of his serene confidence? Did he rest on his own achievements? He might with reason have been tempted to do so. What a career could he look back upon! Measured by length of service, by absolute consecration to Christ, by self-denial and self-sacrifice

for the sake of the gospel, no name stands higher in the history of Christian Missions than that of David Zeisberger. With the Apostle Paul he might have said: "Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labors more abundant, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the wilderness. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." II Cor. 11:23-27. Yet all these toils, trials and sufferings, so cheerfully borne for Christ's sake during nearly seven decades, did not form Zeisberger's ground of confidence in the hour of death.

Was it then perhaps his seemingly perfect character? To us at this distance as well as to his contemporaries David Zeisberger appears well-nigh faultless. His famous companion in labors, John Heckewelder, said of him: "He was endowed with a good understanding and a sound judgment; a friend and benefactor of mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, with perhaps the exception of those who were enemies of the Gospel which he preached." "Experience invariably proved the correctness of his judgment. Receiving, as it were, a glimpse of the future, through the deep thoughts and silent prayers in which he engaged, he stood up, on most occasions, full of confidence and knew no fear." "He would never consent to have his name put down on a salary-list or become a 'hireling,' as he termed it; saying that although a salary might be both agreeable and proper for some missionaries, yet in his case it would be the contrary."

The language used by the noted Unitarian preacher, Theodore Parker, in his eulogy of the famous missionary, Adoniram Judson, might with equal truth be applied to David Zeisberger: "If the Foreign Missionary enterprise had accomplished nothing more than to produce such a character it had been well worth all its costs and sacrifices."

But Zeisberger's hope for eternity was built on a better and stronger foundation than that of his wonderful character. A few days before his death he gave his last testimony, and the

words form the sum and substance of his creed and experiences: "As my weakness is continually increasing and my appetite gone, I believe that the Saviour intends to take me to Himself. Lying here, often sleepless, on my bed, I have employed the time in reviewing my whole past life, and I find so many faults, and so much cause for forgiveness, that nothing remains to me but His grace. Nevertheless I know that I am His. I trust in the efficiency of His atoning blood, which makes one clean from all sin. The Saviour is mine. The Saviour's merits are mine. Some Christians die rejoicing, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. This is not my case. I leave the world as a poor sinner. My spirit God will receive. I am certain of that. This mortal, with all its sinfulness, I leave behind."

And thus the greatest of Moravian missionaries passed into the presence of the King and entered the joy of his Lord. The Christian Church does well to observe the Centennial of his death. We, of this place, would affectionately call to mind the heroic youth who helped to found our town and congregation. Often has he trod this ground on errands of mercy for his Master. How times have changed! The very soil which his weary feet frequently pressed has become a source of untold material wealth. Where nestled some of his mission-stations huge cement plants are now located. But his name and fame are far more imperishable even than the products of those great industries. The wild mountain regions of Pennsylvania which he so willingly traversed on foot for many years, searching out and shepherding his brown brethren, for whom Christ died, have yielded up incalculable treasures of coal, iron and oil, and made some of his fellow mortals multi-millionaires and "kings of finance;" but none of them can for a moment compare with him who coveted only "souls for his hire and as seals of his ministry."

The Territory of Ohio, in which he achieved some of his mightiest missionary triumphs, has become a great State, and the so-called "mother of presidents;" but the fame of none of them will equal his who a century ago left her clime for the Paradise of God, who having "turned many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever."

Let us not, however, spend our lives and waste our breath

in mere idle admiration, but let us follow him even as he followed Christ. Be it ours to seek and find that "full assurance" of our pardon in the "precious blood;" be it ours to bear witness "to sinners round" of what "we have personally experienced of God's grace in our own hearts;" be it ours to turn our backs upon the world with its treasures and pleasures, "to seek and to save the lost;" in order that there may be said of us what was so truthfully affirmed of David Zeisberger in the text of his funeral sermon a century ago: "They overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives even unto death." (Rev. 12:11.)

"Soldier of Christ, Well done!
Thy glorious warfare's past!
The battle's fought, the victory won,
And thou art crowned at last!"

THE MORAVIAN RECORDS.

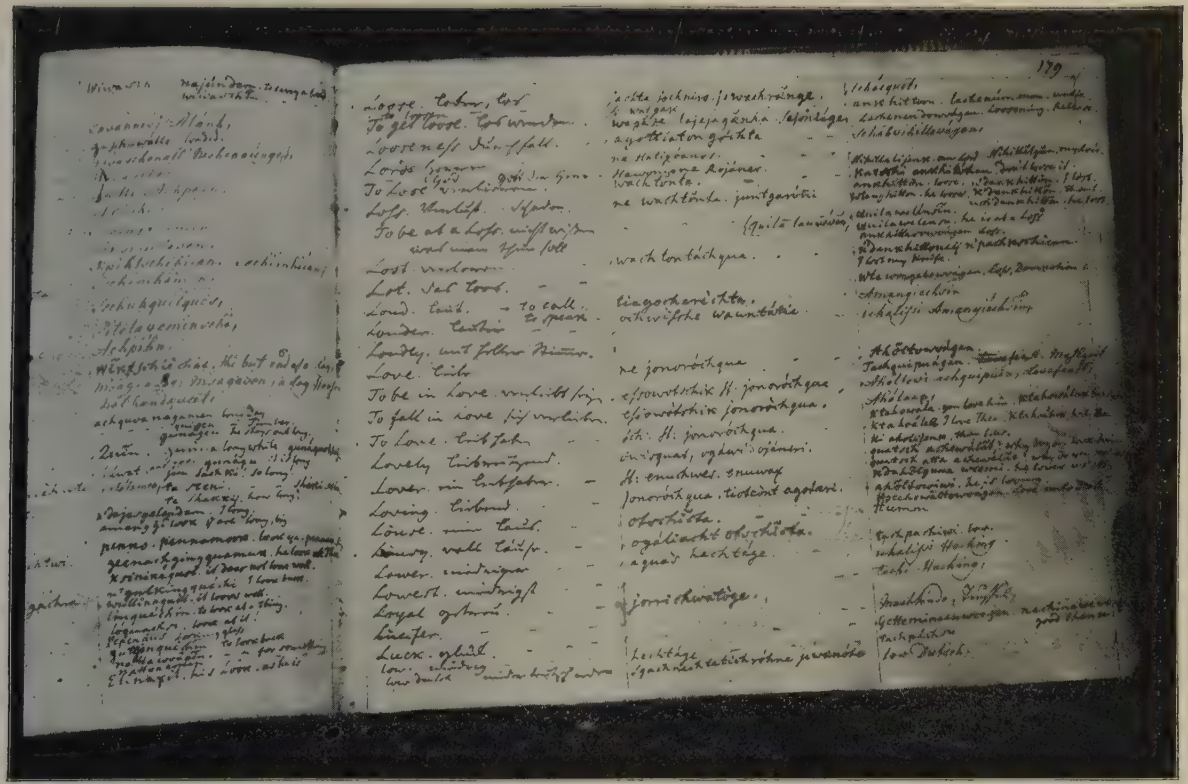
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

Professor of American History, Marietta College; Editor Washington's Tour of the Ohio 1770, Washington's Journal of 1784, The Crown Collection of American Maps, etc.

[A portion of an address given at the Zeisberger Centennial, November, 1908. For the accompanying illustrations thanks are due William C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard University in which the original manuscripts were deposited by Edward Everett who collected them.]

I think Zeisberger's service was most marvelous for his sublime patience, and the addresses of Dr. Rice and others during the centennial proceedings have shown us that when that patience failed, the great heart of Zeisberger failed also. I almost feel that Zeisberger would have died at any time when that sublime patience had reached its limit of endurance. The Bible, you know, tells us that it is for some to "mount up with wings like eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint." It was for some to mount up with wings like eagles in that great unfolding drama that wrought a new civilization in the twilight of this American Black Forest between the Allegheny and the Wabash; it was for some to run and not be weary — men who also laid potent hands on the mysterious forces which in God's providence were to produce great empires where the deer loved to play among these trees; and then there were men who were merely to walk and not faint, not to do the conspicuous things or appear in notable affairs but to whose hands came a host of commonplace, monotonous duties — lives not woven in white and purple but in "one seamless stuff of brown." Such was the life of the man we bear in mind today and as such it is of pregnant inspiration — or should be — to all of us who must be humdrum heroes, trying our best to walk and not to faint.

Since 1898 when I attended the Gnadenhutten Centennial, I



Delaware Dictionary.

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

have had more than a passing interest in the work of the Moravian missionaries but it was only very lately that it became plain how tremendously we are in the debt of those fearless men for the preservation of the early history of this middle west and of Ohio in particular.

Last summer under the auspices of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was began a thorough examination of what we may for convenience call "The Moravian Records" at Bethlehem with the generous aid of Professor Schwarze, of the Moravian Theological Seminary. The lack of any list or calendar of the immense collection of documents there made it impossible to determine its historical value. From the appended catalogue, rough and brief as it is, it will appear that it is unlikely that any other source is more prolific of information concerning the regions in which the Moravians operated than these collections at Bethlehem will untimately prove to possess. The Moravians were assiduous and careful record keepers; every mission congregation kept its daily record; all affairs came in for mention in these diaries, secular and religious. At times they are given up entirely to discussion of outward affairs of moment to the mission and of greatest importance to annalists and historians of today. There must be ten thousand manuscripts in the entire collection.

For instance, the records of the travels of the Moravian missionaries will throw a good deal of new light on the subject of the early western settlements, roads and advancing pioneers. From about 1740 to nearly 1840 Moravian missionaries were threading the trails and rivers of Pennsylvania Ohio, Indiana and neighboring states.

Zeisberger's literary remains are numerous and in good condition. His tours will prove of interest and are as follows:

1. Zeisberger's narrative of arrest in New York.
2. Zeisberger's journal to the Cayuga town 1766.
3. Zeisberger's journal to Goschgoschung on Allegheny, 1767.
4. Zeisberger's journals, 1762-1767.
5. Zeisberger's tour to Allegheny 1767,1768.

6. Sister Zeisberger's diary from Canada to Muskingum, 1798.

7. Zeisberger and Cammerhoff's journey among Five Nations, 1750.

8. Zeisberger and Spangenberg's journey to Onondaga.

9. Mack and Zeisberger.

10. Zeisberger's stay at Onondaga, 1755.

11. Zeisberger's journey from Fairfield, Can., to Muskingum, 1798.

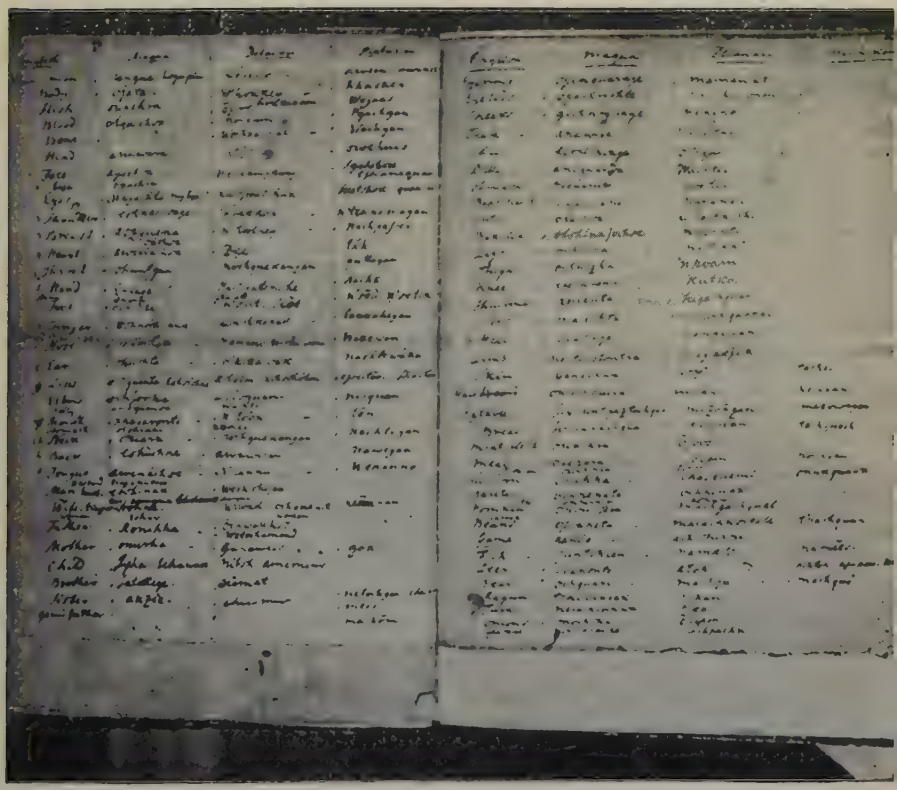
But of more importance than the records of travel are the records of the congregations. These were written usually by the oldest missionary in charge of each station, with the help of his assistant. They relate primarily, of course, as did the *Jesuit Relations,* to the progress of the mission work, the routine of services, the public and private talks with the converts. When least expected, however, matters of outward importance are introduced, oftentimes to receive large attention. One illustration will prove this. In the Goshen diary of the year 1810 — the critical year before the war with Tecumseh's allied Indians — we find the following enlightening reference to British-Indian relations:

"January 11," "we also spoke with Nicodemus, who belonged to the Pettquotting congregation, and has lately intimated a desire to be received as an inhabitant here, informing him of two important points, on which it would be necessary for him to make up his mind fully before he came to a determination on the subject; namely, that he must, if he would live here, totally break off his engagements with the heathen chiefs, (engagements that members of a congregation of believers never should have entered into); and also leave off the going to Malden for presents. As to this last point, it is well known to all our Indian brn. [brethren] that the agent of the British government at Malden has, above a year ago, declared by letter to the missionaries that no presents would be given there in the future to *our* Indians. If therefore any who belong to us obtain presents there, it must be in consequence of their professing themselves to be heathen."

It is doubtful if anything like the full story of the relations between the British officers and the Indians along our frontiers can be told until the records of the Moravian Indian congregations are published. The diaries of the congregations in Canada

will throw much light, it is believed, on this mysterious chapter of western history.

The following has been translated from the 1776 diary of the Gnadenhutten congregation to show the average general in-



English, Maqua, Delaware and Mohican vocabulary.

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

terest that attaches to many of the entries. The selection was made at hap-hazard in the year named:

May 1-24: [pastoral — corn planting, etc.]

24th. Brother of Shawano Chief reports that some Mingoes are on the war path to murder white people. He is on his way to Pittsburg to report the matter.

25th-31st. [pastoral, routine]

June 1-3. [pastoral, routine]

3d. At noon Captain White Eyes came here with John Killebock. — Both left here for Pittsburg to see Mr. Morgan, who called for them. Soon after them came, Mr. Wilson from Pittsburg by way of Schoenbrun with a string of wampum and a speech to the Delawares asking them not to go to the Fort but to stay at home, because Mr. Morgan had come to him himself and wished to speak with them in Cohohoohkung — White Eyes is called back. — Traders forbidden to sell rum in Moravian towns in Mr. Wilson's "speech".

4-9th. [pastoral routine]

10th. Mr. Morgan and Makie with six white people and several Shawanees arrive from Pittsburg on the way to CoChoohkung.

10-26. [routine]

27th. Heckewelder comes from Schoenbrum and goes to Lichtenau.

30th. [pastoral]

July 1-3. [pastoral routine]

5th. David Zeisberger stops on way from Lichtenau to Schoenbrum.

11th. Indian brings news that Five Nations have decided to support the King of England.

14th. Mr. Morgan comes with two white boys who had been kidnapped by the Mingoes.

16th. Mr. Morgan a little later followed by Mr. Makie return to Pittsburg.

21st. White Eyes comes to his wife and uncle on his way to Pittsburg.

24th. Mr. Oharro arrives from Pittsburg with ten horses, loads of wares and also a man by the name of Makarmick to buy cattle.

28th. Two traders on way to Pittsburg report ten Shawanees on war path.

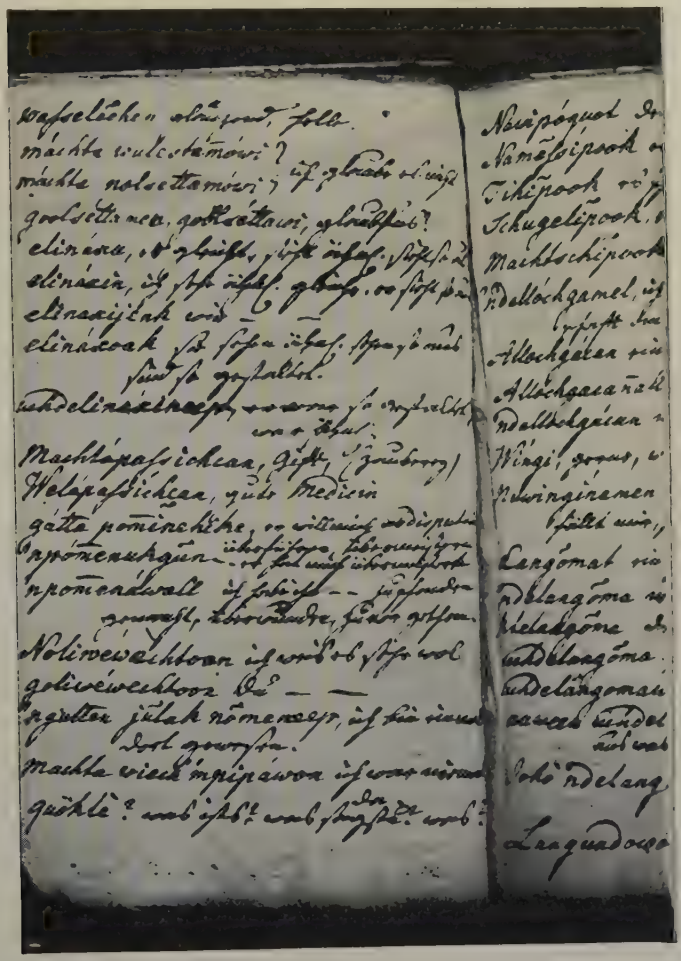
Aug. 9th. Seven Virginians from Williamsburg stopped on their way to the Shawanees."

Any record of those happy years of Zeisberger's greatest success 1770-1775 are of interest. An extract follows from the Gnadenhutten diary of 1773:

"January 1. Brother David returned from Gnadenhutten toward evening, with him came Echpalawehund with his wife who had come there this morning from Gekelemukp, and with whom Brother David had the opportunity to hold much conversation during the day and then his desire was aroused to live with us and to live after the Saviour. So we gave him good advice because we must take care when we wish to take such people among us.

February 3d. Brother Josua and Brother John Martin came here

from Gnadenhutten and Echpalawechund from Gekelmukpechunk; the first two incidently, the last for a visit.



A page from a Sermon in Delaware.

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

March 8th. Brother David came from Gnadenhutten where he went to pay a visit, day before yesterday and with him came Isaac from Goschahossink, twenty miles from Gehelemukp.

May 22d. Indians came here from Gekelamukpechunk, Goschahossunk and other places for a visit. Since it seemed that some time a war with the Shawanees and Virginians who live far below on the Ohio would be inevitable, the first having already killed and scalped many white people. So we received the joyful news that everything would be laid aside and peace would remain. The Wawiachtanos and Kilsapus, two nations who are their neighbors, have held a council with them and ordered them to keep peace.

June 26th. In the afternoon we had a very violent thunderstorm, which shattered the thickest trees; next to them not far from our houses to the west side it made an opening in the earth from three to four feet wide and two and one-half feet deep.

August 10th. Before the break of day it pleased our good Lord to take into his care Anna Justina Phillipus in the second year of her age. She was born at Friedenshutten on the 19th of October, 1771, and was baptized by Brother Schmidt on the 20th.

September 25th. The strange Mohicans went away friends. Marcus had proclaimed the love of the Savior to them by day and night and they also attended our meetings diligently and listened attentively to what was spoken. Brother John Martin and Brother Isaac from Schoenbrum were chosen by the "Helpers Conference" to go to preach to the Indians and announce the gospel to them, which the first joyfully received.

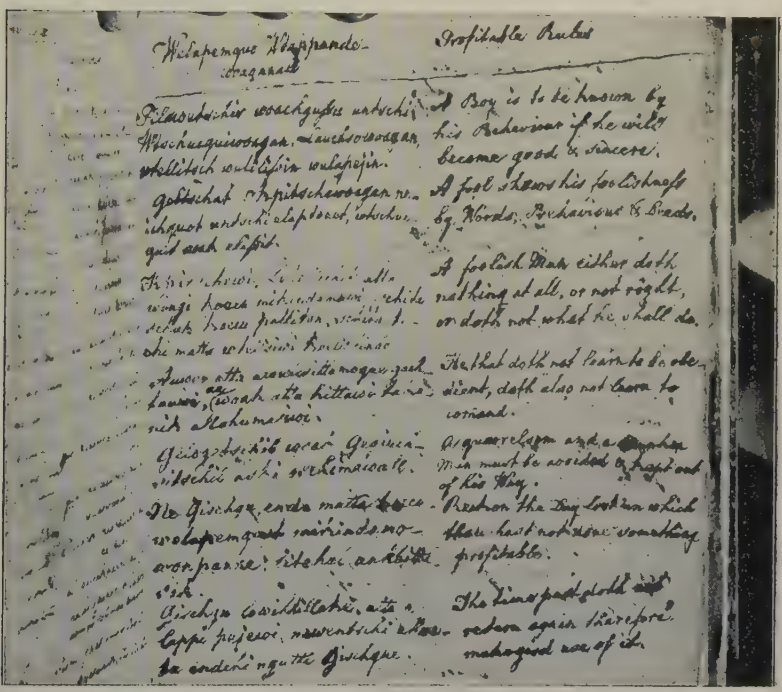
November 5th. The speaker Killebock came with a counsellor from Kikalemukpechünk [gekalemukpechunk] and brought a string of wampum with the following words: "Nachees which means Grand Child: We have heard that three Indians have been killed, two of the bodies of whom were found at the mouth of this creek; and one Shawnee was thrown into the creek by white people. If the murdering by white people is not stopped war will be declared. Therefore several chiefs and especially our Netawatwees with their counsellors have decided to consider these and other evil and important things, and to keep peace and on this account several chiefs have already gathered at Pittsburg. It also is their intention to prevent the white people from journeying so far among the nations. The teachers among the Indians are not meant by this but the traders, who through the rum which they bring along make many Indians poor and make them drunk so that many Indians kill each other."

October 9th. The Mohicans and those living near them went to the surveyed place. It lies half way between us and Gekelemukyse. That is ten good miles from us on the east side of the river. It lies upon a high bank of the river and the land is very beautiful above; the fields however lie opposite.

October 10th. Brother David went there with a few Indian brethren and from there went with Josua again to Gekelemukyse.

October 11th. Brother Jungman preached here on the love of the Saviour for all the poor and sick who only approach him in faith and ask him for help. An Indian came from Gekelemukyse to visit his friends here and offered them a canoe load of corn if they wished to have it, which was thankfully received.

It appears that the study of the Moravian records during



A Delaware Grammar.

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

these years of the Second War with England will necessarily lead to a rewriting of its history, at least so far as Ohio is concerned.

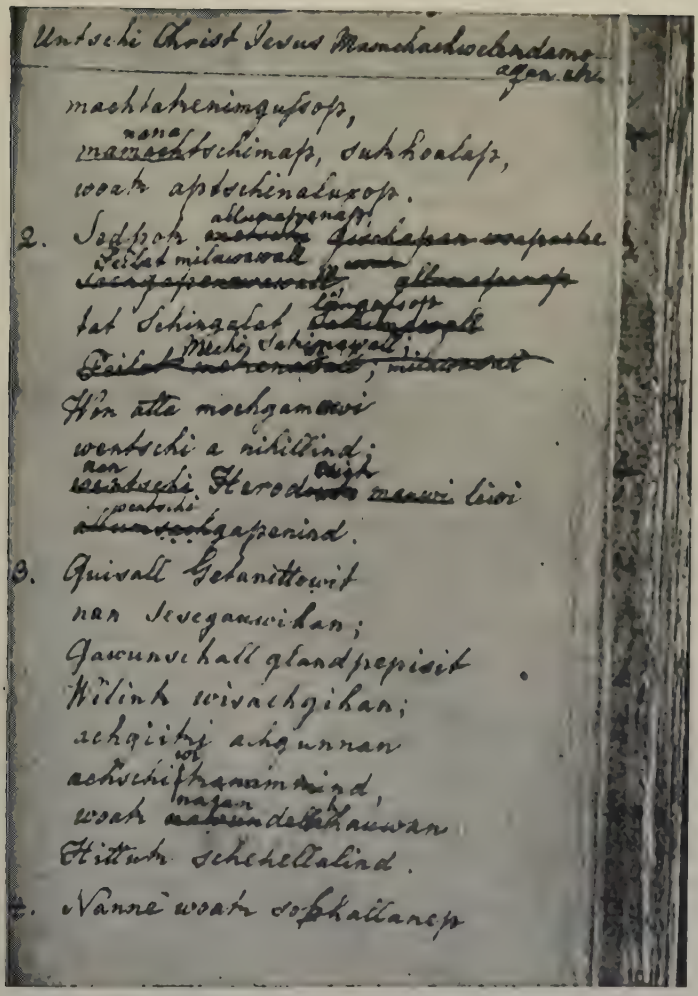
The story of the Goshen congregation record for the year 1812 reveals a strange new story of conditions in northern Ohio; its pictures of the terror of the people of an Indian raid from Canada, of the earthquake, of the militia of New Philadelphia and vicinity, of the return of Hull's betrayed soldiers from De-

troit and Cleveland as ragged beggars along the homeward road, of the helplessness of those in authority and their dismay, are truly illuminating.

Did you know that it was only by a hair's breadth that a second Gnadenhutten massacre was averted at Goshen when a party of infuriated New Philadelphians came upon the little village at midnight upon hearing idle rumors that the Moravian Indians were in correspondence with the British authorities? This is the brave Mortimer's description of the alarming episode:

"[August] 8th, between 11 and 12 o'clock at night above 20 men, all armed with rifles, swords or pistols, came here from New Philadelphia, to search for Indians who have been said to sculk about by day, and assemble here at night. Messrs Laffer and McConnel preceded them on horseback, and came first to Br. and Sr. Mortimer's house, to give them notice of the approach of the people, and what their business was. Br. Mortimer, who was fast asleep, on being awakened and dressed, offered to go with the whole company, with a candle in his hands, into every Indian house, and to every place about us which the people might express a desire to visit. It happened that there was no other Indian here except Charles and Christian Henry and their families, who at this dead hour of the night were all fast asleep. They were awakened by Br. Mortimer in presence of Messrs Laffer and McConnel, and told of the object of this visit; and Mr. McConnel went immediately afterwards with Br. Mortimer's consent to fetch the company of armed men, who had meanwhile stopped near the town. Three of these people believed and maintained, that from the place where they had stood among the bushes, they had seen two men cross the street just at the time when Br. Mortimer came out of his house with Messrs. Laffer and McConnel, with a candle in his hand. They declared too that they had heard them open a door, and speak together; and no surmise made with a view to explain what might have led to this belief, would satisfy them. The most diligent search was therefore made in all the buildings and places from whence the New Philadelphians themselves believed it to be possible, that the supposed two men could have come; but no trace, they allowed, was found, that a human being had been in any one of them, within the preceding 24 hours. If therefore they saw anything, it was probably only two dogs, who had recently barked, and might have crossed the street at the time when Messrs. Laffer and McConnel entered the town, and who by means of a distant candle, and their fears, became long and alarming shadows. All who belong here were very sure, and averred, that no strange Indians were secreted here.

"Had this unauthorized visit, made in the dead of the night, with



From "A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians."
From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

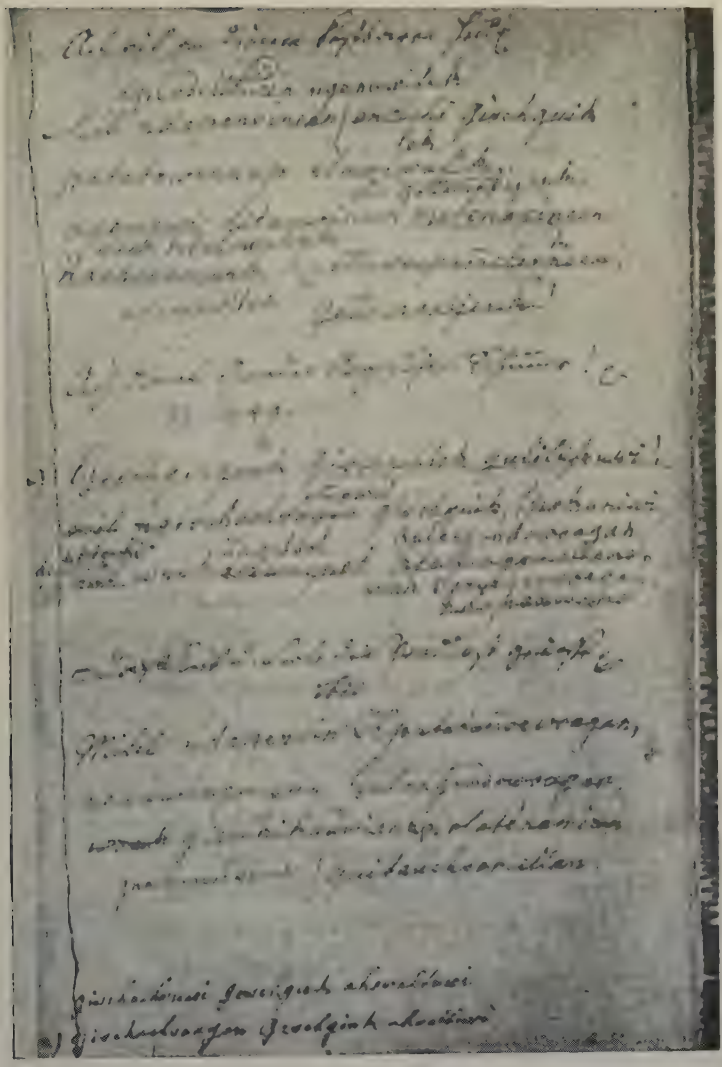
many apologies for troubling us at so unseasonable an hour, and with much caution in particular from Mr. Laffer, who took care that no person here should be alarmed, and nothing done or said that could be taken amiss; not been conducted so prudently, we might with propriety have made it the subject of a complaint before a magistrate. A report, it was said, had reached New Philadelphia that 15 strange — and it was supposed hostile — Indians were seen during the day coming towards this place. This occasioned much alarm, and the 20 armed men and upwards, came here to see whether the report was true; and if so, they told us, to take the 15 strange Indians prisoners! But their plan was illjudged; for had there been so many hostile Indians here, the greater part of them would probably have been killed by them, as their behaviour was altogether unsoldierlike. Judge Dierdorf, Mr. Clark, Col. Bay and others in New Philadelphia had endeavored, they said, to dissuade them from their purpose, as they professed to be convinced, that all the reports of hostile Indians being harbored here, were false; but as their representations were disregarded, they particularly desired Mr. Laffer, who keeps the principal tavern there, to ride in haste thither, give due notice of their approach and business, and strongly recommend in their name, to behave themselves in a becoming manner here. After staying with us upwards of an hour, these nightly visitors set off on their return home. As soon as they were out of town, they began to fire off their guns, in order as they had said here, to frighten the women in New Philadelphia, and make them think that murderous work was going forward. As they approached New Philadelphia, they continued firing, which so alarmed Abr. Kneisley Esqure. and his family, who live about half a mile out of town, that under supposition that hostile Indians were actually come, and were fighting with the New Philadelphia people, they all fled with the utmost precipitation into the woods, and remained there till break of day."

Following is a rough catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the archives of the Moravian Church and Malin Library. The numbers refer to the green boxes in which the collection is at present preserved:

No. 1.

John Heckewelder — Narrative of Indian Mission on Muskingum. Captivity and murder — From his diary from Cuyahoga to Bethlehem, October-November, 1786. Also diary of Bro. Wigand [Shebosh was the Indian name of John Joseph Bull] and Shebosh to the Huron River and brief letters by Bro. M. Jung, 1783.

Diary of the wandering Indian congregation in their flight from Muskingum to Sandusky, its final destruction, and the rebuilding on the river Huron not far from Detroit in the years 1781-2-3. (Brief abstract.)



Delaware Hymn Book.

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

No. 2.

List of families who fled from the frontiers to Bethlehem January 1756.

Account of contributions for same.

Letters, etc., Pa. Indians and Pa. Governor including posts. Contains D. Zeisberger's conversation with Mohawk chief Nicola at Bethlehem, August 1758. Something of Fred. Post's missions at Fort Augusta, Pittsburg, 1758. Moravian's replies to accusations that they were corresponding with the French.

Joseph Powel's account of benefactions to needy, etc., in Indian war. (copy) Kettles, garments, linen, etc.

Short description of the many favors and blessings of the Lord our God which the congregations in Bethel experienced during the dangerous wild war, 1755-7.

Letters and reports from the country congregations during French and Indian War, 1756.

No. 3.

1. Diary of the Indian congregation in Sangundo Wenunk from November 27, 1771, to April 12, 1772.

2. Short report from Gnadenhutten from June and July, 1780.

3. Diary of Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhutten from November 1779 to August, 1780.

Heckewelder's instructions from S. P. G.† concerning Indian lands, 1799.

Six maps of Muskingum Region.

Correspondence of great value bet. Moravian Church and Col. Broadhead concerning Gnadenhutten massacre with accounts of same.

Memorabilia of first white settlers at Gnadenhutten, 1799.

Signed (B. Mortimer).

Letters from Salem, August, 1780.

Letters from Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Jung, etc., 1781-2-3.

Diary of Sisters Grube, Senseman, etc., of journey across the mountains, May-September, 1780.

Diary of the Indian congregation in Lichtenau on the Muskingum from April 6, 1779, to the end of February, 1780; also from March 1st, 1780 to August 14, 1780.

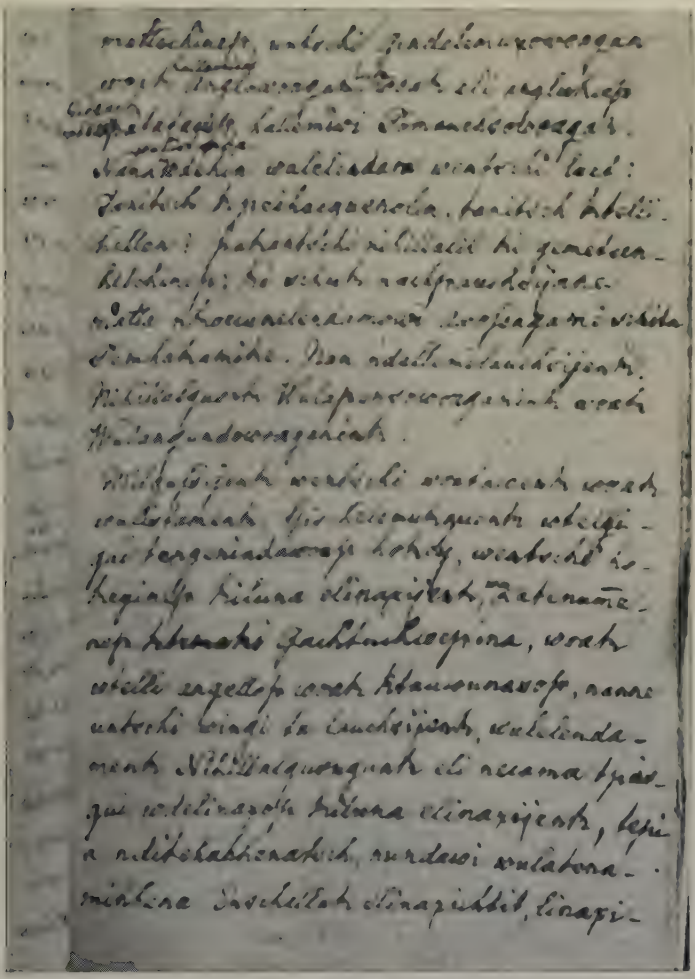
Diary of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum, 1772-1777.‡

Diary of the Indian congregation in Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum River from February 16 to May 19, 1774:

"Toward evening a lieutenant by the name of Ante arrived who lived in Detroit where he is engaged in business. During the past

† Society for Propagating the Gospel.

‡ Sample translation from diary of 1774.



Page from a Delaware Sermon.

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

winter he has been in New York where he went by water; now however he is returning home by land; we took him in with us for the night and with him Colonel Croghan's officer who is accompanying him as far as Sandusky. This lieutenant told us, when I asked about Captain Sinclair, that he has obtained from the Indians a beautiful tract of land between Lake Erie and Huron which has been granted to him in Old England by the king".

Another sample taken at haphazard — May, 1775:

"From May 1st until the 8th, we had many visits from friendly Indians who had come partly from hunger and partly to hear the word of God. We had experienced similar pangs of hunger when we fled from these places during the war times. A Virginia captain by the name of Wood came here with another Simon Girty from Pittsburg. They went into our meeting house with good feelings and soon went on from here to the delamatenoe to invite the Shawanese and Delawares to a treaty at Pittsburg, September 10."

No. 4.

The affairs of the exile of the Indians from Nain and Wechquetank from 1763 until 1764.

Diary of the exiled Indian congregation from Nain and Wechquetank; partly from Province Island and in the Philadelphia barracks; partly from the journey to the Susquehannah and the arrival in Nachilichingfrom December 1, 1763 to May 21, 1765. The wonderful preservation of the Indian congregation from Nain and Wechquetank in exile. Several address of the same to the Governor during their stay outside of Philadelphia, March, 1765.

No. 5.

Two maps of Wechquetank Region.
Diary of Wechquetank, 1760-1763.
Tschichschiquannunk.
Diary 1769-1772 and a few letters.

The place was a Monsey Village on the west coast of the Susquehannah nearly opposite (a little below) Shesequm, Bradford County, Pa. The mission there was begun by John Roth in 1769 and was abandoned in 1772, the Indians from there emigrating to Ohio.

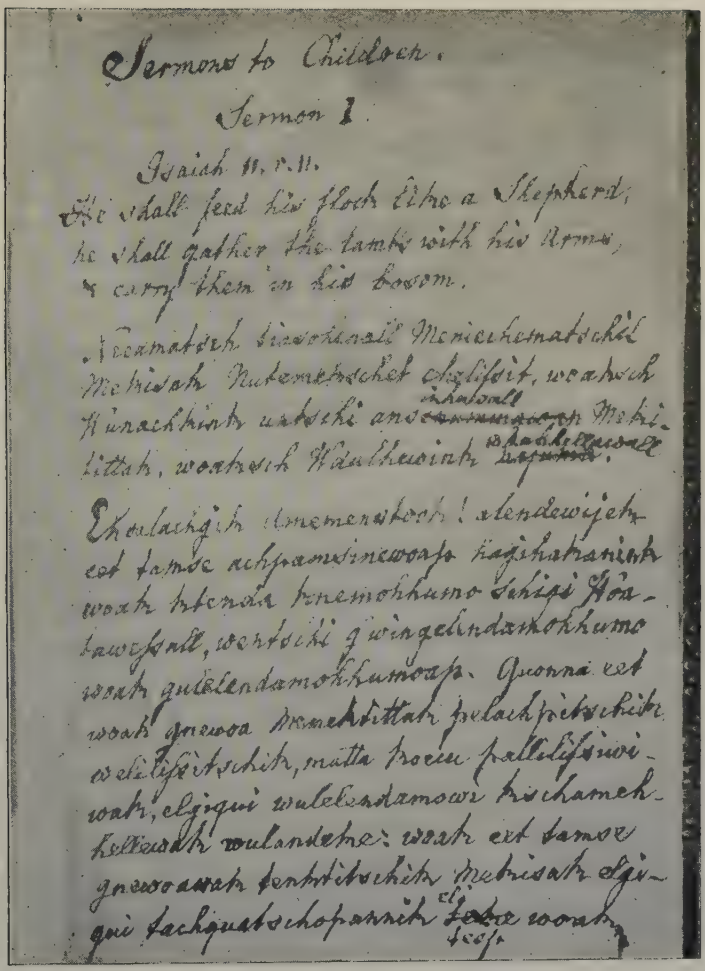
No. 6.

Pachgatgoch.

Diaries 1749-1754.

No. 7.

Diary of Meniolagomeka, 1752-1755.
Diary of the Indian congregation in Bethlehem, August, 1758.



Sermons to Children.

Sermon 1.

Isaiah 40. v. 11.

He shall feed his flock like a Shepherd; he shall gather the lambs with his Arms, & carry them in his bosom.

A page from "17 Sermons to Children."

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

No. 8.

Diary of Pachgatgoch, 1755-1759.

No. 9.

Nain — Shamokin.

Things concerning Shamokin especially of the year 1755.

Diary of the Indian Congregation at Nain from June, 1762 to May, 1763.

Diary of Shamokin of the years 1747, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, and 55.

No. 10.

Lawunakhannek on the Allegheny.

Languntoutenunk on the Beaver.

"Diaries of the Brethren on the Ohio," 1769 seq.

(12) Letters and memo from Zeisberger on the Ohio (Pittsburg, etc.) 1768-9.

Letters from Zeisberger from Lawunakhannek, 1769.

No. 11.

Indian Dep't.

Wyalusing or Friedenshutten. 1765-1770.

No. 12.

Registers of Baptisms, marriages, deaths, etc., of Indians, 1742, 1791.

Catalogue of various Indian congregations, lists of Indian emigrants, etc.

Letters from Indians to Spangenberg and others written from dictation, also letters from Spangenberg and others to various Indian congregations.

Zeisberger's narrative of his arrest at Conajoharie and imprisonment in New York, 1745.

Zeisberger's Journal of visit to Cayuga Town, 1766.

Zeisberger's Journal to Goschgoschung on Allegheny River, 1767.

Journal C. F. Post — 1758.

Zinzendorf diary to letter to Shecomeco and from Weiser.

No. 13.

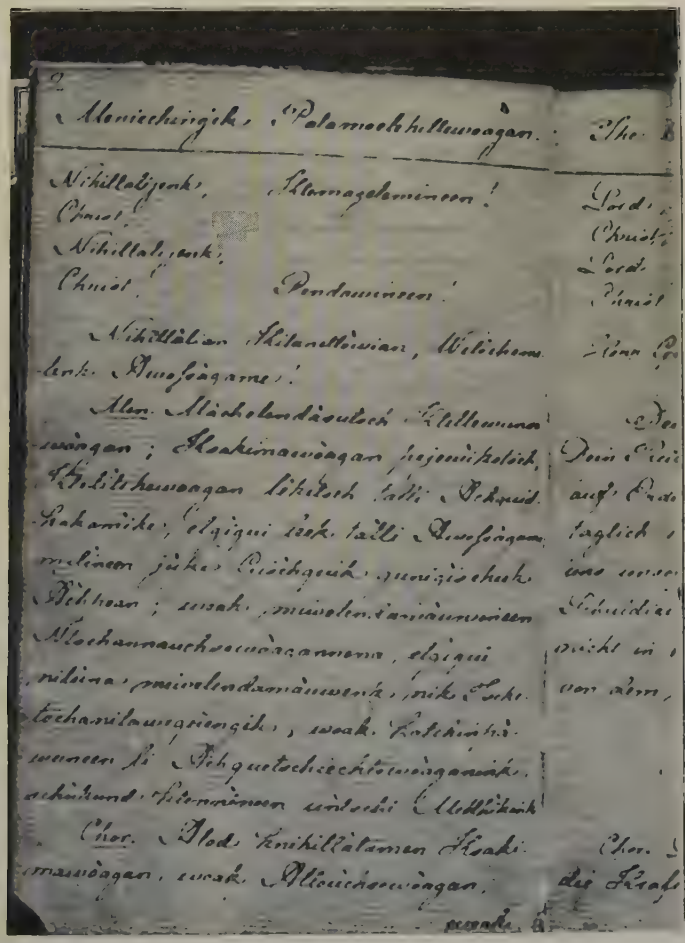
Recollections of the journeys of the Brethren Abraham Luckenbach and Haven on the River St. Marys, a branch of the Miami River, 1808.

A. Diary of the Indian Congregation in Welhik Thuppek on the Muskingum from September to October 18, 1772.

B. Report of Brother A. Luckenbach on his visit in company with

the Indian Brother Zacharias to the Monseys living upon the Thames River and the Grand River.

Letters and journal, Zeisberger, 1762-1767.



Delaware Litany.

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University

Brother David Zeisberger's diary of his journey to the Ohio or Allegene, September 1767. — 1768.

Ettwein and Heckewelder 1772 and 1773 journey.

John Jungman's diary of journey from Bethlehem to Muskingum River, 1773.

Diary — Indian congregation on Cuyahoga. Departure thence and journey along Lake Erie and arrival in Petquottink or on the Huron River, 1807.

C. Brief from the diary of the Brethren A. Luckenbach and J. J. Hagen about their journeys to Sandusky and their stay from the 22d of April to the end of the year 1811 and during the first half of the year 1812.

Frederick Post's journey to and sojourn in Pittsburg in the year 1750-1760; and to the Ohio in 1761; also the minutes of the Indian treaty at Pittsburg, August, 1760.

Report of John Heckewelder's journey to Muskingum and his return from September 10, to December 23, 1788.

Diary of the journey of John Heckewelder and Jacob Bush to Gnadenhutten on Muskingum and their doings in their services of the S. P. G.

Diary — Journey — Brother and Sister Peter from Bethlehem to Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum.

Short report of John Heckewelder's journey to Muskingum, his stay there and return from September 10, to December 23, 1788.

Diary of Sister Zeisberger's and Brother Benjamin Mortimer's journey from Fairfield in Upper Canada to Schoenbrunn on the Muskingum River in company with 33 Indians, men, women and children from August 15, to October 4, 1798.

Brief of the report of John Heckewelder and William Henry upon their journey to the Muskingum, in the service of the S. P. G.; as a deputation to be present at the survey of the land along the Muskingum; and their return in April, May, June and July, 1797.

Heckewelder's journey to the Wabash, 1792.

No. 14.

Diary of Brother Cammerhoff's and David Zeisberger's journey among the "Five Nations," from May 14, to August 17, 1750.

Short account of John Martin Mack's and Christian Froelich's journey to Wayamuk and Hollobank, 1745. (English)

Joseph Spangenberg, David Zeisberger and John Joseph — Diary of journey to Onondago and return to Bethlehem.

Martin Mack's report to Brother Petrum of his journey to Wayamuk and sojourn there.

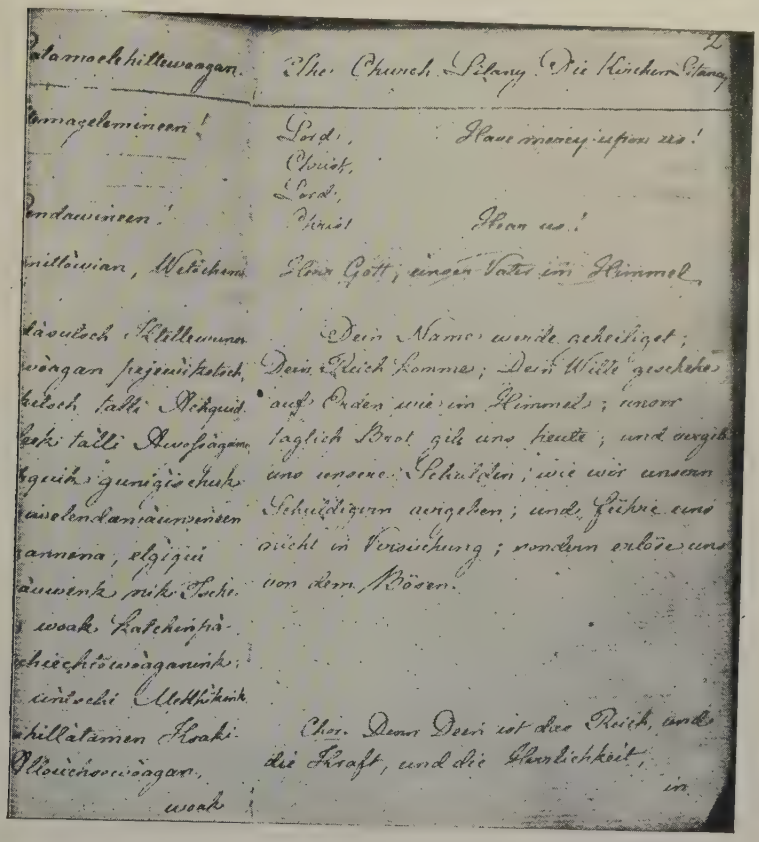
Brother Rauch's journal of his journey to the Mahak Indians.

Brother Cammerhoff's and Gottlieb Pezold's diary of their journey to Wechquatnach and Pachgatoch from February 23, to March 22, 1749.

Johannes' diary of journey among the Indians from Oct. 1748.

Diary of Brother Martin Mack's, David Zeisberger and Gottfried Kundt's journey to Onondago, from July 26, 1752.

Report of the journey of Jacob Eyerly and John Heckewelder for the surveying of the land on Lake Erie, granted by the Assembly of Pennsylvania to the S. P. G.; May and June, 1794.



The Moravian Litany.

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University

Journey of William Henry and John Heckewelder to the Muskingum under S. P. G. on occasion of surveying of land on Muskingum, April, May, June and July, 1797.

No. 15.

Relations of the treaty of the Brethren with the Nantikoks and Shawanees in 1752.

Spangenberg's declaration to the Indians in Nazareth, 1747.

Proclamation against the sale of rum to the Indians.

Map of the country of the "Five Nations".

Indian Conferences from 1745-1747.

David Zeisberger's memo. of his doings in Onondago for Zinsendorf.

Description of the work of the Brethren among the Indians in N. America from the beginning until 1751.

Affairs of the Indians.

1. Letters about the land of Pennsylvania and French and Conneaught Creeks, 1791-1794.
2. Papers about the land on the Muskingum, 1798.
3. Concerning incorporation of S. P. G. 1798.
4. Papers about Smouth's Legacy in Trenton, 1791.

Material concerning Zeisberger's N. Y. imprisonment in letters and reports especially about the Indian affairs together with an abstract of Brother Joseph's journey to Onondago, 1744-54.

Sketch of S. P. G. by Heckewelder for President of U. S., June, 1822.

Succinct account of S. P. G. work in U. S. (English)

Etwein's diary on road to Ohio. 1772.

No. 16.

Letters and reports concerning the captivity and release of David Zeisberger and Brother Post in New York.

Heckewelder's map.

Cayahoga Indian Settlement in package marked "Rev. J. M. Levering."

Observations made on the pamphlet entitled "an inquiry into the causes of the alienation of the Delaware and Shawanees Indians from the British Interests," by Conrad Weiser. Chiefly on land affairs.

No. 17.

Letters from Pettquottink from 1804 to 1807. (Huron River, O.)

Records, diaries, from Salem, Pettquottink, 1787, 1790-92.

Diary of Schoenbrunn, August 1780 to March, 1781.

Diary of Gnadenhutten August 1780-1781.

Diary of Salem on the Muskingum August, 1780 to March 26, 1781 — September 2, 1781.

Diary of New Salem on Lake Erie, October, 1789 to May 1, 1790.

Diary Pettquottink on Lake Erie; January, 1787 to March, 1788.

No. 18.

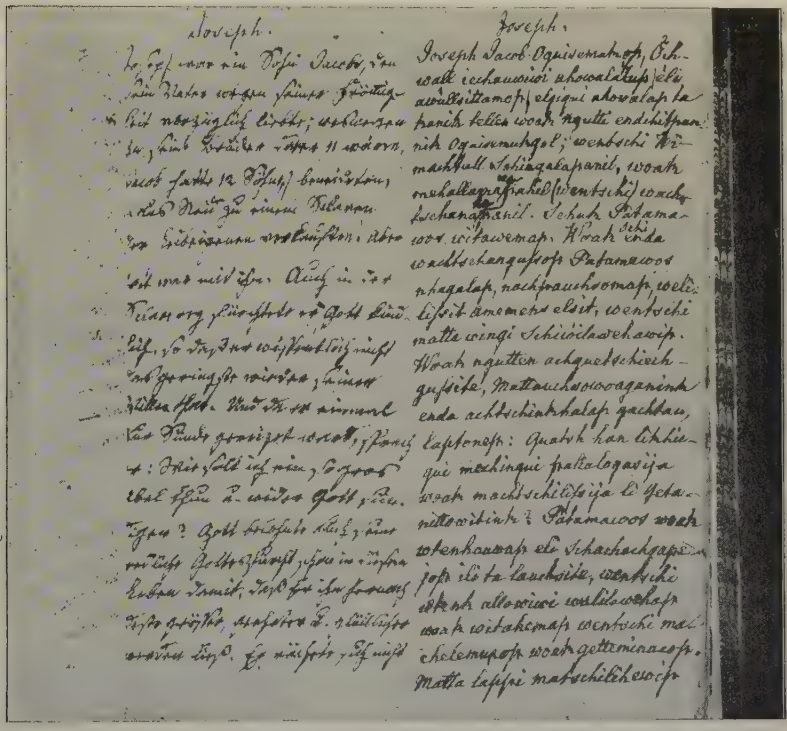
Diaries of Moravian missionaries among the Cherokee Indians. 1799, seq.

No. 19.

Diaries of Gnadenhutten on Huron River, 1783-1787.

Brief from the diary of the wandering Indian congregations from the Muskingum to Sandusky, their final destruction and reorganization on the Huron River, 1781-1783.

Diary of Gnadenhutten on the Huron River from August 1783 to May, 1785.



"Short Biblical Narratives."

From the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University

Diary of the Indian congregation on the Cuyahoga River from May 17, 1785 to September 25, 1786.

Diary of journey of Sister Sarah Heckewelder with her two year old daughter Anna Salome, from Cuyahoga River to Bethlehem from October 9, to November 15, 1785.

Diary of a small company of Indians on the Cuyahoga from October 1786, to February, 1787.

Diary of Gnadenhutten on Huron River from August, 1783 to May, 1785.

No. 20.

Diary of Schoenbrunn, 1773-1777.

Diary of the Indian congregation of Lichtenau on the Muskingum, 1776-1780.

No. 21.

Documents concerning the acquisition of the Muskingum land, 1788-1812.

No. 22.

I. Two copies of Carl Frederick's and David Zeisberger's letters during their stay in Onondago from June 9, 1754, to June 4, 1755.

II. Christian Seidel's visit to Pachgatgoch from April 29, to June 7, 1755.

Papers relating to the Indian Missions.

1. Address of the missionaries, J. P. Kluge and Abraham Luckenbach to Wm. H. Harrison, Esq., Governor of the Indian Territory, February 23, 1801.

2. Address of the missionaries, David Zeisberger and B. Mortimer to Arthur St. Clair, Esq., Governor of the North West Territory, March 9, 1801.

3. Testimony of the Red Sisters in Gnadenhutten, April 9, 1753.

The names of the different Indian Nations in North America; hitherto discovered, the situation of their countries, with the number of their fighting men. N. B. Published in the calendar of Quebec.

Bishop Etwein — some remarks on Indians, etc., sent to General Washington. 18 pp 350 perp.

Heckewelder's Sketch (another copy).

Outline of the Missionary history of S. P. G. by Secretary Benade from 1787 to 1802.

Catalogue, Indians living on Muskingum.

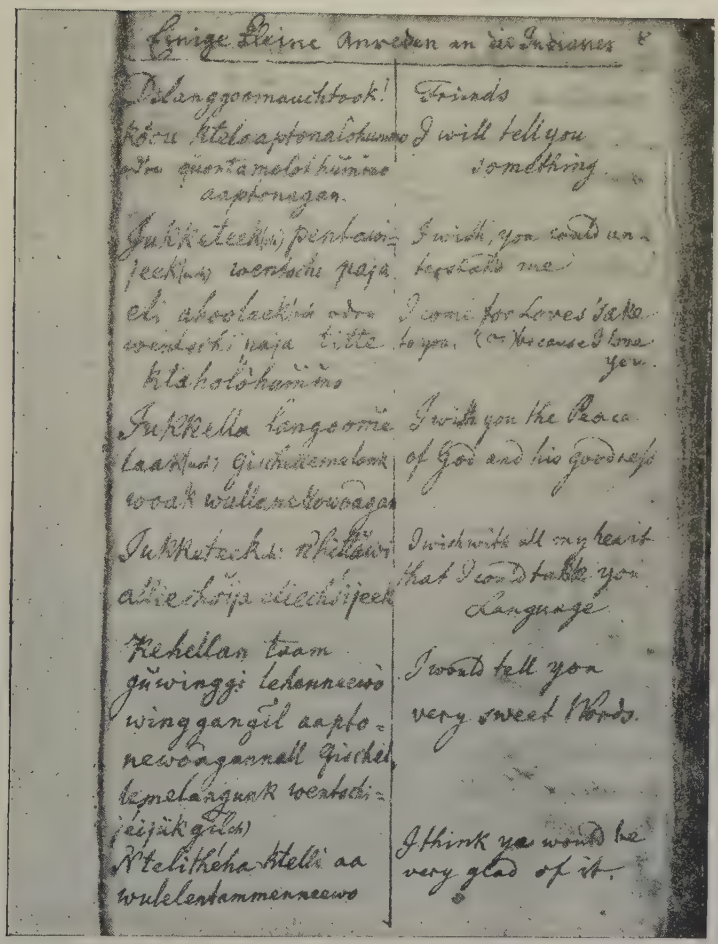
No. 23.

Reports of the Indian mission on the White River from May 25, 1801 until 1806.

Diary of the journey of Brother and Sister Kluge and brother Luckenbach from Goshen on Muskingum to White River from March 24, to May 25, 1801.

Diary of Abraham Luckenbach and Johann Joachim Hagen during their stay on the Sandusky River in Ohio from April 30, 1811 to September 10, 1812.

Diary of Brother and Sister Kluge and Abraham Luckenbach from the White River to Bethlehem from September 16, to November 12, 1806.


Einige kleine Anreden an die Indianer &c

Nolanggoarnauchtook!	Friends
Kôou ktelo aptonalôhumo	I will tell you
wtu quortamelolhüwine aaptonugan.	something.
Juhk ktechi) penhaio-	I wish, you could un-
jeekhuw woenschi naja	derstand me
eli ahoolackiin ôtu-	I come for Loves sake
wendeki naja titte	to you. (or because I love
klaholôhamüno	you.
Juhkella langoomü	I wish you the Peace
laaskuti Gischaemelonk	of God and his goodness
woak wallaneklowaaga	
Juhkketacks: nkillaw	I wish with all my heart
allie hôja diechsijeek	that I could talk your
	Language
Kekellan taam	I would tell you
güwinggi lekonneewo	very sweet Words.
winggangil aaptu-	
newogannall Gischil	
tgmelanguak wentschi-	
jeijük gilek)	
Ktelikeha ktelli aa	I think ya would be
wulelentammenneewo	very glad of it.

A page from "A vocabulary of Delaware Language, presented by the Rev. Mr. B. A. Grube to Rev. Abraham Luckenbach on his setting out upon his western missionary journey in 1300."

Included among the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

Another copy of diary of the journey of Brother and Sister Kluge and Abraham Luckenbach from Goshen on Muskingum to White River from March 24, to May 25, 1801.

Diaries and writings of the Indian congregation in Pettquottink from its beginning in 1804 to its end in 1809.

Extract from the diary of the Indian congregation in Pettquottink on Lake Erie from June, 1787 to 1789, including same by Zeisberger.

Abstract from the diary of the Indian congregation on the White River from April 1, 1802 to May 31, 1803.

Also diary of White River during 1806.

Reports of the Indian mission on the Pettquottink from 1805 to August, 1808.

No. 24.

Diaries, Gnadenhutten on Mahoning, 1746-1752.

No. 25.

Diaries, Gnadenhutten on Mahoning, 1747, 1753, 1754, 1800.

No. 26.

Goshen diary May 1, 1800 to 1806.

Journals of the Indian mission at Jongquakamik from September, 1802 to 1806.

Letter from David Zeisberger to the Rev. Geo. H. Loskiel, Bethlehem.

Dairy of the Indian congregation at Goshen from May 28, 1820 to April 22, 1821.

Journal of the Indian congregation in Goshen from 1814 to May, 1820.

Journal of Goshen from April 23, 1821 to October, 1831.

Report of the mission conference held in Goshen in 1803.

Conference about the Indian congregation in Upper Canada held in Goshen in 1803.

Conference about the Indian congregation in Upper Canada held in September, 1815.

Diary, Goshen, 1 May, 16 November, 1812. Eng. fine of Hull's army, etc. Letter replying to same from Rev. Reichel.

Goshen diary, 1810-1813.

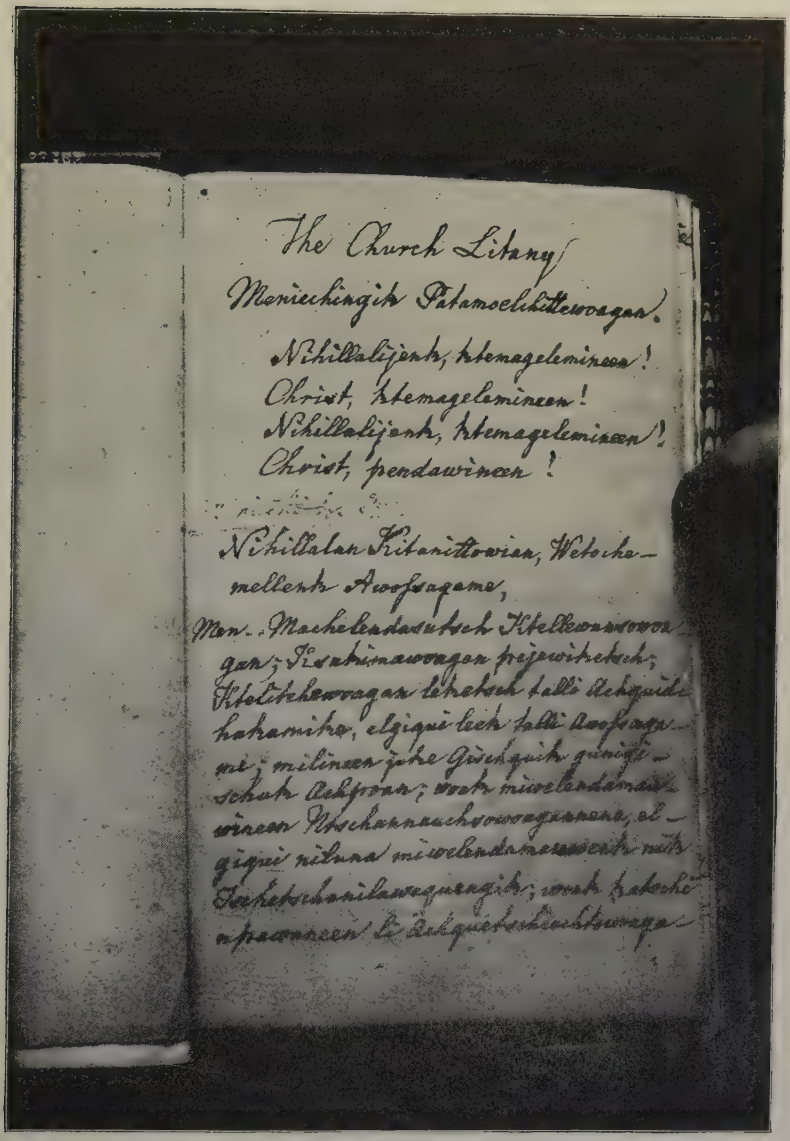
Same 1804.

Two copies Protocol (documents) Mission Conference, Goshen on Muskingum, October, 1803.

Loskiel to Mortimer, July, 1806.

Loskiel to Muller, July, 1806.

Loskiel to Zeisberger, July, 1806.



"The Church Litany."

Photographed from the Zeisberger Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University.

Mortimer to Loskiel, May, 1806.
Loskiel to Heckewelder, May, 1806.
Muller to Loskiel, May, 1806.

No. 27.

Diary, (Eng.) Zeisberger and Mortimer from Fairfield, etc., to Schoenbrunn with thirty-three Indians, October, 1798.

Diary (Eng. and Ger.) Mortimer Oppelt Jungman, etc., from Bethlehem to Goshen, 29 April — 14 June, 1799.

Diary at Schoenbrunn, October 4, 1798 — November 3, 1798.

Diary of Indian congregation at Goshen from 1798 to 1821 with a mission; partly translated into English.

No. 28.

Diary Indian congregation in Fairfield, 1811-1840.

No. 31.

Report of Mission among Chippewas, April, 1802 — December, 1806.
Mission to Chippewas — Fairfield, 1791-1810.

Diary, Heckewelder and Mortimer's journey from Bethlehem to Fairfield, 1798.

Map of Fairfield Mission.

No. 32.

Diary Mission, Fairfield, 1797-1811.
Same, 1810-1811-1812.

An arrangement has been made with the Board of Governors of the Moravian Church by which the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society will publish an indefinite number of these manuscripts under the joint editorial management of myself and Professor William Nathaniel Schwarze of the Moravian Theological Seminary and Curator of the Moravian Library. A beginning will be made with Zeisberger's writings, issuing first his seventy-thousand word "History of the Indians" written on the Muskingum River in 1778-9. It is believed that this "History" of the faithful missionary among the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio 1740-1808 is the most intimate and important record of its kind, relating to our Middle West, in existence. This will be followed by the records of Zeisberger's labors and travels among the Six Nations and the Delawares.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MARCH 2, 1909.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held in the Hunter Law Society Room, Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at two p. m, March 2, 1909. The following members were present:

Prof. Martin R. Andrews, Marietta.
Mr. E. H. Archer, Columbus.
Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester.
Mr. A. J. Baughman, Mansfield.
Mr. Martin B. Bushnell, Mansfield.
Mr. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk.
Mr. Almer Hegler, Washington, C. H.
Hon. John W. Harper, Cincinnati.
Rev. N. B. C. Love, Perrysburg.
Prof. C. L. Martzolff, Athens.
Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus.
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield.
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus.
Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus.
Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin.

Messages of regret, because of their inability to attend the meeting, were received from General R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield, and D. J. Ryan, Columbus.

The meeting was called to order by President G. Frederick Wright, who without any preliminary remarks, stated the meeting would proceed at once to the order of business, and called for the reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting.

Secretary Randall stated he would follow the usual custom in this matter, which was, that the secretary instead of attempting to read the entire minutes of the last annual meeting held February 26, 1908, which minutes were taken down in de-

tail by the stenographer and bound in the minutes of the proceedings of the Society, would offer as the minutes of the meeting, the published condensed account appearing in the 17th volume, page 132, of the last annual volume of the Society. The complete verbatim report of the minutes of the last meeting as taken down occupy some 45 pages of the report, and would require nearly an hour in reading. The condensed report is in the hands of every member of the Society, and contains all that was important occurring at the meeting. It was moved, seconded and carried, that the printed report, as suggested by the Secretary, be accepted as the minutes of the meeting. There being no objection, this was adopted.

The Secretary further added, that it had been his custom, since holding office, to have everything done, not only at the annual meeting, but the meetings of the executive and special committees, reported in full in typewritten form and bound in an annual volume. There are 15 volumes of these minutes.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meetings of the Executive Committee were held since the last annual meeting of the Society (February 26, 1908) as follows:

March 25, 1908. Present: Messrs. Bareis, Baughman, Harper, King, Martzolff, Ryan, Prince, Wood, Randall and Mills. Standing Sub-Committees for the ensuing year (1908) were appointed as follows:

Big Bottom Park — Messrs. Martzolff, Prince and Bareis.
Finance — Messrs. Wood, Ryan and Bareis.
Fort Ancient — Messrs. Prince, Baughman and Martzolff.
Museum and Library — Messrs. King, Wright and Mills.
Publications — Messrs. Ryan, Randall and Wood.
Serpent Mound — Messrs. Wright, Harper and Randall.

July 16, 1908. Messrs. Bareis, Baughman, Harper, King, Martzolff, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Wright being present. There were also present Trustee W. H. Rice and Prof. A. B. Hulbert, who presented the project of a centennial anniversary of the death of David Zeisberger, November 17, 1908. Messrs. Rice, Ryan and Randall were appointed a special committee on arrangements for the Zeisberger Centennial. At this meeting the resignation of Mr. A. B. Coover, who for several years had been the active assistant of Prof. Mills in the Museum and Library, and for the past several years had aided the Society in its summer explorations, was accepted by the Executive Committee.

The resignation was originally tendered on March 28th, preceding, and had so far as possible been accepted by the Finance Committee, pending the meeting of the Executive Committee. This resignation was accepted by the Executive Committee with great regret on their part as Mr. Coover had served the Society long and faithfully. He yielded the position because of ill-health and the confining nature of his official duties. Mr. Coover relinquished his position April 15, 1908. Since that time various temporary help has been employed by Prof. Mills.

October 7, 1908. Messrs. King, Martzolff, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Wood, Wright and Mills, were present. Trustee W. H. Rice was likewise present to report the detailed arrangements for the Zeisberger Centennial.

December 2, 1908. Messrs. Bareis, Harper, Baughman, King, Martzolff, Prince, Randall, Wood, Wright and Mills. The Treasurer and Secretary made full report of the budget to be asked from the forthcoming Legislature. Dr. Wright made an extended report of the discovery of the new serpent mound in Warren county, Ohio. The contract with Mr. Warren Cowen as custodian of Fort Ancient was renewed until February 1, 1911. Prof. Mills made an extended report of his summer explorations. Secretary Randall reported the proceedings of the Zeisberger Centennial.

At each of the above meetings of the Executive Committee full reports were made by the Secretary and different committees of the work which had been accomplished in the various departments of the Society during the periods intervening between the Executive Committee meetings. Never before in the history of the Society have the members of the Executive Committee been more faithful in their attendance at the meetings or more interested in the progress of the work of the Society.

Life members were elected at each meeting.

The detailed proceedings of these meetings are fully and accurately taken down and transcribed and bound in permanent book form by the Secretary. This has been his custom since his incumbency in the office and he now has fifteen such volumes, covering the period of his service. These typewritten proceedings are so accurate and minute that any stranger could easily acquaint himself with what has been done by a perusal of the same.

The proceedings of the meetings of the Executive Committee are of course too extensive to be given by the Secretary in full. The results of these meetings are embodied in the Secretary's report, under respective heads of the subjects.

APPROPRIATIONS.

In the general appropriation bill — including the partial bill — passed by the Seventy-seventh General Assembly, at its second regular session, May 9, 1908, the Society was accorded the following amounts and items:

Current Expenses	$2700
Field Work, Fort Ancient, etc.	2000
Publications	2800
Completion of Purchase of Fort Ancient	2200
Serpent Mound Tower	500

This gave the Society for its regular work all it asked for except an additional $500 requested for Field Work, etc. The Society had asked for that purpose $2500; it received only $2000 as above. The Finance Committee of the House declined to grant the item of $500 requested for the purpose of erecting an observatory at Serpent Mound, but this amount was added by the Senate Finance Committee after the bill had passed the House and in the subsequent conference committee of the House and Senate, the Senate's addition (of $500) was not disturbed. In addition to the items regularly asked for, the Finance Committee of the House of its own volition inserted in the bill, the items of $5800 for reprinting Volumes 1 to 16, inclusive, so as to give each member of the Legislature five sets each, and one set each for the thirty-five representatives of the press; and the sum of $2000 for reprinting the Archæological History of Ohio, each member of the Legislature to receive twenty copies. The Secretary in behalf of the Society, appeared several times before the committees of the House and Senate, to whom he fully explained the work of the Society furnishing an itemized statement of the expenditures of the Society for the year previous.

PUBLICATIONS.

Shortly after the Annual Meeting, there was issued from the press by the Society, a little book entitled "Masterpieces of the Mound Builders," written by the Secretary. It contained detailed accounts of the hill top forts and a complete description of Fort Ancient. It is proposed that the latter part of the book, namely, Fort Ancient, can be printed separately and used as a guide to the Fort, a thing that the Society has very much needed.

In August, the republication of the Fowke's Archæological History of Ohio, for which the Legislature had provided, was completed, and twenty copies each were shipped to each member of the Legislature.

In September, in accordance with the previous authorization of the Executive Committee, the Society published, in pamphlet form, the proceedings of the conference of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, which conference was held in Cincinnati during the Thanksgiving vacation (1907) at Cincinnati. This publication contained the addresses of the various professors, secretaries of the state historical societies, and other speakers, on that occasion. They were a valuable and interesting series of addresses and their publication under the auspices of our Society proved to be a very wise expenditure. One thousand copies were printed and

nearly half of the expense was borne by the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and five hundred copies of the book were furnished the association.

The Executive Committee have also authorized the publication by the Society of the proceedings of the late conference of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, which was held in Marietta, November 27th and 28th, 1908. This publication will either constitute one of the Quarterlies of the Society or a separate pamphlet, as before. The nature of this publication is so closely allied to the work of our Society that we are thoroughly justified in the expense. The material all pertains to the history of the Ohio Valley and very much of it to Ohio alone.

Just before the Holidays of the past year (1908) we completed the reprinting of the sixteen volumes, in sets of five each, for the members of the Legislature, for which an appropriation was duly made. The books were boxed and shipped to each member, in accordance with the provisions of the appropriation bill.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Society has issued four Quarterlies, namely, those of January, April, July and October, constituting the seventeenth volume of the Society. This volume is the largest in paging and in many respects more valuable than any of its predecessors, for it contains much original matter on early Ohio history never before put in print.

In this connection it is proper to state that the Executive Committee have authorized the publication, if the additional appropriation is made, of some of the original manuscripts of David Zeisberger. These manuscripts are in German in the possession of the Moravian College at Bethlehem, Pa. They embrace many thousands of pages pertaining to the Indians and the missionary efforts of the Moravian missions. Prof. A. B. Hulbert of Marietta has examined these manuscripts and will edit those which may be published by the Society. Permission was obtained from the Moravian College authorities to secure copies of these manuscripts, or rather to have them translated into English by Prof. W. N. Schwarze, Librarian of the Moravian College Library. The first volume has been prepared by Prof. Schwarze and is now in the hands of Prof. Hulbert for his annotations. It will be published as soon as the funds are available. This opportunity for original work in early Ohio history is one of the most important that has yet come to our Society.

PURCHASE OF REMAINDER OF FORT ANCIENT.

It will be recalled that in the appropriation bill above noted $2200 was inserted for completing the purchase of Fort Ancient. That portion consisted of what is known as the Ridge Tract, including what are designated as the Ward Hotel and the Frauenknecht lots. Immediately after the appropriation became available, the Treasurer and the Secretary of the

Society at once proceeded to complete the purchase proposed. A written option had been secured from the Ridges, as noted in the proceedings of the last Annual Meeting. The purchase from the Ridges was perfected, by which some twenty acres were secured, including the entire north wall of the North or New Fort. The amount paid for this was $1800. The Secretary had the purchase properly surveyed and platted, the title examined and approved, the deed received, accepted by the Attorney General of Ohio, and deposited with the Auditor of State on June 3, 1908. Immediately thereafter, the Treasurer and Secretary completed the purchase of the lots within the above site called the Ward Hotel lot, for which $300 had to be paid. This deed was received, duly approved by the state authorities and deposited with the Auditor of State, July 30, 1908. A similar purchase also for the sum of $300 was made of the Frauenknecht lot, the deed being deposited with the Auditor of State, August 5, 1908. It will be noted that the total purchase required $2400, or $200 more than the appropriation by the Legislature. This additional purchase-money, with the incidental expenses of surveys, perfecting of title, etc., was made from funds legally at the disposal of the Society. At the same time the above negotiations were going on, or shortly before, the Poor Strip, some three acres, extending into the west wall of the North Fort, was secured. The details of the purchase of the Ridge Tract and the including lots are fully set forth in Volume 17, page 489, of the past year's (1908) publication. This completes the entire possession of Fort Ancient by the State of Ohio. All of the deeds make the State of Ohio the grantee. By an act of the Legislature, passed April 24, 1891, the care and control of Fort Ancient is vested in the Trustees of our Society. We are heartily to be congratulated that at last we hold the Fort entire, and the continued performance of buying Fort Ancient which has been going on for some eighteen years is at last at an end.

SURVEY OF FORT ANCIENT.

In accordance with the suggestion made by Curator W. C. Mills in the March meeting of the Executive Committee, that a correct survey had never been made of Fort Ancient, the Fort Ancient Committee was authorized to expend not to exceed $120 for a resurvey to be made by Prof. C. E. Sherman of the Civil Engineering Department, Ohio State University. This resurvey was begun in the early part of June and was completed in the middle part of July, 1908. Professor Sherman and his corps of assistants made a very accurate and complete topographical survey, a plat of which was drawn and furnished the Society. There has never before been an accurate survey of the Fort and the Society is now prepared to give most detailed information concerning the dimensions of this wonderful prehistoric work. The thanks of the Society are due Professor Sherman for his interest in this mat-

ter and also for the fact that he did this work at merely a nominal expense, because he regarded the Society as a sort of adjunct of the State University.

THE BUILDING PROJECT.

Since the last Annual Meeting the subject of the building project, like a short horse, is soon curried. There is nothing new. The last Legislature failed to take any action as to any of the bills which had in view any building or quarters for the Society. Nor is it probable that the present Legislature will produce any more fruitful results.

SERPENT MOUND OBSERVATORY TOWER.

Again we refer to the appropriation bill of last Winter (1908), which gave the Society a special appropriation of $500 for the erection of a tower at Serpent Mound. At the Executive Committee meeting of July 16, 1908, the expenditure of this fund was placed in the hands of the Treasurer and Secretary of the Society. After negotiating with several firms competent to build such a tower, and submitting the matter to competitive bids, the contract was placed in the hands of The Columbus Wire & Iron Works Company, for the amount of $500. The company immediately proceeded to construct the tower, and on September 2nd, the Secretary proceeded to Serpent Mound and there met the force selected for the erection of the tower. It was completed in two or three days. It is made entirely of steel, set on concrete base, is twenty-five feet high, with ascending stairs to the top platform, which is eight feet square. It is located at the tail of the Serpent and from the platform the observer may see and carefully study the entire length of his majestic snakeship. This is the most desirable accession to the Serpent Mound Park, as before from no one point could the entire convolutions of the Serpent be followed by the eye of the spectator.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the Annual Meeting (February, 1908), the following have been admitted to Life Membership by the Executive Committee:

Bert S. Bartlow, Hamilton, Ohio.
Charles S. Dana, Marietta, Ohio.
Frederick Shedd, Columbus, Ohio.
Fred B. Shumann, Lowell, Ohio.
R. J. A. Boreman, Parkersburg, W. Va.
W. B. Whiting, Cleveland, Ohio.
Dr. C. L. Metz, Madisonville, Ohio.
Charles T. Greve, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Edward Colston, Cincinnati, Ohio.
George Hoadly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Andrew P. Henkel, Cincinnati, Ohio.
W. F. Gilmore, Canton, Ohio.
Mrs. Alice Peters, Columbus, Ohio.

It is mere justice to Trustee John W. Harper to credit him with securing the Cincinnati members. We wish his example of activity in this direction might be followed by more of the Trustees.

ITINERARY OF THE SECRETARY.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Secretary has made journeys as representative of the Society as follows:

April 10, 1908. Cincinnati.

June 11, 1908. Mansfield Centennial. Spoke on History of Ohio. Trustee Martzolff also spoke on same subject.

June 30, 1908. Fort Ancient, accompanying Trustee B. F. Prince.

July 3, 1908. Eaton, attendance at Preble County Centennial.

July 9, 1908. Tallmadge, Summit County, for material on History of Tallmadge.

July 22, 1908. Middletown, with Treasurer Wood, in connection with purchase of Ward lot.

August 7, 1908. Franklin, to confer with President Wright and with him visited Shaker village.

August 13, 1908. Gnadenhutten, Sharon, Goshen and New Philadelphia, with Trustees Ryan and Rice, in connection with Zeisberger Centennial. The party also visited Fort Laurens with view of securing the site of the same for the Society.

September 2, 1908. Serpent Mound. Erection of observatory tower.

September 10, 1908. Cleveland, address before annual meeting of the Early Settlers Society of Cuyahoga county.

September 15, 1908. Rutland, Mass., visit to the home of Rufus Putnam for material concerning Putnam and Ohio.

September 17, 1908. Boston, Mass., visited Massachusetts Historical Society and the New England Genealogical Society. Addressed "Randall Historical Association of America" in New Century Hall. Subject, "Influence of New England over Ohio."

September 19, 1908. Hamilton, Mass., visit to home and grave of Manasseh Cutler.

September 23, 1908. In company with President Wright, inspected site and remains of new serpent mound, Warren County.

October 10, 1908. Cincinnati.

November 20, 1908. Zeisberger Centennial, Sharon, Goshen and New Philadelphia. In company with President Wright, Trustees Martzolff and Rice and Prof. A. B. Hulbert.

November 27 and 28, 1908. Marietta, Ohio. Presided at Annual Meeting, Ohio Valley Historical Association. Addresses by Trustee Martzolff, Prof. A. B. Hulbert and several members of the Society.

December 7, 1908. McConnelsville. Address on Ohio history.

December 29, 1908. Sandusky, in company with Trustee Ryan, to attend funeral Trustee Rush R. Sloane.

The proceedings of the Zeisberger Centennial will be published in full in a later Quarterly of the Society. Also the complete proceedings of the Ohio Valley Historical Association meeting at Marietta.

PROPOSED APPROPRIATIONS.

The special committe authorized by the Executive Committee for the purpose of preparing a budget of the required appropriations for the Society, to be submitted to the incoming legislature, submitted the same, in accordance with the requirements of law, to the Auditor of State, on December 1, 1908. That budget was as follows:

Current expenses $2700
(This is the same as has been received for several years past.)
Field work, museum, etc..... $2500
(This is $500 more than has been received for the past two terms.)
Publications $3300
(This is $500 in excess of any amount heretofore received.)

The Secretary appeared before the House Finance Committee and advocated the approval by the Committee of the above amounts. The appropriation bill was introduced in the House and immediately passed on February 15, 1909. The Finance Committee of the House had inserted in the bill the amount asked for in current expenses ($2700), the amount asked for in the item of publications ($3300), but inserted only $2000 for Field Work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound. This bill as above outlined is now in the hands of the Finance Committee of the Senate before which the Secretary has appeared, fully explaining the purpose and details of the amounts desired. What the final outcome will be, cannot be determined until the bill is disposed of by the Senate.*

CONCLUSION.

The past year may be regarded as the most successful one that the Society has ever experienced. It has accomplished more along all lines of its work than in any one of the previous years. The Curator will tell you of the work in the Archæological Department and the progress of the Museum and Library. The Society has gained greatly

*The Senate passed the Appropriation Bill March 12, 1909, with amendments. The amended bill passed the House the same day and became a law later by the signature of the Governor. The items for the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society remained unchanged as they had originally passed the House. — EDITOR.

in its standing throughout the state, particularly among the libraries, public schools and colleges. It has also been recognized more than ever by similar societies, public libraries and institutions of learning in other parts of the country.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

(For the year ending February 1, 1909.)

RECEIPTS.

Balance on Hand, February 1, 1908	$1,161 35
Life Membership Dues	218 00
Active Membership Dues	75 00
Subscriptions	14 50
Books sold	129 19
Old Trees Sold	11 00
Fire Insurance Premium Rebated	4 90
O. S. U. Athletic Association	12 00
Interest on Permanent Fund	277 50
From State Treasurer:	
Appropriation for Publications	3,398 55
Appropriation for Current Expenses	2,998 03
Appropriation for Field Work For Ancient and Serpent Mound	2,753 35
Appropriation for Reprinting Publications	7,800 00
Appropriation for Completion of Purchase of Fort Ancient	2,200 00
Appropriation for Observatory at Serpent Mound	500 00
Total	$21,553 37

DISBURSEMENTS.

Reprinting Publications	$7,800 00
Publications	2,848 63
Completion of Purchase of Fort Ancient	2,400 00
Salaries (3)	2,200 00
Surveying Fort Ancient	120 00
Improvements at Fort Ancient	303 45
Fort Ancient — Care and Expenses	426 78
Observatory at Serpent Mound	500 00
Serpent Mound — Care and Improvements	307 30
Field Work	705 16
Big Bottom Park — Improvements	55 64
Postage	119 87
Expenses of Trustees and Committees	389 94
David Zeisberger Centennial	79 00

Annual Meeting, 1908	68 00
Job Printing	7 75
Sundry Expenses	72 03
Express and Drayage	188 81
Museum and Library	660 70
Transferred to Permanent Fund	575 00
Balance on Hand, February 1, 1909	1,725 31
Total	$21,553 37
Total Amount now in the Permanent Fund	6,125 00

Respectfully submitted,

E. F. Wood, *Treasurer.*

AUDITING COMMITTEE.

Upon motion and vote President Wright appointed Messrs. G. F. Bareis and E. H. Archer a committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts. Mr. Archer, one of the assistants in the office of the Auditor of State, called attention to the fact that as to the funds appropriated by the Legislature, their expenditure would be of record on the books of the Auditor of State from which the appropriated funds are drawn on vouchers issued by the Society signed by the President and Secretary. So that the accounts of the Auditor of State are a check on the books of the Treasurer of the Society. This, however, would not apply to the disposal of funds accruing to the Society from sources other than legislative appropriations, viz., ordinary and life members, sale of books, etc.

REPORT OF CURATOR.

I have the honor, as Curator and Librarian, to make my annual report upon the condition of the Museum and Library located in Page Hall, Ohio State University, as well as my report upon the annual archæological explorations of the Society. During the year many specimens have been added to the Archæological Museum, and we are at times severely taxed in placing on exhibition, specimens that come to us unsolicited. Those of you who have had the privilege of visiting the Museum during the year can readily see the great need of more room for display, owing to the increase in the collections, through the activity of the Museum in its line of research, particularly the explorations of the mounds and village sites; the large collections coming to the Museum through the interest of students and particularly friends and

members of the Society; the publications of the Society, together with its increased exchanges; the growth of the Library into one of unusual importance of historical and archæological research; the use of the Museum by students, schools and private citizens. The inadequate quarters for our Museum and Library have so increased the work of the Curator that the many changes proposed in the management of the Museum and Library have not been fully carried out, but we hope during the coming year a few of the changes can be made. Since the last annual meeting there has been a change in the personnel of the help in the Museum. Mr. A. Brown now has charge of all accessions to the Library and Museum. In addition to his duties, he acts as stenographer and typewriter. Mr. C. Eaton has charge of the rooms and, in addition to his regular duties, looks after the store room and packing of all books for shipment and distant delivery. I cannot help, at this time, impressing upon you, as officers and members, the opportunity that is now being opened for the Society in aiding the City of Columbus in its proposed 100th anniversary celebration. A wise thing for the Society to do would be to ask the citizens to commemorate their 100th anniversary by erecting a monument in the shape of a fire-proof building to adequately care for the Museum and Library of the Society, which would in the course of a few years, be known as the one great Museum in Ohio.

The archæological work during the year was of especial interest, and consisted mainly in the topographical survey of Fort Ancient, made by Prof. C. E. Sherman and a corps of assistants. The field work of the Survey was finished in four weeks, but the topographic map was not completed until October. During the time that Prof. Sherman was engaged at Fort Ancient, the Curator had a corps of workers examining every portion of the Fort for archæological remains, and was very successful in uncovering a number of stone pavements, circles, etc., situated in various parts of the Fort. A complete report of this survey is now being prepared, and will appear in one of the forthcoming issues of the Quarterly. After Fort Ancient was surveyed, the Curator completed the exploration of the Seip Mound, begun two years ago. A partial report upon this mound was made at the 22d annual meeting; first and second sections of this mound had been explored in 1906, but the last section was very much larger than either one of the two sections previously examined, and contained material of great interest. The mound was the site of a charnel house of the Hopewell Group, and all the graves placed upon the floor of the charnel house contained the remains of the cremated dead. A new feature was discovered in their burial cists that, previous to this examination, had not been known. In the Harness Mound the prepared graves were made for one individual, but in the third section of the Seip Mound the graves were greatly enlarged, and often contained from 1 to 4 individuals, showing that the large cists were perhaps those of families. One

feature, unusual in the mounds was the finding of burial shrines where the clothing, ornaments and personal effects were placed. The ground surrounding the shrines was often covered with large blocks of mica. One interesting feature found in several of the copper plates was the attempted ornamentation of the large copper plates with scrolls and repousse work. From this mound alone, were secured 16 large copper plates, 9 copper axes, 20 copper ear ornaments and many other objects of copper, bone and shell. A very large flint spear point, 9 inches in length was one of the great finds. My report upon this mound is now finished and will appear in the April Quarterly. I have also finished my report upon the Jamestown Exposition and take pleasure in giving you each a copy, which report speaks for itself. During the year the Museum has received from Mr. T. B. Bowers, 2 different additions to his already fine archæological collection. Mr. Bowers is very energetic and active in the work of making the Bowers collection one of the most interesting in the Museum.

Mr. Almer Hegler of Washington Court House has also added 2 different consignments of archæological specimens, collected in the neighborhood of Washington Court House. Mr. Hegler has guarded carefully the archæological interests in Fayette County, and reports without delay all archæological discoveries within the county or adjoining counties. He is constant in his work for the Society and his time is always at our command.

Mr. Wilber Stout of Scioto County has sent three consignments during the year. He is making a specialty of collecting in Scioto County, the site of his old home, and he is greatly interested in our Museum.

Judge H. C. Miller of Jackson, Ohio, has presented a fine collection from Boone Rock, a place of great historical interest in Jackson County.

The Peabody Museum, through Mr. R. E. Merwin, presented three large barrels of animal bones, and pottery from the Madisonville Cemetery.

Mr. W. R. Wilson, Columbus, presented a fine grooved axe.

From Prof. J. R. Chamberlin was received a fine bronze image taken from an Inca grave.

From Dr. H. O. Whitaker, New Burlington, was received several bone implements taken from a grave in his vicinity.

Mr. Perry Wolfe, Fort Ancient, presented 4 copper pieces, found in Fort Ancient, evidently part of the great cash of copper found by him a few years ago.

Mr. Howard L. Boggs, Kingston, presented to the Museum, a large tooth of the Mastodon in a fine state of preservation, found on Deer Creek, in Ross County.

From Mr. Newcomb was received a large tooth of the Mastodon in a fair state of preservation.

Through Dr. H. O. Whitaker, Mr. A. H. Harlan, New Burling-

ton, presented a large iron kettle brought to the Northwest Territory in 1799.

Mr. Grant Hartup, of Lore City, presented a large salt kettle used in making salt in his section of the State. The kettle was brought to the Northwest Territory in 1798.

From Prof. Frederick Starr, University of Chicago, we received a cast of a large Mexican sculptured slab, found in Orizaba, Vera Cruz, Mexico.

Many books and periodicals have been added to the Library during the year. The Accession Book shows 3564 regular bound volumes entered. Last year our records show 3104, making a net addition during the year of 460 bound volumes. All of the books have been received through gift or in exchange for our own publications. The growth has been very steady and far beyond our expectations. The Library has also received a number of gifts in the way of rare publications, manuscripts and autographs during the year.

General Brinkerhoff presented "Usher's Body of Divinitie," a book printed in 1658. It is of very great interest.

Dr. J. B. Peaslee, Cincinnati, a life member of the Society, presented 22 autograph letters. Among them were those of John G. Whittier, Henry W. Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes and others.

My plans for the coming season are rather indefinite, however, the executive committee has asked me to work out a plan leading to the making of an Archæological Atlas. I have taken this matter up and devoted considerable time to working out a plausible scheme for the completion of an Archæological Atlas of the State. Four years ago the Society endeavored to make a large Archæological Map of the State. It was found that the large wall map would be unserviceable, as it would require great wall space to display the map and it would not be practicable for general use. I have considered making an Archæological Atlas of the State by counties and to make the county map after the latest topographic survey of the State made by the United States Government. This map to be reduced to the size necessary for an atlas not to exceed 15 inches in length by 12 inches in width. Upon this map could be marked in proper characters all of the archæological remains in the county. Accompanying each county should be a concise archæological history of the county. The work would occupy the time of the Curator not less than three years, as it would be necessary to visit each county and personally pass upon the earthworks and other archæological remains that may be found in the county. This work would require an annual appropriation of $600.00. The making of the map and all clerical and other work could be done in my office, however, I find I have the opportunity now to open certain groups of mounds which are available to us, which might not be so later on.

It seems to me advisable to at least spend a part of the season in

exploration and the remainder of the time could be utilized in work upon the archæological atlas.

I wish to thank the officers and executive committee for their help and patience during the past year.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM C. MILLS,
Curator and Librarian.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MUSEUM AND LIBRARY.

In addition to the report of Prof. Mills the committee will emphasize the pressing importance of having more room for the display and expansion of the Museum and Library and of more funds, both for securing additional publications and for carrying on the educational works upon which we embarked.

The shelves for holding books and pamphlets are already running over, while constant accessions are made through exchanges. For example the complete set of the publications of the Historical Society of the State of Delaware has recently come into our possession in exchange for our own publications but we have no place to put it.

The Museum, which is already one of the most instructive and valuable in the country, is over-crowded while a large part of it is in boxes or out-of-the-way corners where it cannot be studied or seen. We have material enough to fill five times the space now given to the display of our rare specimens; it is to be remembered also that what room we have is only held by sufferance of the University Law Department, whose growing demands will soon lay claim to the whole building. We must have a fit building of our own at the earliest possible moment.

We need more money to provide for conducting the educational work of the Society especially in the distribution of books. We are expected and it is desirable that we should be able, to send for temporary use our books to all parts of the State for the use of students who are not near to local libraries and to supplement local libraries whose collection of books is limited, but the postage and express on these books amounts to a large sum in course of the year. Such work, however, is the most economical effort for the promotion of education. Again the clerk hire necessary to conduct this distribution and keep track of the literature sent and to see that it is properly returned amounts to a still larger sum.

We would also make an appeal not only to the legislature, but to the people of the state at large to cultivate a more intelligent interest in the preservation of the historical monuments and objects of scientific interest in their particular localities and for the dissemination of information concerning them. In this respect Ohio is far behind the countries of Europe. There is no town of 15,000 inhabitants, even in Siberia,

that does not have its museum and its special history for use in the schools. Glacial boulders are there thought worthy of preservation; while here we blow them to pieces to make churches, and foundations for houses, and stone walls that might as well be made of brick or cobble-stone, and thus destroy most valuable objects through which to impart knowledge to the rising generation. The preservation of such objects as the block house in Mansfield and the various fortifications of the State and of the glacial boulders, such as that in Warren County near Fort Ancient, will give educators a vantage ground, that they can ill afford to lose.

We would suggest that the school boards in every county be requested to co-operate with the committee of the Society in preparing a chapter on the physical geography, the geology, the botany, the zoology and the history of each locality to be bound up with the general text books, or used in connection with them. Only by some such means can we keep up that communication with the past, and with the outside world, that is essential to the full development of the Society and its individual members. A start in this direction is already made by the Curator's plan of keeping a scrap book for every county, which will soon collect the information for preparing such supplementary chapters. To educate in history and science we should begin about our own doors and magnify the importance of local interests. In this work this Society is specially fitted to take the lead.

G. F. WRIGHT,
Chairman Museum Committee.

REPORTS OF STANDING COMMITTEES.

Reports of the standing committees were called for. Secretary Randall stated that the work of the committees on Finance, Fort Ancient, Museum and Library, Publications and Serpent Mound, were covered by the reports of the Secretary and Curator. The Committee on Jamestown Exposition had of course, expired because of the accomplishment of their work. As to the committee on Big Bottom Park, Prof. Martzolff said: That he had nothing further to add to what he had reported from time to time to the Executive Committee, except that recently a permanent addition had been made to the park by the erection of an iron gate way at the front entrance to the park, at a cost of about thirty dollars.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were submitted by Prof. Martzolff and adopted by the meeting:

Resolved, That the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in its annual session, hereby expresses to its esteemed President Emeritus, General R. Brinkerhoff, a renewal of its obligations to him for the splendid services he has rendered this organization by his long and faithful interest and official duties. It also regrets his inability to be present on this occasion and transmits to him congratulations upon his continued good health, and wishes for him many years of enjoyment and service to his fellowmen.

The members of this Society also wish to place on record the sad realization of its loss in the death of Rush R. Sloane, who died December 24, 1908, one of the honored members of the Society and for many years a trustee. Judge Sloane was a constant and profound student of Ohio's history, which has been enriched as the result of his painstaking research in the annals of the state. The Secretary of the Society is hereby requested to convey to Mrs. Sloane the action of the Society, and express to her the respect in which her late husband was held by his associates in this organization.

Further, it is deemed appropriate that the members here assembled unite in extending sympathy for our honored Vice President, George F. Bareis, who has lately sustained a great grief in the death of his beloved wife. We offer to him at this sorrowful time our heartfelt affection, and commend to him trust in Divine Providence who is ever the refuge to whom we may turn in hours of distress and disappointments.

The above resolutions were adopted by the vote of all present.

AMENDMENTS OF CONSTITUTION.

Mr. Wood proposed that Section 1 of Article V of the Constitution be amended by striking out the word "February" in the second line and substituting therefor the word "May." This would make the Section read: The fiscal year of the Society

shall end May 1, and the annual meeting shall be held at Columbus within thirty days thereafter as the Executive Committee may determine. Due notice of the meeting shall be mailed by the Secretary to all members of the Society at least ten days before such annual meeting is held.

Mr. Wood explained that the purpose of this change was to bring the annual meeting at a more convenient and propitious time of the year. It comes now in the winter season, when the weather does not permit of any excursions by the Society to Fort Ancient or elsewhere; also, when the legislature is in session and the Secretary is loaded with unusual amount of responsibility and duty, and also, at a time when the appropriations by the legislature for the ensuing year are not yet determined, and therefore, the trustees or members of the Society cannot plan or outline the future action of the Society. This proposed change of the Constitution led to some discussion, but was finally adopted by almost a unanimous vote. The Constitution is, therefore, changed as proposed.

In this connection the desire was expressed by the members that the trustees arrange, during the coming June for an excursion to Fort Ancient, and if possible to Serpent Mound. No definite action, however, was taken in the matter.

In this connection Senator Harper suggested that it would be a wise thing for the Society to get up a meeting to be held in Cincinnati. He thought if that was done a great many additional members could be obtained in that city. The suggestion met with great approval.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

The Secretary reported that the two trustees appointed by the Governor, namely, Messrs. Harper and Love, were still holding their positions, though their time had matured. They would, of course, continue to remain in office until Governor Harmon appointed their successors. At this meeting, the Society would have to elect trustees to fill the vacancy caused by the term expiration of Messrs. G. F. Bareis, J. Warren Keifer, I. F. King

and E. F. Wood, and one to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Rush R. Sloane, whose term, had he lived, would have terminated at this time. Upon motion and vote, the President was authorized to appoint a nominating committee to suggest the names of five trustees to be elected. The committee appointed were, Messrs. Martzolff, Archer and Hegler. After due consideration by the nominating committee, they reported as follows: Mr. G. F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Gen. J. Warren Keifer, Springfield; Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus; Mr. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk, and Mr. Walter C. Metz, Newark. The report of the nominating committee was unanimously accepted, and the Secretary was authorized to cast the ballot of the Society for the election of the five named nominees to serve as trustees from this meeting until the annual meeting in 1912. The Board of Trustees of the Society, as now constituted, is therefore, as follows:

TRUSTEES.

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1910.

Mr. A. J. Baughman	Mansfield.
Hon. J. H. Beal	Scio.
Gen. R. Brinkerhoff	Mansfield.
Hon. D. J. Ryan	Columbus.
Rev. H. A. Thompson	Dayton.

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1911.

Mr. R. E. Hills	Delaware.
Prof. C. L. Martzolff	Athens.
Prof. G. Frederick Wright	Oberlin.
Hon. Albert Douglas	Chillicothe.
Rev. W. H. Rice	South Bethlehem, Pa.

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1912.

Mr. G. F. Bareis	Canal Winchester.
Gen. J. Warren Keifer	Springfield.
Mr. E. F. Wood	Columbus.
Mr. C. H. Gallup	Norwalk.
Mr. Walter C. Metz	Newark.

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

Hon. Myron T. Herrick, Cleveland	1910
Prof. M. R. Andrews, Marietta	1910
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield	1911
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus	1911
Rev. N. B. C. Love, Perrysburg	1912
Hon. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati	1912

On March 19, (1909) Governor Harmon appointed Messrs. Harper and Love, trustees, to succeed themselves and serve for three years from their appointment until 1912.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

Immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Society, there was held the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees. Those present were: Messrs. Andrews, Harper, Love, Randall, Prince, Baughman, Wood, Bareis, Wright, Martzolff, Mills and Gallup, the newly elected member.

Prof. Wright acted as Chairman of the meeting, and Mr. Randall as Secretary. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, that the Trustees elect the officers, the following were elected as officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

President, G. Frederick Wright.
First Vice President, George F. Bareis.
Second Vice President, D. J. Ryan.
Secretary and Editor, E. O. Randall.
Treasurer, E. F. Wood.
Curator and Librarian, W. C. Mills.

As members of the Executive Committee to serve for the ensuing year, in addition to the officers already chosen, who are ex-officio members, there were selected, Messrs. Prince, Martzolff, Baughman, Harper and Gallup.

The Executive Committee, therefore, as newly constituted, is as follows: Messrs. Bareis, Baughman, Gallup, Harper, Martzolff, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Wood and Wright. General R. Brinkerhoff, President Emeritus, by courtesy of his office, would be entitled to attendance upon the meetings of the Executive Committee.

By motion and vote, the matter of determining the salaries of the officers of the Society, who receive compensation for their services, was referred to the Executive Committee for its action at some future meeting.

The Secretary stated that there were several things which should be brought before the Executive Committee at the earliest possible moment, particularly the proposition of Colonel Webb C. Hayes, concerning his offer to deed to the Society the Harrison Trail, a portion of Spiegel Grove.

The Trustees present spent some time in examining the drawing of the topographical survey of Fort Ancient made by Prof. Sherman and his corps of assistants.

There being no further business before the meeting, it was adjourned with the understanding that the Secretary would call a meeting of the Executive Committee as soon as required.

EDITORIALANA.

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NEWLY ELECTED TRUSTEES.

It will be noted in the report of the Annual Meeting of the Society, held March 2, 1909, that two life members of the Society were newly elected trustees for the ensuing three years. They were Messrs. Caleb Hathaway Gallup and Walter Charles Metz. Below we give brief sketches of the lives of the gentlemen in question. Mr. Metz has been a member of the Society for some years and has been a student in archæological lines. Mr. Gallup is known throughout the country for his historical scholarship and for the active and extensive work he has done in connection with the Firelands Historical Society, of which he has been an influential and official member for a number of years.

CALEB HATHAWAY GALLUP.

John (1) Gallup, the ancestor of most of the families of that name, came to America from the Parish of Mosterne, County Dorset, England in 1630. He became the owner and gave his name to Gallup's Island off Boston Harbor by grant from Governor Winthrop whose wife was a sister of Gallup's wife. A skillful mariner, he became memorable as commander of the first naval action off Block Island, fought in North American waters, to avenge the murder of his friend Captain John Oldham, by Indians in the "famous Pequot War" of 1637. His son John (2) participated in the naval engagement off Block Island and in "King Philip's War" as a captain, led a company of soldiers into the "fearful swamp of fight" at Narragansett, December 19, 1675, (within the limits of the present town of South Kingston, R. I.) where he was killed. Shortly before this war, a friendly Indian presented him with a belt supposed to be a notice or warning of impending war. That belt or sash has descended in the family from generation to generation until now it is in the possession of the Firelands Historical Society for safekeeping in its museum. Benadum was of the third generation; Benadam, his son, of the fourth; William of the fifth generation was living at Kingston, Pennsylvania, with seven children in 1778 at the time of the "Wyoming massacre." His son, Hallet (22 years old) escaped death by floating down the Susquehanna River, patrolled by hostile Indians, his body under water and face between two rails grasped

C. H. GALLUP.

in his hands. Twin daughters, five years of age, were carried off by the Indians as pretty prizes, but were soon recovered by ransom.

William of the sixth, married Freelove Hathaway, a Philadelphia Quakeress, and had Hallet of the seventh generation who was an artillery gunner in Captain Thomas's Company of Pennsylvania Volunteers and served under General William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812. Caleb Hathaway (second of the name) of the eighth generation of Gallups in America, and the subject of this sketch, was born at Norwalk, Ohio, May 10, 1834. His father was Hallet (7) and mother Clarissa Benedict Gallup, daughter of Platt Benedict, the first settler of the village of Norwalk. Mr. Benedict was the promoter and to his death, October 25, 1866, President of the Firelands Historical Society.

Brought up to hard work on a farm, Caleb's first school experience was in the Norwalk Union Schools during the winters of 1850-1-2, then for one year (1853) he was employed as an assistant in the Huron County Clerk's office. In 1854 he entered the freshman class at Denison University, Granville, Ohio, in the scientific course, and in the fall of that year transferred to the same class and course at Madison University, now Colgate, at Hamilton, N. Y., where he promoted the founding of Mu Chapter of the Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity.

Mr. Caleb Gallup graduated from Madison as Bachelor of Science in 1856 and studied law in the office of Worcester and Pennewell in Norwalk, Ohio, until the fall of 1857, when he entered the law school of the Cincinnati College and graduated therefrom in 1858 as Bachelor of Laws. On July 19, 1859, he was admitted to the bar of Michigan and in 1860 was elected prosecuting attorney of Huron County, Michigan, which office he held by re-election for ten consecutive years, during two of which (1866-7) he also held by election, the office of representative in the State Legislature from that county. Among other laws and resolutions enacted on his initiation as a legislator, was a law for relief of a stranded colony of educated Germans, off-shoot or protegé of the "economites" of Harmony, Pa. This law gave the head of each family a forty acre homestead of state lands.

Mr. Gallup's military service was as Deputy U. S. Marshal (1863-4-5) "enforcing the draft" during our Civil War. He was himself drafted but ordered back to the service of the marshal. He rendered five years' service 1877-82 as a member of the Ohio National Guards.

He was twice married, first to Kate V. Vredenburgh of old New York Dutch blood, June 20, 1860, by whom he had one son, nineteen months old at the death of his mother, May 25, 1863; second marriage, November 3, 1869, was to Helen Alphena Glover, niece of Hon. Joel Parker, "War Governor" of New Jersey. The death, April 8, 1872, of his second wife leaving one daughter eighteen months and one son four days old, caused his removal back to the old home at Norwalk, Ohio.

Mr. Gallup has been a life member of The Whittlesey Academy of Arts and Sciences since 1877; member of its board of trustees since

1878; chairman of its trustees since 1878; and also its treasurer since 1901; a life member of the Firelands Historical Society since 1876; a member of its board of trustees, librarian and editor of its publications since 1888; member of the National Geographical Society; member of Huron County Children's Home Association; member of its board of trustees since 1889, and its treasurer since 1902; member of the Young Men's Library and Reading Room Association of Norwalk (free public library); member of its board of trustees and chairman of its executive committee since 1903. He is a member of the Norwalk Board of Commerce, and prominent in the business interests of the city. In 1888 he with other friends, founded the financially successful Home Savings & Loan Company of Norwalk, became one of its directors and its president, which offices he has continuously held to the present.

Mr. Gallup has always been an enthusiastic student of Ohio and Western history. He has written much that is interesting and accurate concerning the early settlement of the Buckeye State. He has for many years taken a great interest in the work of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society of which he became a life member at its last annual meeting.

WALTER CHARLES METZ.

Walter Charles Metz is the son of Charles C. Metz and Christa Abbie Metz of Newark, Ohio. On his father's side, he is of an old German family, which immigrated to this country in the early part of the last century, and which finally wended its way to Newark, Ohio, coming from Cleveland by way of the once beautiful Ohio Canal. On his mother's side he lost nothing, for her family is of that good old revolutionary stock of New England, that made the thirteen original colonies "free and independent states."

W. C. Metz.

He was born in Newark, Ohio, February 1st, 1879, and received his early education in the public schools of that place. In 1897 he went to Boise, Idaho, where he joined a Surveying Corps and spent the summer in the mountains of Northern Idaho, doing Government work in the timber regions. The following winter he spent in California and the Western States — returning home in the spring.

The next two years of his life were spent in New Hampshire, preparatory to entering the Ohio State University, from which institution he graduated with the class of 1905, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts. While a student in the University he was taken into the Kappa Sigma fraternity and was also made a life member of the Archæological and Historical Society of Ohio.

Immediately upon leaving College, he entered the employ of the Newark Trust Company. After filling the various clerical positions in the bank, his earnest work won for him the election of Assistant Secretary and Treasurer. In the fall of 1907 he was elected to the chief office, which position he now holds. On the 17th day of September, 1908, he was united in marriage to Miss Helen Mariette Weiant of Newark.

It was when but yet a youngster, that the peculiar shaped mounds and odd flint pieces appealed to him as being very curious. Curiosity, turned loose in Licking County, the unrivaled field of prehistoric mounds and stone pieces, developed into scientific research. At the early age of ten years, Mr. Metz started a collection of stone implements, but soon this did not satisfy him and much of his time was spent in opening burial mounds, that he might learn more of the habits of this prehistoric race. As a result of his untiring energy, over thirty-five hundred relics of the Mound Builders' Age have been brought together — the showing being the representative one of that locality.

The work of Mr. Metz has consisted not only in search for articles left by this ancient people, but also in the investigation of the nature and purpose of the various mounds and their relation to one another. That Mr. Metz has made great progress into the hidden lore of this long departed race, is evidenced by the small booklet, which he wrote and published. It is entitled "Prehistoric Remains of Licking County, Ohio," and gives, in a concise way, a description of what has been found and now is to be seen in Licking County. The little brochure is illustrated with diagrams and photographs made by the author. The book is worthy of much consideration and evidences the interest of the author in his subject and the extensive knowledge he has acquired concerning the Mound Builders and their works in that section of the State.

Mr. Metz is a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church and is eligible to the Sons of the American Revolution, his mother being a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

AVERY'S UNITED STATES.

The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio, have issued, from their press, the fifth volume of the "History of the United States and its People" from the earliest records to the present time by Elroy McKendree Avery. We have been a careful reader of this work beginning with its first volume, and have briefly commented upon the previous four volumes in the editorial columns of this Quarterly. The Fifth Volume, now at hand, takes up the sequence of events at the close of the French and Indian War. The first chapter entitled "For the Building of a Nation" gives an admirable and interesting statement of the condition of the people at that time, the various racial immigrations, the

social life of the people, their customs, intellectual and educational status, their agricultural pursuits, primitive industries and manufactories. Speaking of their arts and literature, the author says: "Literature and the fine arts do not flourish on a new soil. Broadly speaking, there were neither artists nor literary writers of merit, on the one hand, nor patrons of leisure and means on the other. Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, almost the only colonial artists now remembered had just entered upon their careers, and they were obliged to seek instruction and much of their patronage abroad. Most of the few pictures and statues that might be found had been imported from Europe. John Adams once said that there were no painters or sculptors in America and he hoped there never would be. Aside from newspaper writing, authorship was chiefly confined to political and theological themes. Thomas Hutchinson, the first volume of whose History of Massachusetts Bay appeared in 1764, Jonathan Edwards, the author of the profound Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will, and Benjamin Franklin, the only one of the three to attain truly cosmopolitan fame, were the only notable writers of the period. There were no novelists, and the poetical effusions of the time do not rise to the level of literature." What a transition from that day of non-literature to the present time when something like ten thousand new books pour forth like a flood in one year from the American press. Mr. Avery says by the end of 1765 forty-three newspapers and four literary magazines had been established but many of them were no longer published. The circulation of a newspaper was always small. It has been estimated that the combined circulation of the thirty-seven newspapers printed in 1775 was about five thousand copies. There was no daily publication until 1784. Travel between the centers of population was almost solely upon horseback, in private conveyances or public stages. By means of the latter it took twenty days to go from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. In 1761, only thirty-eight private citizens of Philadelphia kept a coach or carriage.

The preliminary events leading to the American Revolution are fully stated, both those occurring in the colonies and in England. The stamp act and its repeal are thoroughly discussed; likewise the Townsend acts and their repeal. One of the most interesting portions of this book, and told more succinctly and clearly than by any American History in our recall, are the chapters on "Strengthening the Colonial Body" and "The Beginning of Colonial Union," showing how, without even the remote idea of independence the Colonies began to appreciate and utilize the idea of union for self protection against the continued encroachments of the tyranny and oppression by the mother country. The chapter entitled "Over the Mountains" is especially interesting to the reader of the Trans-Alleghany section of the country, and to the student of the history of the Northwest. This phase of our national growth, as we have taken occasion to previously remark, is too often slightly treated or totally neglected by our leading historians. Mr. Avery remarks: "The struggle

for political rights did not absorb all the energies of all the colonists of this period. While British ministries were unwisely arousing a spirit that was to result in the disruption of the empire, the pioneers of the western border were beginning a movement that was to result in the settlement of the great valley beyond the mountains — an historical event almost or quite as important as the Revolution itself.

"Since the formation and practical failure of the Ohio Company, (1748), a number of schemes had been formed for establishing colonies in the new region. Soon after the Albany Congress of 1754, Benjamin Franklin projected two colonies, to be settled under charters from the king, one in what is now northeastern Ohio and northwestern Pennsylvania, the other in the region of the Scioto River. Franklin's plan came to nothing, as did that of Samuel Hazard, a Philadelphia merchant, who wished to obtain a charter to all of the Ohio valley and part of the Mississippi valley and to settle there a colony in which only Protestants could hold office and in which Roman Catholics should be debarred from owning land or having 'Mass Houses or Popish Chapels.' The suggestion of the writer of a pamphlet published at Edinburgh at the close of the French and Indian war that the western boundary of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania should be a line extending up the Maumee and down the Wabash and the Ohio to the Mississippi, and that beyond this there should be established a new colony 'which might be called Charlotiana, in honor of her Majesty, our present most excellent Queen,' also went unheeded."

These schemes were also rendered futile because of the well known Quebec act in 1763 in which England forbade the making of settlements by the colonists in the Northwest Territory reserving that part of England's newly acquired domain for an Indian reserve. Bouquet's Treaty of 1764 provided for the withdrawal of the Indians living south of the Ohio to the region north of it — an extremely important step in clearing the way. In 1768 the six nations sold to the proprietors of Pennsylvania an extensive tract on the western borders of their province and by the treaty of Ft. Stanwix ceded to the crown their claims to what is now the state of Kentucky east of the Tennessee River (then called the Cherokee) and a large part of West Virginia. Then comes the colonizing scheme of Thomas Walpole and Benjamin Franklin in the organization of what was called the Vandalia Company. "After some negotiation, the lords of the treasury agreed, in consideration of the sum of ten thousand pounds, to convey to the company practically all of what is now West Virginia and so much of what is Kentucky as lay east of a line drawn from the mouth of the Scioto to Cumberland Gap. The bounds included the grant to the old Ohio company, but the English agent of that company agreed to merge that company's interest in the new project. The new company also agreed to grant the two hundred thousand acres that had been promised to Washington and those who had served under him in the first campaign of the French

and Indian war. Lord Hillsborough and Governor Dunmore opposed the project, but, after long delay, the king in council gave it his approval. At the same time, the bounds of the projected colony were extended to the Kentucky River. By the spring of 1775, a royal charter was ready for execution, but the outbreak of rebellion wrecked Vandalia."

Then follow the pushing westward of the settlements from Virginia and North Carolina, the settlements of the Watauga Association and the attempt by James Robertson and others in what was known as the Watauga commonwealth. While the foundations of the state of Tennessee were being laid, equally hardy and venturesome pioneers were exploring and settling what was to be Kentucky. In the primitive annals of this state to be, Daniel Boone is the romantic figure and of whom Mr. Avery treats briefly. "In the fall of 1767, with one or two companions, he crossed the mountain wall and spent the winter at a salt-lick about ten miles from the present town of Prestonburg. Convinced that they were not in the promised land, they returned to the Yadkin. In the spring of 1769, Daniel Boone, Finley, John Stuart, and three others, clad in deerskin hunting-shirts and mounted on good horses, set out again. Threading their way through tangled mountain mass and gloomy forest, they passed through Cumberland Gap and, following the Warrior's Path, broke into the beautiful blue-grass region with its running waters, groves, glades, and prairies, and its herds of countless buffalo, deer, and round-horned elk. Making their chief camp on what is now Station Camp Creek in Estill County, they, for six months, hunted in the heart of Kentucky."

There is no period of our western history so romantic as that of the Trans-Alleghany settlements in the country, both north and south of the Ohio River. While Mr. Avery necessarily must condense the vast material, he has done so not only in a clear and comprehensive but entertaining way, weaving his narrative through the wilderness, across the mountain fastnesses, along the rivers, in a way that gives one the most satisfactory and complete view of these early, in some respects desultory, but historically considered, foundation events in the subsequent growth of the great west. Dunmore's war, and the trouble with the Ohio Indians in 1773 and 4 are appreciatively related. The battle of Point Pleasant between the twelve hundred Virginia backwoodsmen under Col. Andrew Lewis and an equal number of Indians, the chosen braves of the many Ohio tribes under the famous Shawnee Chief Cornstalk, fought on the banks of the Ohio in October, 1774, was one of the most bloody and desperate battles ever fought between the redmen and the white men. About one-fifth of the white men were killed or wounded, and as Mr. Avery remarks "Had the battle of Point Pleasant been fought on New England soil, the pages of history would have been filled with the name of Andrew Lewis." The Indians were defeated and driven back into Ohio, and on the Pickaway plains, not far from the present site of Chillicothe, the army of Andrew Lewis joined the army

of Governor Dunmore. A treaty was made with the Indians of Ohio, by which "the Indians abandoned all claims to lands south of the Ohio, surrendered their white captives and stolen horses, and gave hostages for future good behavior." It was in connection with this event that Logan the great Mingo Chief made his appearance and delivered — it is said — that famous speech which has been recited by thousands of school boys since. Logan refused to enter the council for the treaty and in his defense made the oration which has placed him at the head of the orators of Western Indian history.

The opening events of the American Revolution are now hardby. The First Continental Congress met September 5, 1774, at Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia. There were fifty-five delegates present who chose the aged Randolph as their President. The delegates, according to John Adams, were in representation, "one-third Whigs, another Tories, the rest Mongrel." Then follows Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill. The volume graphically follows the trend of events to and including the Declaration of Independence. This is an oft repeated story, but Mr. Avery retells it with a freshness and picturesqueness and discrimination that win the reader's attention as if it were new. Mr. Avery begins his chapter on Independence with the paragraph: "While the American revolution had long been inevitable, it did not spring from a desire to separate from Great Britain. Despite their independence of spirit, the colonists had a deep reverence and a sincere love for the British empire, they rejoiced in its power and glory, they looked to it for aid and protection — as much then as do Australia and Canada today. Though they rebelled, it was to safeguard their rights as Englishmen, not because they wished to found an independent state. They had fought, but only to preserve the rights and privileges to which, 'by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and the several Charters or Compacts' they were entitled. 'Long before the colonists took up arms, there had been prophecies to the effect that, owing to the distance between England and America and to diverging interests, the colonies would one day throw off their allegiance; we sometimes hear such prophecies regarding the present British colonies. As early as 1705, there appeared in an English print the prediction that 'The colonists will, in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England and set up a government of their own.' Jeremiah Dummer, the defender of the second Massachusetts charter, heard English noblemen say that, if not crushed, the colonies would in time declare their independence. In 1750, Turgot, the great French statesman and philosopher, said: 'Colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree only till they ripen, as soon as America can take care of itself, it will do what Carthage did.' Ten years later, Thomas Pownall expressed the opinion that the independence of the colonies was near at hand. Such expressions were, however, mere speculations based upon the seeming natural course of events. Prior to the fateful Lexington and Concord day, there was hardly a man of promi-

nence in America who desired or expected a separation from England. The testimony to this effect is overwhelming. Hutchinson, the Tory historian of Massachusetts, wrote: 'An empire, separate or distinct from Britain, no man then (1758) alive expected or desired to see.' In October, 1774, Washington wrote that 'no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America.' In the following March, Franklin assured the Earl of Chatham that he had never 'heard in any Conversation from any Person, drunk or sober, the least Expression of a wish for a Separation, or a Hint that such a Thing would be advantageous to America.' Thirty-seven days before the war began, John Adams pronounced the assertion that the inhabitants panted after independence 'as great a slander on the province as ever was committed to writing.' Years after the conflict was over, Thomas Jefferson declared that before the nineteenth of April, 1775, 'I never had heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain.' Even after blood had been spilled on Lexington Green, there was no immediate general movement in favor of independence. Some began to see that that was the only logical outcome of the struggle, but the vast majority still looked forward to reconciliation. The question began to be more and more discussed, but few were bold enough openly to declare their desire for a separation. After Lexington and Concord, Joseph Warren said: 'The next news from England must be conciliatory, or the connection between us ends.' After Bunker Hill, Franklin wrote to an English friend: 'It has been with much difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the Crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them forever'."

Speaking of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Avery in a few words, presents the facts concerning the Mecklenburg Resolutions — a subject of much dispute and so frequently asked about that we insert the author's statement: "In this period occurred an event around which has developed one of the bitterest controversies in American history. As nearly as I can determine, the leading facts are as follows: The North Carolina convention of August, 1774, had advised the several counties to constitute committees to carry out the plans of the general congress, and thirty-six of the counties had chosen such committees. On the thirty-first of May, 1775, the Mecklenburg committee met at Charlotte and adopted a preamble and nineteen resolves, declaring, among other things, that each provincial congress, 'under the direction of the Great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive Powers within their respective Provinces,' and that this state of affairs should continue until the 'General Congress' should provide otherwise, 'or the Legislative Body of Great Britain resign its injust and arbitrary Pretensions with respect to America.' The resolutions were read to the people from the steps of the court-house and were printed

in several newspapers, north and south. In April, 1819, after the records of the Mecklenburg committee had been destroyed by fire and the resolutions of the thirty-first of May had been almost forgotten, the Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette published a set of resolutions that, it was alleged, had been adopted by a convention in Mecklenburg County on the twentieth of May, 1775. These resolutions had been rewritten several years before, from memory, by John McKnitt Alexander who now styled the reproduction a 'Declaration of Independence.' The language of the alleged 'Declaration' is more radical than is that of the resolutions of the thirty-first and, in some of its phrases, is suspiciously like the corresponding parts of the declaration adopted at Philadelphia in July, 1776. Jefferson resented the implication of plagiarism and declared the 'Mecklenburg Declaration' to be an 'unjustifiable quiz.' Frothingham and others were unable to find any contemporary reference, in manuscript or in print, to such a convention or public meeting, and critical students of American history generally refuse to accept the 'Mecklenburg Declaration' as authentic. It is probable that, in attempting to reproduce the lost resolutions of the thirty-first of May, Mr. Alexander unconsciously changed the dates and wrote into his draft words made familiar to him and us by Jefferson's immortal document. In the bitterness of the controversy, it has been too generally overlooked that the authenticity of the resolves of the thirty-first is unquestioned and that they breathed a spirit of defiance that made them little less than a real declaration of independence."

Concerning the final adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress, Mr. Avery notes that other "elements" beside patriotism were factors in hastening the culmination of affairs:

"The debate was continued until the afternoon of the fourth; according to a story that Jefferson later loved to tell, it might have run on indefinitely at any other season of the year. 'But the weather was oppressively warm and the room occupied by the deputies was hard by a stable, whence the hungry flies swarmed thick and fierce, alighting on the legs of the delegates and biting hard through their thin silk stockings. Treason was preferable to discomfort,' and the delegates finally accepted the declaration before it had been discussed by all of those who wished to speak upon it. Then the committee of the whole arose and Harrison reported the declaration back to congress. The declaration was read again and received the final sanction of the delegates of twelve states 'as the justification of the act that established a new nation among the powers of the world'."

Up to this time we had supposed "there were no flies on" our American forefathers — the historic fact makes it appear otherwise. We might further add that the incident reveals the punishment resulting at times from belonging to the "silk stocking" section of society. These reflections are not from Mr. Avery but are gratuitous on our part.

The value of this volume, like that of its predecessors, is greatly enhanced by the numerous illustrations, many of them colored according to the originals, fac-similes of original documents, maps, diagrams, etc. No book ever issued by any American press has been so profusely and artistically illustrated.

HECKEWELDER'S NARRATIVE.

Elsewhere in this Quarterly we publish the proceedings of the Zeisberger Centennial, in which the life and services of David Zeisberger, one of the foremost Moravian missionaries to the Ohio Indians, are fully set forth. Before us, on our editorial desk, lies a magnificent volume in royal octavo size containing "the narrative of the mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohican Indians from the commencement in the year 1740 to the close of the year 1808," by John Heckewelder. This narrative is edited in a most painstaking and scholarly manner by William Elsey Connelley. The volume is from the press of the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio, and is published in the elegant and artistic manner for which this firm is so well known. Mr. Connelley, the editor, a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, was born on the Wolf Pen Branch of the Middle Fork of Jennies Creek, Johnson County, Kentucky, March 15, 1855. There he resided until 1881 when he moved to Kansas and is now residing at Topeka. He has been greatly interested in historical subjects, and is the author of several well known works, among them "John Brown," "Wyandot Folk-Lore," "Kansas Territorial Governors," "Doniphan's Expedition, Mexican War," "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," etc., etc. The work in question is a translation from the original autograph manuscript of Heckewelder, consisting of 445 neatly written quarto pages. This Narrative was first published in Philadelphia in 1820 by McCarty and Davis. The Narrative itself is preceded by Heckewelder's Journal of 1797, an account of Heckewelder's journey with other Missionaries to Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum, and by Heckewelder's Narrative of 1792, his journey to the Wabash. There is also a brief account of the Church of the Unitas Fratrum, the Moravian Church, and a Memoir of Heckewelder. From these the reader may obtain a full and interesting account of the history of the Moravian Church, which dates back to a very early origin, having more or less of a continuous historic connection with the early Christian and Greek Church. In the year 940, the Roman Emperor, Otho the First, invaded Bohemia and attached it to the Western Empire. The Roman Church sought to induce the conquered people to abandon their ancient mode of worship and become subjects of the Papal See. The persecutions resulting therefrom continued for a period of more than two hundred years. The Waldenses in Italy and France, in the pre-reformation period, in large numbers took refuge in Bohemia and Moravia. In order

to subjugate these followers of the early faith the Church of Rome established the University of Prague. In due time, according to well known church history, John Huss of Prague, following the lead of Wickliff of England, became the great reformer of his time preceding the Lutheran Reformation. The followers of Huss, who was burned at the stake (1415), instituted the original organization of the ancient Church of the Brethren. It was the beginning of the organized Moravian sect bearing the title Unitas Fratrum until 1847, when the American Church adopted the name "Moravian Brethren." The Moravians, therefore, come forth from the earliest struggles against Romanism and antedate the German Reformation. This Church consecrated its first bishop, David Nitschman, at Berlin, 1735. The Trustees of Georgia, of whom General James Oglethorpe was the principal member, offered certain members of this sect a free passage to America. They arrived at Charlestown, S. C., in 1734, founding a village at Savannah, and began missionary work among the Creek Indians. The Georgia Colony of the Brethren was broken up by the war between Great Britain and Spain. Some of the Brethren accompanied Whitefield to Pennsylvania where, about the year 1740, they established the settlements at Nazareth and Bethlehem. They immediately began to send missionaries among the various Indian tribes.

John Heckewelder was born at Bedford, England, March 12, 1743, and died at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1823. His father, David Heckewelder, was one of the Moravian exiles who came to Herrnhut, the village of refuge founded by Count Zinzendorf on his estate of Berthelsdorf, Saxony. David Heckewelder was sent to England and was there residing when his son John was born. At the age of eleven Heckewelder came with his parents to America, arriving at Bethlehem in 1754. In the year 1761, Christian Frederick Post, another Moravian missionary, built a house on the Tuscarawas in what is now the state of Ohio, and prepared to begin a mission there among the Delawares. In the spring of 1762, Post returning to Bethlehem secured Heckewelder as a companion, and together they traveled by foot some five hundred miles to the Tuscarawas station. Heckewelder wrote an intensely interesting account of this thrilling tramp through the unbroken forests and across the Alleghany mountains. The two intrepid missionaries remained at Post's cabin until the threatening hostility of the Indians compelled their return to Pennsylvania. The real missionary life of Heckewelder began in 1771, in which year he was made an assistant to Zeisberger and sent to Friedenstadt on the Beaver river. In 1773 this place was abandoned and the mission established on the Tuscarawas. Heckewelder has given us in his Narrative the history of the mission there during the perilous and stormy days of the Revolution. His daring saved the mission from ruin in 1778. He was taken captive by the Indians and British and carried away to Sandusky and, finally to Detroit, by the savages under the half-king and captain Pipe.

This captivity and exileship in connection with Zeisberger is briefly described in the account of the Zeisberger Centennial. When the Indian Christians with their Moravian missionaries returned to Ohio after the Revolution, it was with the expectation of enjoying peace and a permanent home. But this was not permitted them. It became necessary to return to Canada to avoid extermination. They there sojourned some years. In 1786 Heckewelder returned from Cuyahoga, where he had temporarily remained, to Bethlehem. He became the business agent of the Mission and conducted their affairs at that point. He made journeys to the Ohio country to look after the lands granted the Christian Indians by Congress. He finally removed with his family to Gnadenhutten (Ohio) in 1801 and resided on the Tuscarawas until 1810. He was postmaster of the village and acted as agent for owners of large tracts of land. Many land titles in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, rest on contracts made by Heckewelder with the first settlers. Heckewelder was married in 1780 to Miss Sarah Ohneberg. She went with him to the wilderness of the Muskingum. Their daughter Johanna Maria was born April 6, 1781, at Salem, now in Tuscarawas County. She was the "first white female child born in the confines of the State," and the first child born in the state of permanent settlers — "the first white child born in a home in Ohio." Their second child Anna Salome, was born August 13, 1784, at New Gnadenhutten on the Huron (Clinton) River, Michigan. Susanna was born at Bethlehem, December 31, 1786. These daughters survived Heckewelder. Johanna Maria died unmarried at Bethlehem, September 19, 1868. Anna Salome married Mr. Joseph Rice of Bethlehem; died January 15, 1857. Rev. William H. Rice, Trustee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and now residing at South Bethlehem, (Pa.) is the son of this union. Susanna married J. Christian Luckenbach of Bethlehem and died February 8, 1867. Heckewelder's wife died in 1815. Heckewelder spent his old age in Bethlehem, (Pa.) employing much of his time in writing of his experiences with the Indians in the wilderness. His principal works are "The History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations," and his "Narrative." The latter is the work which is published as noted above and edited by Mr. Connelley.

Of the Narrative itself we can only speak too briefly. This is history at first hand. Mr. Heckewelder was a man of keen observation. Nothing seems to have escaped his notice, and he records his experiences and the facts noted in a very clear and graphic manner. You are carried at once into the midst of the unbroken forests of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and into the minute details of the Indian pioneer life. No romance could be more entertaining. This Narrative, and the similar writings of Zeisberger mentioned elsewhere in this Quarterly, are to primeval Ohio what the Jesuit relations were to the country farther west and south. Mr. Connelley's annotations are copious and scholarly. Places and personages mentioned in the Narrative are thoroughly ex-

plained. Indeed the annotations themselves have a value second only to the text which they explain. They constitute a compendium of information that evidences the faithfulness and enthusiasm with which Mr. Connelley has performed his work. We cite only one instance especially interesting to Ohio readers. It is Mr. Connelley's note on the meaning of the word "Ohio." He says: "Ohio is derived from the Iroquois. The original is variously spoken in the different dialects. In Wyandot it is Ohezhu; in Mohawk and Cayuga it is oheyo; in Onondaga and Tuscarora it is Oheye; in Oneida it is Ohe; in Seneca it is very nearly the same as in Wyandot. Darlington, in his Christopher Gist's Journals, p. 94, and Morgan in his League of the Iroquois, say this means 'fair,' 'beautiful,' and that the Iroquois called the Ohio the Beautiful River. The French so called it (La Belle Riviere), but there is no evidence that they secured the name from any Indian original. The word does not mean 'fair,' neither does it mean 'beautiful.' It means great. The Iroquois, therefore, called the Ohio the Great River. The Wyandots call it Ohezhu Yandawaye — Great River. And in the various dialects of the Iroquois it is so called without exception. They give the stream that name from it source to the Gulf of Mexico; with them it is the main stream and has but one name. When I became acquainted with the Wyandots they told me of hunting trips to the 'Sunken Lands' on the Ohio. 'But,' I replied, 'there are no sunken lands on the Ohio.' 'Yes,' they said, 'plenty on Ohio; plenty by New Madrid.' 'But New Madrid is on the Mississippi,' I insisted. 'We call him Ohio — all along, Ohio; not call him Mississippi any place.' The Iroquois must have had at some time a name for the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio, but those I have met do not remember it."

GRAVE CREEK MOUND.

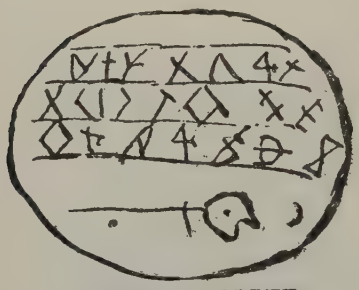
[One of the most interesting and noted mounds of the West is the one located at Moundsville, W. Va. It was recently reported that the proprietor had offered it for sale to any historical society and that in default of a purchaser he would destroy it, in order to have the use of the grounds for agricultural purposes. It appears, however, that the West Virginia legislature laudably came to the rescue and secured the property for preservation. The following interesting history of this mound and its explorations is from the pen of Mr. Wills De Haas. The article appeared in a late number of *The Philadelphia Ledger*. We reproduce it in full with an accompanying cut of the famous ancient tablet found in the mound.—EDITOR.]

The Legislature of West Virginia at its late session did a praiseworthy act in purchasing the great mound at Moundsville, one of the largest and most interesting prehistoric tumuli in central North America. This important mound has long interested scholars and antiquarians, and has also provoked controversy. A description and a statement of the controversy may not be uninteresting at this time. The tumulus is a typical structure of the Mound period — conical, symmetrical and 70 feet

in height, covered with forest trees, some of primeval growth. It stands on a second terrace of a crescent-shaped plateau, one third of a mile from the Ohio River.

Pioneer settlement of "Grave Creek Flats" was made by Joseph Tomlinson, 1770, who discovered the great mound and system of earthworks, then in good preservation. He refused to have the large mound disturbed, but early in the last century an excavation was made near the summit and 60 copper beads found. Dr. Doddridge of Wellsburg, procured ten of these and sent them to a museum in Philadelphia, which fact is stated in a communication published in Vol. I "Archæologia Americanae."

In 1838 Jesse Tomlinson, who had inherited the property, decided by the advice of friends, to explore the mound. Accordingly a tunnel, 5 by 7 feet, was driven from the northeast base to the centre — 111 feet — where a chamber 8 by 12 feet was discovered. It had been constructed of undressed stone and wood, and contained two human skeletons, with several hundred shells (Marginella apicinos), over six hundred beads cut from the Buscyco perveorum, some mica plates, and a steatite. Enlarging the chamber ten additional skeletons were found surrounding the crypt.



ANCIENT TABLET

Continuing exploration, a shaft was sunk from summit to base, disclosing a second chamber mid-distant from base to summit. This had been constructed like the first (both were in ruins), but contained only one skeleton in tolerable preservation; the cranium was sent to Dr. Morton of Philadelphia, and is figured in "Crania Americae"; it is in the Academy of Science. Beads, shells and five copper wristlets, showing advance of the builders from stone to copper age, were found. A more important discovery was a small stone tablet, inscribed with unknown characters. This is the celebrated Grave Creek Tablet, about which much has been written and considerable controversy made.

It is a small, thin, flat pebble of compact, hard-grain dark sandstone, probably taken from the river beach. The workmanship is rude, but distinct. The inscription consists of 22 characters and one idiograph. The discovery attracted attention. Dr. Clemens of Wheeling, prepared a careful report of his investigations for Dr. Morton. Dr. Townsend, of Prof. Rodger's geological staff, communicated to the Cincinnati Chronicle (monthly) a detailed account of the mound and discoveries. A pen drawing of the tablet accompanied his sketch, which was used by Prof.

Raflio, Baron Jomard and other European scholars, and not being entirely accurate, has been slightly misleading.

Arthur T. Boreman, then a resident of Elizabethland (Moundsville), communicated to the *American Pioneer* a sketch of the mound, its exploration, and containing quite a good impression of the tablet. Mr. Boreman was the first Governor of West Virginia and later U. S. Senator.

Mr. Schoolcraft visited the mound and made a painstaking and exhaustive examination, which he reported to the Ethnological Society. His great work on Indian history and archæology fully describes the mound and contents. Other visitors and writers of distinction have published descriptions and opinions.

The tablet was deposited temporarily in the Smithsonian Institution, where casts were made in wax, plaster, etc., and generally distributed. Professors Henry, Baird and Foreman were interested and stimulated research in Western archæology.

Of foreign savants who have written on the inscription, mention may be made of Professor Raflio, of the Society of Northern Antiquaries; the Baron Jomard, Sir J. E. Alexander, Professor Wilson, Doctor Bing, the Marquis de Naidillac and others.

In this country, Mr. Schoolcraft, the Rev. Dr. Hawks, with scores of others, have written on the subject. Our learned societies discussed it, and almost every work on American archæology treated it.

Several years after the discovery, E. G. Squier, who had been associated with Doctor Davis in preparing a work on the "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," visited the mound, and in a captious spirit discredited the tablet because anomalous. This opinion he repeated in a paper before the American Ethnological Society. Citizens of Wheeling and Moundsville, familiar with the facts of discovery, and investigators who had examined and expressed confidence in its authenticity, were indignant at Mr. Squier's attempted impeachment, and resolved to establish the authenticity of the tablet. The writer, then residing at Washington, was consulted, and accepted an invitation of the Ethnological Society to prepare for the society a paper embodying the facts and discussing fully the authenticity of the tablet.

A meeting comprising most of the prominent literary, scientific and professional men of New York city, was held, supplemented with a banquet at the residence of the president. A carefully prepared paper, with a mass of testimony authenticating the discovery of the tablet, was submitted. Mr. Squier was present, and followed the speaker with a candid disclaimer of any intention to discredit the tablet. He was convinced by the facts presented, and moved a vote of thanks.

The tablet is recognized by linguists and archæologists as a valuable discovery, but its true character has not been determined. It is probably a prayer, medal or legend. The character resembles the old Phoenecian as found along the Mediterranean. As other chambers have been

disclosed by the falling in of walls, it is hoped that further explorations may develop additional tablets and other important relics.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to state that an inscribed stone was taken from another mound of the Grave Creek system many years ago, and deposited in the museum of Hampden-Sydney College, Virginia. It cannot be found, but Doctor Marters, member of the House of Delegates, who carried the relic to Richmond, testifies to the fact.

JOHN FILSON.

[The following sketch of the life of John Filson is reprinted from *The Cincinnati Times-Star* of recent date. John Filson was one of the most influential characters in the early history of Ohio and Kentucky, and the following article is well worthy of permanent preservation.—EDITOR.]

One of the least familiar and at the same time one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of Cincinnati and of Kentucky is the story of the life of John Filson, the actual founder of Cincinnati, the first historian and geographer of Kentucky, the biographer of Daniel Boone, the man of peace among the warlike pioneers of the Middle West of the eighteenth century. Filson's name is barely mentioned by the historians of a later day. Some of the most complete historical works, such as that of Bancroft, overlook him entirely. To his memory there is not a single monument. Even the street in Cincinnati which was named after him has had its title changed and is now known as Plum street. The picturesque name, "Losantiville," which he gave to the city he had laid out opposite the most northerly point of Kentucky, has vanished from the maps and the gazetteers. Filson's memory is kept green only through one organization, the Filson Club of Louisville, which has published a biography of the pioneer, embodying all the known facts of his life and his services to his country.

One reason why Filson's name has not been preserved in history to a greater extent may be found in the fact that he was not a fighting man. In an era when deeds of bloodshed were celebrated to the exclusion of the more peaceful but more useful arts of the teacher, the surveyor and the farmer, such an oversight is quite natural.

Even the date of John Filson's birth is not known. It is known that he was the second son of Davidson Filson of Brandywine, Pa., himself the son of one John Filson, an English pioneer. John Filson, the explorer, probably was born about 1741, but there is only collateral evidence of that fact. What his early life and education were can only be conjectured by piecing together the accounts that have come down of what colonial life in general was in the middle of the eighteenth century. It is recorded, however, that he received some instruction in his youth from the Rev. Samuel Finley, afterwards president of New Jersey College, and it was from this learned man that he probably obtained the smattering of Latin, Greek and French he is known to have possessed.

Essentially a man of peace, he did not take an active part in the Revolutionary War, so far as any records show. But when his brothers returned from the victorious fight against British rule, John Filson joined the tide of emigration that was setting westward towards Kentucky. Traveling by the most direct route from his home in Eastern Pennsylvania to Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, Filson descended the Ohio River to what is now Maysville, but then was known as Limestone, and thence struck inland through the forests to Lexington. This was some time before 1782, less than thirty years after McBride, the first pioneer, had explored the "Dark and Bloody Ground."

In the year 1782 John Filson is found teaching school in Lexington and writing the wonderful "Life of Daniel Boone," the militant pioneer and Indian-killer, whose thirteen years' of exploits in Kentucky had already made him a semi-mythical figure in the imaginations of the pioneers. Filson joined in the rush for free lands, and in 1783 entered claim to 12,368½ acres, besides purchasing 1,500 acres in Jefferson county from Boone. At the same time he began his journeys over the State, asking more questions, it is recorded, than any man who had ever been seen in those parts. Having some skill as a surveyor, he laid out boundaries for settlers, measured distances by the rude but efficient method of pacing them off, noted the geographical formations while listening to the tales of fights with the redskins, and in 1784 issued his "History of Kentucky," a work that stands today as the indispensable basis of all written accounts of the beginnings of the West, even as the marvelously accurate map which accompanied it is invaluable from its location of the "buffalo roads," the block houses, forts and outposts and the branch trails that led off the great "Wilderness road" through the Cumberland gap.

Filson went to Wilmington, Delaware, to have his book published. He returned to Kentucky in 1785, driving overland in a Jersey wagon to Pittsburg, and thence by flatboat to "the mouth of Beargrass creek," where Louisville now stands. The new book caused a sensation. It was translated into French and printed in Paris in 1785. In 1793 an English writer on North America appropriated Filson's book bodily, and in the same year a New York publisher brought out an edition. A Philadelphia periodical published it as a serial without credit, prior to 1790, the same magazine that printed his "Life of Daniel Boone" and credited it to Boone himself. Another London publisher brought out a complete edition of the history, from the narratives in which practically all later accounts of the pioneers of Kentucky have been drawn.

Filson sold all his possessions in Pennsylvania and turned his steps towards the "Illinois country." He traveled by canoe and took copious notes for another book, which never was published. He paddled in the fall of 1785 up the Wabash to Post St. Vincent, a distance of 450 miles from Louisville. In the course of his travels he had an interesting experience with hostile Indians at Vincennes, Ind. In 1786 he returned

to Pennsylvania on horseback, made his will and returned to Kentucky the next year. Here he roamed about for some time, apparently very poor, until Matthias Denham of New Jersey, who had bought from John Cleves Symmes eight hundred acres on the banks of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking river, sought for some well-known men to join him in "syndicating" the property. He chose Filson and Robert Patterson, a popular soldier. They became equal partners, paying Denham $33.33 each for a third interest in the 800-acre tract.

Arriving at the tract, Filson again proved his ingenuity by devising a name for it. Calling his classical learning to mind, he constructed a cognomen familiar in the local tradition, "Losantiville." It was made by taking the initial "L" for Licking river, the Latin words "os" (mouth), and "anti" (opposite), and adding the French suffix "ville" to signify the city opposite the mouth of the Licking. True, the name was discarded by General St. Clair, the first territorial governor of Ohio, who selected that of Cincinnati instead, but it was a picturesque and original name, as names for localities went in those days.

This was in 1788. Chain in hand, Filson proceeded to lay out the streets of the new city. He builded better than most of the pioneer town-cobblers. Instead of the narrow, alley-like thoroughfares that prevailed in his day, he projected wide streets, laid out in symmetrical regularity at right angles. The lower part of Cincinnati stands today substantially as Filson mapped it. The boundaries that he laid out began on the east with "Eastern Row," now Broadway, intended to strike directly north from the mouth of the Licking, and "Western Row," now Central avenue. What is now Plum street was "Filson street."

Filson's death is shrouded in mystery. With a party sent out by Judge Symmes to explore the latter's great possessions, he went towards the Great Miami, surveying and platting the township lines. Near the upper line of the fifth range of townships, Filson suddenly disappeared one night. Not a sign or vestige of him was ever seen again, nor did any word come from him. There had been Indians in the neighborhood, there were ferocious wild beasts not far away, the Great Miami flowed swiftly and deep. By which, if any of these agencies, Filson met his fate, is not known. Not long after his death, it was whispered abroad that he had turned his back voluntarily on the rude civilization of the frontier and had cast in his lot with the Indians. Contemporary chroniclers, however, recorded it as a fact that he had been killed by Indians.

Few mementoes of Filson beyond his published works exist. Filson, however, not only gave Cincinnati its plan and its location, but the memory of Daniel Boone and the story of the settlement of Kentucky were preserved alone by his pen.

FIG. 1. SEIP MOUND IN THE FOREGROUND, PRICER MOUND IN THE REAR TO THE LEFT.

EXPLORATIONS OF THE SEIP MOUND.

WILLIAM C. MILLS.

The Seip Mound is located within the largest prehistoric earthworks of the Paint Creek Valley known as the Seip Group.[1]

One very large mound and another half its size enclosed with earthworks, which form a combination of two circles and a square, and five mounds situated outside the earthworks, but in close proximity to them, constitute the Seip Group. This group is located in Paxton Township, Ross County, about 3 miles east of Bainbridge, a village situated in the extreme western portion of the county. The mounds can readily be reached by conveyance, as the old Milford and Chillicothe Pike passes in sight of the Works and the Detroit Southern Railway has a flag station only a quarter of a mile away.

Paint Creek Valley has long been known for its beautiful scenery and productive soil and is drained by Paint Creek, a stream of irregular turbulence, crossing from one side of the valley to the other until it finally empties into the Scioto River south of Chillicothe. The mounds and earthworks comprising this group occupy the greater portion of the rich agricultural bottom land in the great bend formed by Paint Creek as it changes its course from the north side of the valley directly to the south side, where it follows the base of the foothills for some distance.

At the present time one can readily trace the circles, but the square with its various openings cannot be so readily traced. Yet, when the site is freshly plowed, the old walls are easily traced by a slight elevation and the change in the appearance of the soil. The mounds, which are all quite large, have deteriorated less than the earthworks, but the farm cultivation of the few outside the walls has greatly reduced them in height. The two mounds within the walls have suffered little by the encroachment of agriculture. The largest of the two mounds is known

[1] Described by Squier and Davis in "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley", pp. 4 and 58.

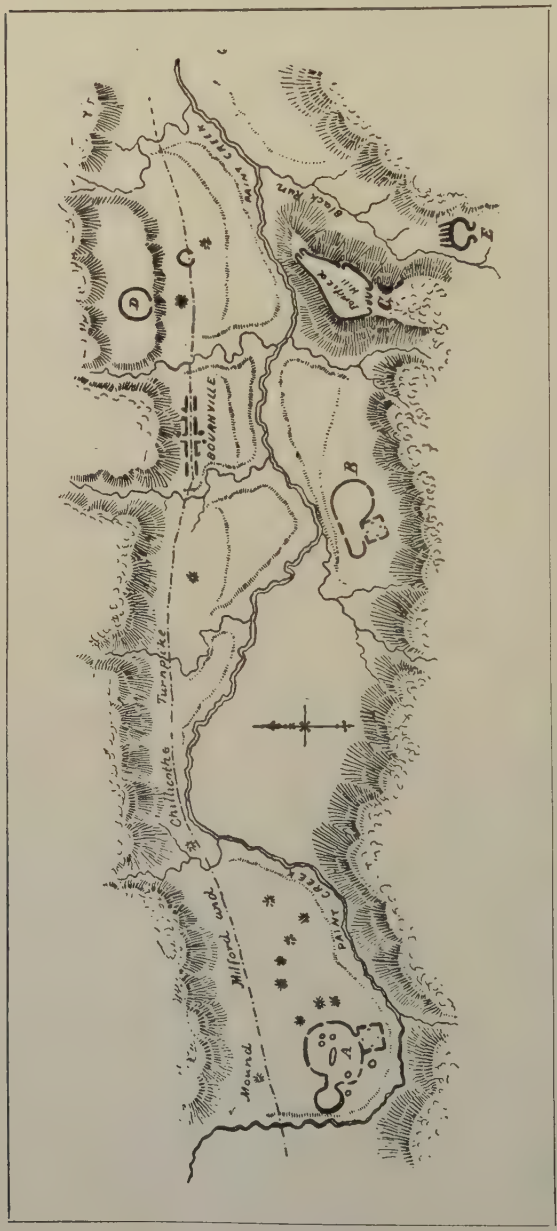


Fig. 2. Six miles of the Paint Creek Valley (Squier & Davis). (A) Seip Group of mounds and earthworks, (B) Baum Group of Mounds and earthworks, (C) Spruce Hill.

as the Pricer Mound, and at the present time a number of large native trees are growing upon its top and sides. It is about 25 feet high and 240 feet long. The mound has been fenced about, and the enclosure is now used as a sheep pasture, consequently, the surface of the mound is devoid of the usual growth of weeds and bramble, so common to the large mounds in Ohio.

The Seip group has long been known to the early archaeological writers and explorers. Mr. Caleb Atwater gave a description of the Works in the first volume of the American Antiquarian Society, 1820, and in 1833 the same writer again described the works in his "Description of Western Antiquities" and from this book the description was widely copied by other writers on American Antiquities and I quote what Mr. Atwater has written about the Seip Group:

"Works at A. are all connected as represented in the plate. Their several contents will be seen by referring to it. The square work, it will be seen, contains exactly the same area with the square one belonging to B, and is, in all other respects, so much like that work, that to describe this, would be to repeat what has been said concerning the former. Such coincidences are very common in our ancient works; so that a correct description of one applies to hundreds in different parts of the country.

"There is no mound within its walls, but there is one about ten feet high, nearly one hundred rods to the west of it. The large irregular part of the larger work, contains, as will be seen, seventy-seven acres and one-tenth, in the walls of which are eight gateways, besides the two leading into the square just described. These gateways are from one to six rods in width, differing in that respect, very much, one from another.

"Connected by a gateway with this large work, is another in the Northwest, sixty poles in diameter. In its center is another circle, whose walls are now about four feet high, and this lesser circle six rods in diameter. There are three ancient wells at w, w, w, one of which is on the inside, the others on the outside of the wall. As the drawing shows, within the large work of irregular form, are two elevations, which are elliptical. The largest one is near the center; its elevation is twenty-five feet; its longest diameter is twenty rods; its shortest, ten rods; its area is nearly one hundred and fifty-nine square rods. This work is composed mostly of stones, in their natural state. They must have been brought from the bed of the creek, or from the hill. This elevated work is full of human bones. Some have not hesitated to express a belief, that on this work human beings were once sacrificed.

"The other elliptical work has two stages; one end of it is only about eight feet high, the other end is fifteen. The surfaces of both are

smooth. Such works are not as common here as on the Mississippi, and they are more common still further south, in Mexico.

"There is a work in form of a half moon, set around the edges with stones, such as are now found about one mile from the spot from whence they were probably brought. Near the semicircular work is a very singular mound, five feet high, thirty feet in diameter, and composed entirely of a red ochre, which answers very well as paint. An abundance of this ochre is found on a hill not a great distance from this place; and from this circumstance, the name of the fine stream in the vicinity, in all probability, is derived. It is called "Paint Creek."

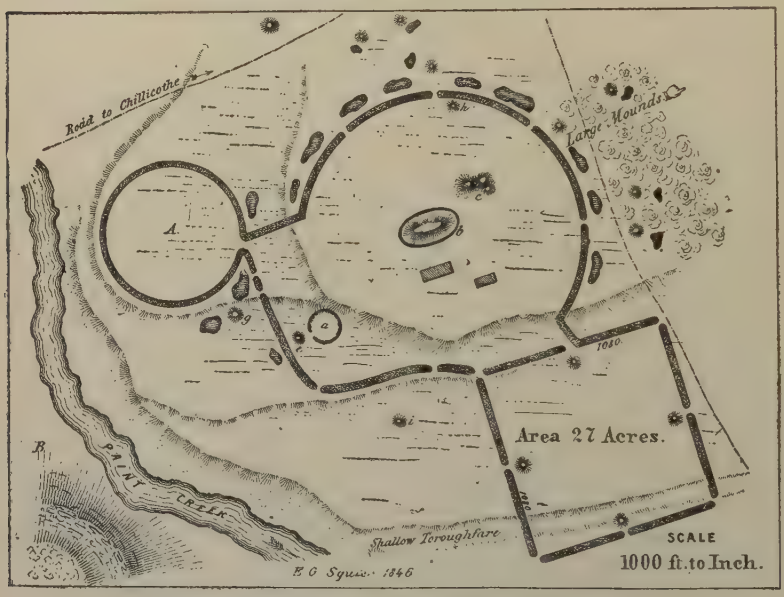


Fig. 3. The Seip Group after Squier & Davis.

Mr. Josiah Priest, an early writer on American Antiquities, 1833, quotes at some length from Atwater, but unfortunately places the ochre mound in another group.

Squier and Davis also describe and illustrate this group, with a drawing, in "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," page 58, and I quote from them and reproduce their drawing, which is shown in Fig. 3.

"Within the larger circle, and not far from its center, is a large elliptical mound, two hundred and forty feet long by one hundred and

Fig. 4. Photograph showing the gravel of large size, 2½ feet in thickness. The flat stones cover the edge of the mound.

sixty broad, and thirty in height. It is considerably larger than any other single mound in the valley, and covers a little more than two-thirds of an acre. It seems to be composed, at least towards the surface, of stones and pebbles, — a feature peculiar to a certain class of mounds, of a highly interesting character. It is surrounded by a low, indistinct embankment, the space between which and the mound seems to have raised by the wasting of the latter. Perhaps this was a low terrace. To the right of this fine mound is a group of three others in combination, as shown in the plan at c. There are several other small mounds in and around the work. Several very large and beautiful ones, composed entirely of clay, occur about one-fourth of a mile distant, in the direction indicated in the plan.

"The entire work is surrounded by deep pits or excavations, usually called 'wells,' from which the materials for the mounds and embankments were procured. So numerous are these, and such serious obstacles are the mounds and embankments to cultivation, that a deduction of several acres is allowed to the tenant in consequence, by the lease of the estate upon which they occur.

"The small circle at a is two hunded and fifty feet in diameter. It has been so much reduced by the plough as to be traced with difficulty.[2]

"Although the square enclosure connected with this work is situated on the second terrace, a portion of it, at periods of great freshets, is invaded by the water, which passes through a shallow thoroughfare indicated on the map. This singular circumstance is easily accounted for. The creek in its course strikes the base of a high hill at B, composed of shale, which readily undermines occasioning great slips or slides. These fill the channel of the creek, damming it up and forcing it out of its usual course. It was probably at the period of one of these slides, that the creek, in its reaction on the opposite shore broke through the embankment and formed the thoroughfare, or dry channel, above mentioned. The remark, therefore, that the earthworks of the West never occur upon the first, or latest-formed terrace, and are always above high-water mark, is not at all invalidated by this circumstance."

THE SEIP MOUND.

The Seip Mound, named in honor of the Seip brothers, the present owners of the land, is about half the size of the Pricer Mound and is located upon the same terrace, only a short distance to the east of the larger mound. (See Frontispiece).

[2] Mr. Atwater (Archæologia Americana, Vol. 1, page 143), describes the small mound at e, as composed "entirely of red ocher, which answers very well as a paint." Its present composition is a clayey loam. It has been examined and found to contain an altar.

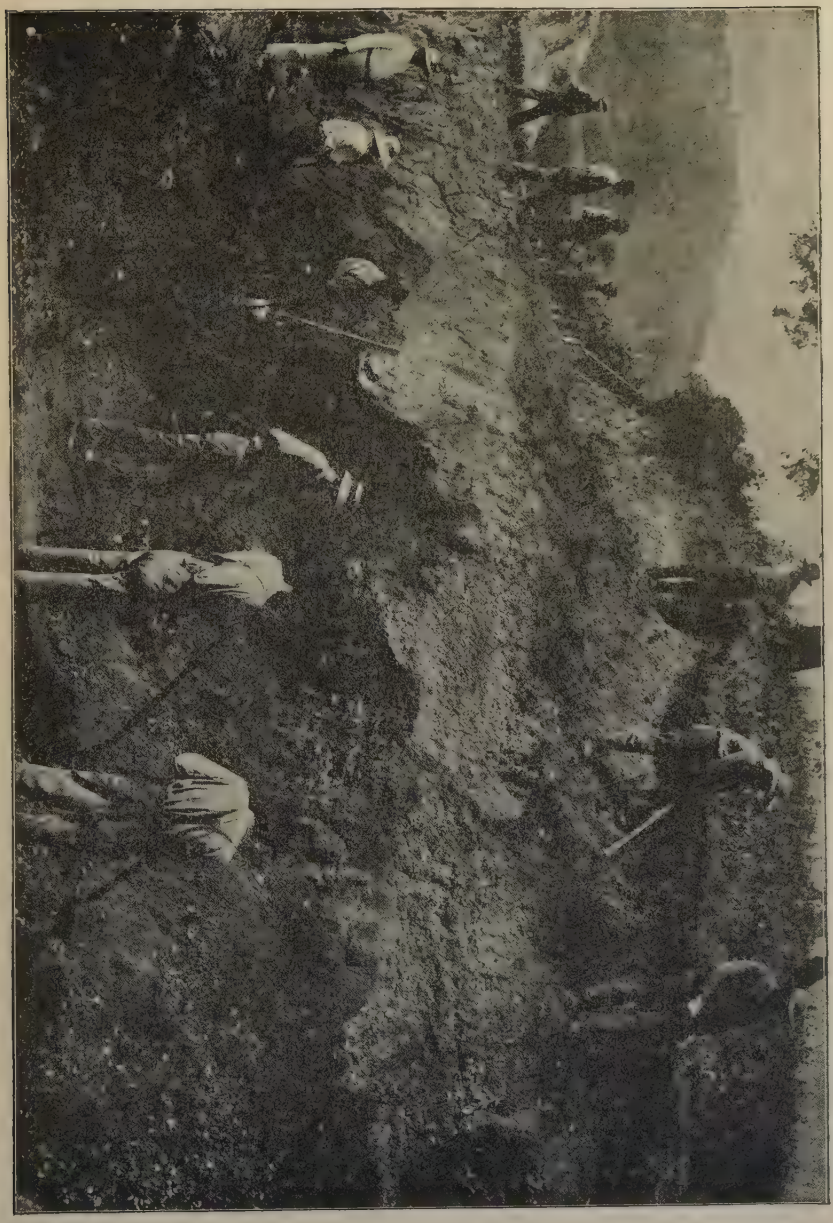


Fig. 5. At work in the third section of the mound, height 20 feet.

Squier and Davis, in their drawing of this group, note the Seip Mound as three distinct mounds, as shown in Fig. 3. I have classed the group as one mound though made up of three separate but connected mounds, as our explorations afterward revealed. This feature is invariably present in all large mounds of this culture.

The measurements of the various sections of the combined mound differ greatly. Commencing at the west end of the mound, which was the largest, the height from outside measurements was 18 feet, but as the explorations progressed, the mound was found to be 20 feet and 1 inch high, making the base 2 feet and 1 inch lower than appeared from the general level of the surrounding surface. The diameter of this section north and south was 120 feet. The second section, closely connected with the adjoining one on the east, was 11 feet 10 inches high with a diameter north and south of 70 feet. The third section was not on a line east and west with the other two sections but was placed to the south, as shown by Fig. 3, and clearly connected with section 2. It was 6 feet high with a diameter of 40 feet.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE EXTERIOR OF THE MOUND.

The mound for the most part was composed of loam or surface soil, secured upon all sides of the mound and in close proximity to it. The top of the first section, or larger mound, was composed of clay and limestone gravel. This combination, in the course of time, became cemented together and proved quite a problem in its removal, as almost every portion had to be picked loose before a shovel could be used. Another feature of the mound was discovered shortly after work was begun on the north side by finding, near the base of the mound, several flat stones, averaging 10 by 14 inches, so placed as to resemble steps, and a further examination revealed a series of flat stones, 18 to 20 inches under the surface, extending from the base toward the top of the mound. The steps were, no doubt, used to aid in reaching the summit of the mound with the heavy loads of earth, in the effort of the builders to complete the monument.

Fig. 6. Large cist containing four burials (cremated).

Another external feature frequently met with in the mounds of this culture is the use of gravel in construction, but in this mound, gravel of large size, with the appearance of having been screened, was placed entirely around the base of the mound, to a depth of two feet, in many places the depth reaching 2½ feet. The width varied from 7 feet to 5 feet, and at times was a great hindrance to the workmen, as this gravel had to be removed, in order to expose the base of the mound, and at times could not be shoveled but had to be removed by hand.

Only one large "Pin Oak" tree was left standing upon the mound by the owners, and this was variously estimated, before removal by us, to be from 100 to 175 years old, but when cut and the rings of growth counted, it was found that the tree probably did not exist when the mound was first noted by Atwater in his Archaeologia Americana, 1820.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE INTERIOR OF THE MOUND.

Many very interesting features, as compared with other mounds of this culture, were brought to light in the examination of the Seip Mound.

First: The site of the mound exhibits three separate inclosures, circular in form, as evidenced by the post molds, extending into the base of the mound. The post molds had charred wood at the top of the mold, indicating that the posts at one time extended above the surface, and no doubt formed the sides of the building, or charnel house.

Second: The object of the mound was a monument to the dead, placed over the site of the charnel house. The burials were similar in many respects to those of the Harness Mound,[3] but differing in many instances as to the number of cremated dead, placed in a prepared burial cist. All the burials placed in the charnel house were cremated and graves prepared for the reception of the charred bones and ashes of the dead.

Third: The burials in the mound were of two kinds: cremated and uncremated. The cremated were all placed upon the

[3] Explored in 1903, and described in "Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio", Vol. 1, by William C. Mills.

floor of the charnel house, while the uncremated were promiscuously placed in various portions of the mound above the base line, only one having a prepared grave for the reception of the body.

Fourth: The builders of the Seip Mound were similar in character to those of the Harness Mound, and represented the highest culture of prehistoric man in Ohio.

The special features enumerated above, can be better un-

Fig. 7. Large cist containing two burials cremated and places left for more.

derstood by a further discussion, and I shall attempt in the following pages, to give a detailed account of the examination of each section of the mound.

THE MOUND SITE.

The Seip Mound is located practically in the center of a large circular earthwork which, for the most part, occupies the third terrace of the Paint Creek Valley; the surface of this portion of the terrace is quite level, but this particular spot selected

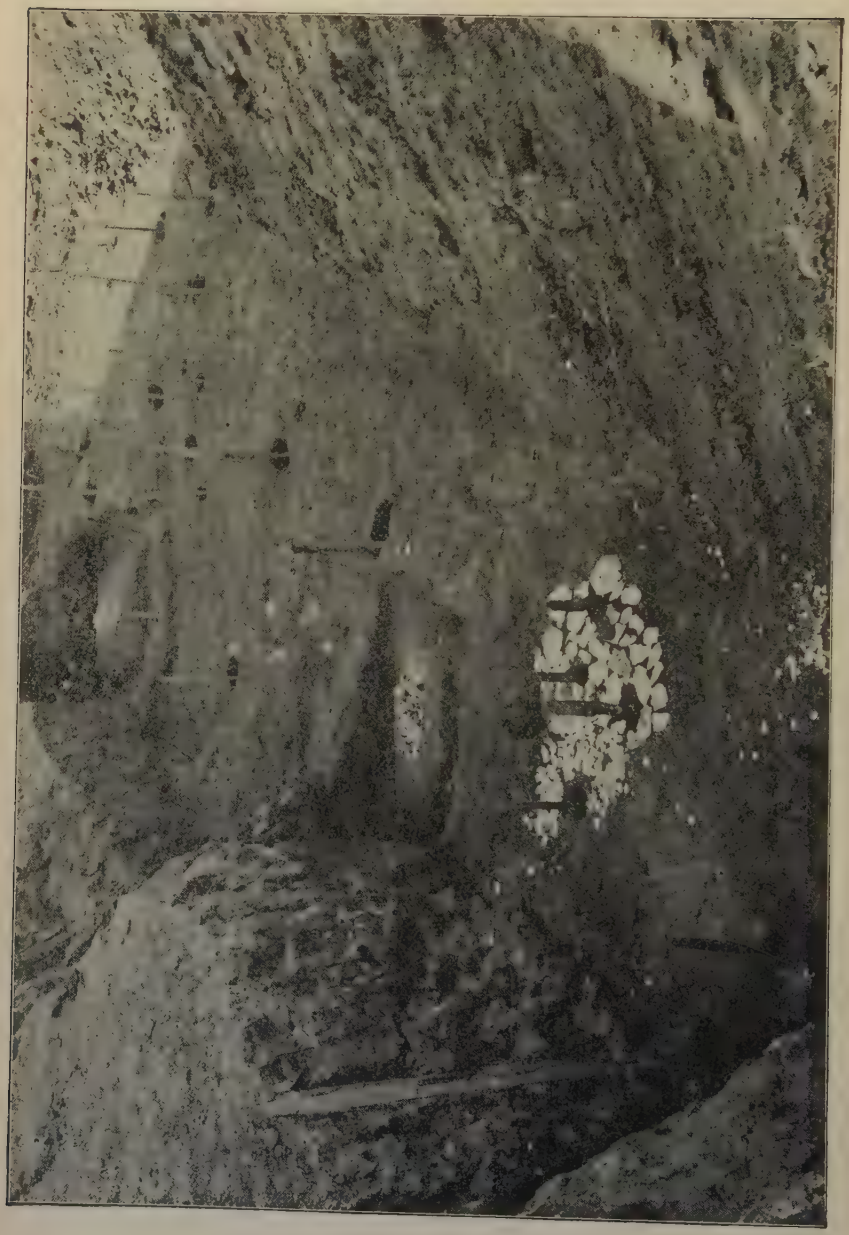


Fig. 8. Floor of burial shrine covered with mica.

by the builders was somewhat lower than the surrounding surface. Perhaps the surface soil, which had been removed almost to the gravel, had been used in the construction of the large Pricer Mound, which is only a few hundred yards away. After selecting the site, the building was constructed by placing large posts in the ground to a depth of an average of 2½ feet. These were so placed as to form a circular building, 60 feet in diameter east and west, and 72 feet in diameter north and south. The posts, forming the outside of the building were placed upright in the earth, and would average 2½ feet apart. Two entrances to the building were found: one to the northwest, and one to the east. The entrance to the northwest was of peculiar construction, and made by the walls overlapping each other, forming a passageway, or hall, about 3 feet in width, and 7 feet in length. The passageway was covered with fine sand varying in thickness from two inches to one-half inch, and so firmly packed as to have the appearance of coarse sand-stone.

The floor of this section of the mound was very irregular, as shown by the examination. On the south side but little fill was required to make the floor level. As the north side of the floor of the charnel house was approached, it was found that 17 inches of a fill was required to make the floor level. This fill was made with logs, brush, gravel and clay. The logs and brush were piled in the lowest places, and covered with clay and gravel. In the course of time the logs would decay, but the imprint, or mold would remain. Very frequently the molds would connect with the large upright post molds, extending deep into the base. At first glance, one might infer the builders had some design other than building up the floor to a common level, but a careful examination revealed nothing beyond the use of logs as a filler in building the base or floor to a uniform level.

The entrance to the charnel house from the east was a short passageway from the second circular charnel house. The passageway was only about 3 feet in width and 2½ feet in length; the floor was also covered with fine sand.

The second section was also a circular charnel house measuring 43 feet east and west, and 32 feet north and south. The floor of this section did not require very much, if any, filling to

make it level. The outside posts formed the sides of the building, and were quite large on the north side, while those used for the other portions were similar in size to the first section.

The openings in this section were two; one leading into the first section, as described, and the second leading into the third section, with practically no passageway; as the third section was built to the southeast of the second section. The third section was oblong; the longest diameter, which was north and south,

Fig. 9. Slabs of slate upon which was placed a body at full length.

being 22½ feet, and the shortest diameter east and west, 15 feet. The floor of the third section was also prepared and leveled, the same as the other two sections. The posts used in the construction of the sides of this section were all smaller than those used in the other sections.

THE OBJECT OF THE MOUND.

The object of the mound was a monument to the dead, erected over the site of the various charnel houses described

Fig. 10. Large copper plate with scroll cut upon the side.

above. Before the monument was erected, the superstructure was destroyed by fire, as evidenced by the charred remains of the posts forming the outside walls, as well as the posts promiscuously distributed throughout the interior of the structure, which perhaps, supported the roof. For the most part, the upright posts were burned off at the base line, but now and then a large post would not all be consumed, and a portion of the charred remains would extend, in many instances, several feet above the base, and was preserved, while the portions of the posts extending into the ground were entirely decayed, and only the post mold remained. Very frequently, the post molds would show a perfect imprint of the bark, while in others knots, or any imperfection in the log, would be shown. In several instances large quantities of bog iron had formed in the mold.

CREMATED BURIALS.

All the burials placed in the charnel house were cremated, and I shall describe each section, as they differed somewhat from each other.

In the first section, which was the first charnel house erected, and the largest of the group, many of the prepared graves were so constructed that one or more burials could be placed in the same burial cist. This was done by preparing a large platform of prepared clay (Fig. 6) usually 6 to 7 feet in length, and 4 feet wide, and building up the sides and ends with round logs, varying in diameter from 5 to 3 inches, to the height of 18 or 20 inches. A cover was placed over the top, which was made up, usually of split pieces, instead of round pieces, used for the sides and ends. Clay was then placed around the sides and ends to firmly hold the logs in place.

Four burials, as shown in Fig. 6, made the largest number found in a grave, but 2 or 3 burials were met with quite frequently. A cist with two burials, both placed on one side of the grave is shown in Fig. 7. The large graves were placed near the center of the charnel house, and large passageways, often 6 to 7 feet in width would intervene. Near the large graves a cluster of small post molds, varying in number from 5 to 7 would be found. These posts were usually placed about

Fig. 11. Large copper plate with both ends ornamented.

one foot apart, but not in any particular form. Frequently the floor around the posts would be covered with great quantities of charred cloth, ornaments, and implements, and occasionally the floor would be covered with mica, as shown in Fig. 8. The mica was usually placed so as to cover the floor completely, and only the natural mica crystals, split in many pieces, were used. It seems very probable that the cluster of posts near the graves were the sacred shrines for the dead, and here the clothing, and very frequently, some of the most interesting ornaments, such as cut and polished human jaws, large effigy eagle claws, bear teeth set with pearls, pendants of ocean shells, and shell and bone beads in great numbers, and in a few instances, copper ornaments were found with the charred woven fabrics, so promiscuously placed upon the floor surrounding the posts. At one of the shrines a quantity of charred rope almost 4 feet in length, and a number of effigy eagle claws made of bone, were found. The rope was 3-ply, and made of coarse bast fibre, perhaps that of Bass-wood.

The graves placed near the outside walls were all smaller than those placed in the center of the charnel house, and contained only the remains of one individual, and in this respect, were similar to the burials in the Edwin Harness Mound.[4]

All the burials in this section of the mound, which numbered 24, were cremated at the large crematory located just inside the northeast entrance. The crematory, when uncovered, was perfectly devoid of ashes or human remains and measured 6 feet by 8 feet, the longer diameter being east and west.

All the graves, both large and small, in this section, were of the plain elevated platform kind, so common in the Edwin Harness Mound. The platform type was made of clay, and invariably elevated from 6 to 10 inches above the floor of the charnel house. The platform was usually higher in the center, gradually sloping to the sides and ends, where logs averaging about 6 inches in diameter had been placed, usually in the form of a parallelogram. The clay used in the construction of the grave

[4] The Edwin Harness Mound is located eight miles south of Chillicothe, along the Scioto. Explored 1903, and described in The Society's Publications — Vol. 16, by William C. Mills.

Fig. 12. Large copper plate covered with shell beads.

had the appearance of having been puddled before being used, and in many instances, after the coating of puddled clay had been placed over the grave, a fire was built and the clay burned to a light red. The ashes and any charcoal that might remain were removed before the incinerated remains were placed in the grave.

As stated, the single graves in the first section were similar in construction to those of the Harness Mound, though the final burial ceremony must have been different. In the Harness Mound, after the incinerated remains had been placed in the grave, objects of clothing, together with straw, bark, or twigs were placed over the remains and set on fire; while burning, clay was covered over the grave, thus preserving the cloth, the grass, and twigs in a charred state. This ceremony was dispensed with in this section of the Seip Mound, and the incinerated remains were placed in the prepared grave, and a covering of wood, usually split pieces, was placed over the top and the grave covered with earth to a depth of a few inches.

For the most part, adults were buried in this section. However, in the grave containing 4 burials, one was an adolescent, and in another, a very small child was placed by the side of an adult.

All the burials in this section were rich in copper implements and ornaments, placed in the graves.

The graves in the second section were similar in construction to those of the first section, all being of the platform type, though they varied greatly in size from the ordinary single grave to a very large size, 12 feet 2 inches long by 4 feet 5 inches wide. These larger graves contained the remains of two individuals, so placed as to occupy the ends of the grave, the intervening space not being used, due perhaps to the fact that this section together with the third section (which did not contain a single burial) was abandoned before the house was filled. The burials in the second section were placed around the side walls, and the center was devoid of graves.

The final ceremony of burning straw, bark, and clothing over the remains, similar to the burial methods at the Harness Mound, was in evidence in 9 burials of the 19 found on the base of the

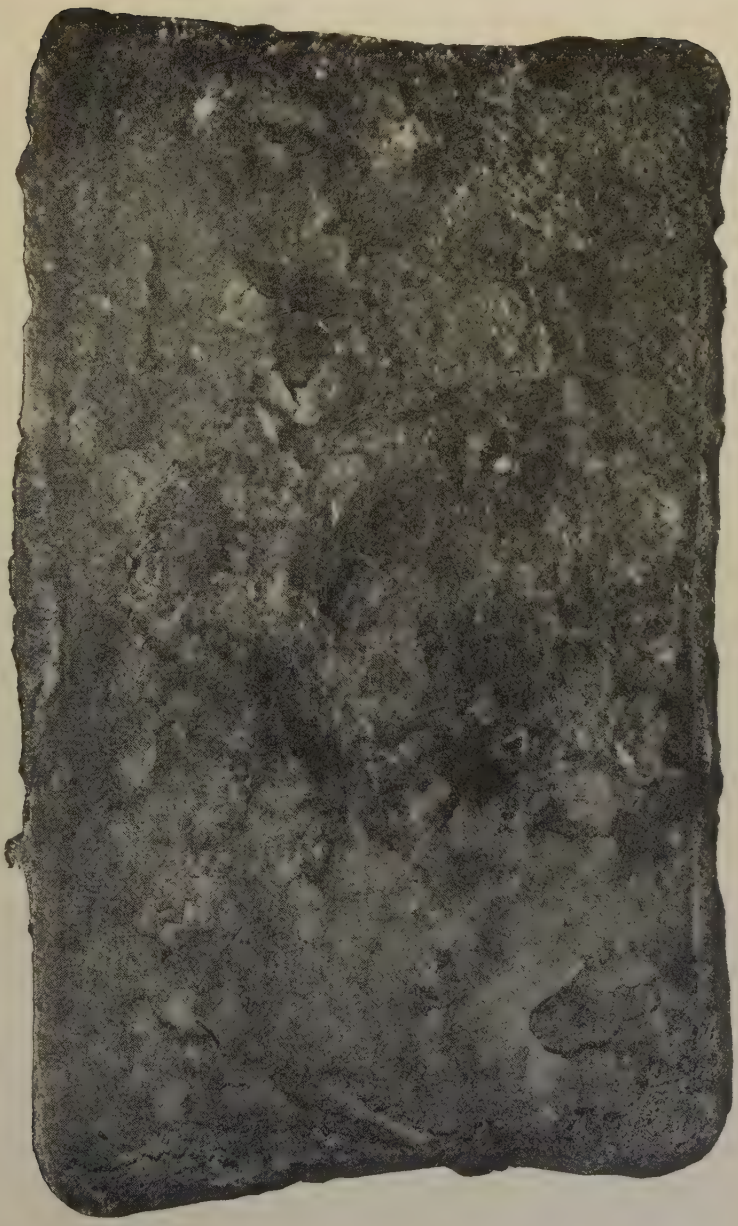


Fig. 13. Copper plate made of two separate pieces of copper and attached by overlapping edges.

section, and only one of the 19 was cremated in the grave where the remains were found.

The floor of the third section of the charnel house was entirely devoid of burials, and at only one point, which was near the west side, did the floor show any signs of having a fire built upon it: here the earth was burned to a deep red, perhaps a body had been cremated there, and the remains deposited in one of the other sections.

Perhaps no definite reason can be given for erecting a monument over an unoccupied site, but the most plausible rea-

Fig. 14. Copper ear ornaments made of two concavo-convex plates.

son therefor, taking into consideration the second section, which was only partially filled, is that the site was abandoned, the charnel houses burned, and the mound finally erected over all as a monument to the dead.

UNCREMATED BURIALS.

The five uncremated burials found in the various sections of the mound were promiscuously placed at various heights from the base line, only one having anything like a prepared grave for the reception of the body. The grave was placed 3 feet above the floor of the charnel house in section number 2.

The bottom of the grave was formed of large slabs of slate, and the body was laid at full length upon the slabs and covered with soil. Fig. 9 shows the slabs after the skeleton had been removed.

One burial was found in the third section, 2½ feet above the floor. No grave was prepared, and the body was doubled up and laid on the mound, and covered with earth, similar to the burial in section two. The two burials evidently were those of individuals who died during the building of the mound, as their implements of copper and ornaments of shell were identical with

Fig. 15. Copper ear ornaments made of five separate pieces of copper.

those found in the graves of the cremated dead, placed upon the floor of the charnel house.

The other three burials were found in section one. One burial, that of an adolescent, was placed 7 feet above the floor, and was buried similar to the one in section three, with no apparent grave prepared for the body. The ornaments of bear teeth set with pearls, and a large string of ocean shell beads, were similar to those found with the cremated dead placed upon the floor. The remains of the other two burials of this section were placed together in a double grave, 10 feet above the floor.

Fig. 16. Copper crescent attached to a large copper plate by corrosion.

The grave was evidently dug into the side of the mound, as the outlines of the grave were very noticeable. The remains, when placed in the grave, were perhaps, devoid of flesh, and had been carried from some distant part of the country, or had been temporarily buried in some convenient place where the bones could be collected and afterward placed in the mound. The various parts of the skeletons were promiscuously placed in the grave; the skulls were placed upside down and only a few inches apart, the lower jaws detached were placed in another part of the grave; the arm and leg bones were placed side and side; several bones of the hand and feet were entirely missing.

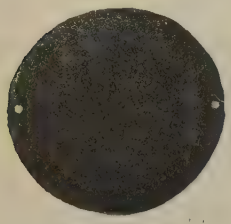


Fig. 17. Copper hemisphere used for making ornamental balls.

One large copper plate, 10 inches in length and 5 inches in width, and a fine copper axe, 4 inches in length and 2 inches in width, together with large strings of ocean shell beads, were found near the bottom of the grave. The implements and ornaments were similar in every respect to those found upon the floor of the charnel house.

My conclusions are, concerning the uncremated dead promiscuously placed above the floor of the charnel house, that they belonged to the same culture represented by the cremated dead placed upon the floor of the charnel house; that three of the individuals died during the time required for the erection of the mound, to whom the custom of cremation was dispensed with; that the two dismembered individuals placed in one grave were disinterred, and the remains brought to the mound and buried with the dead belonging to the same culture.

THE ARTIFACTS FOUND WITH THE BURIALS.

The artifacts taken from the burials of the mound, as a whole, were very interesting, although in the second and third sections but few implements and ornaments had been placed in the graves, but in the first section, almost every burial was prolific in implements and ornaments of copper, mica, shell, and stone.

From the 48 burials contained in the three sections of the

Fig. 18. Copper awls.

mound, were secured upwards of 2,000 specimens, representing the highest art of prehistoric man in Ohio.

The material from which the implements and ornaments were made, came from widely separated regions. The copper used in making the implements and ornaments, no doubt came from Lake Superior region. The ocean shells used in making drinking cups, pendants, and beads, perhaps came from the Gulf, and the mica, which was so universally used for ornament, came from North Carolina.

The finding of so much material, so remote from the source of supply, indicates that the prehistory inhabitants of this section had an intertribal trade, for it seems impossible that the Ohio tribes visited the widely separated points, whence came the articles noted.

ORNAMENTS OF COPPER.

The best preserved specimens found in the graves were the implements and ornaments made of copper, and perhaps next to the ear ornaments, the most interesting of the copper ornaments are the large copper plates, of which sixteen were found in the various sections of the mound. The plates were made of one piece of native copper, hammered to about one-eighth of an inch in thickness, while a few were found that would approach one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness. The plates varied in size from 10½ inches in length, by 5½ inches in width, to 3¼ inches in length, by 2½ inches in width. The plates were made in the general form of a parallelogram, with the ends cut concave, and the sides straight, one plate had a large scroll cut on one side, as shown in Fig. 10, and one plate had both ends cut into ornamental forms, as shown in Fig. 11. The large plate, size 10½ inches long by 5½ inches wide, and covered with cylindrical beads made of ocean shell, is shown in Fig. 12. This plate, together with three more, almost equal in size, and the two ornamented plates described above, were all taken from the same grave. On account of the special features of this burial cist, I will quote from my field notes:

Grave number 19, which was placed within six feet of number 18, and directly north of it, was the largest and finest so far

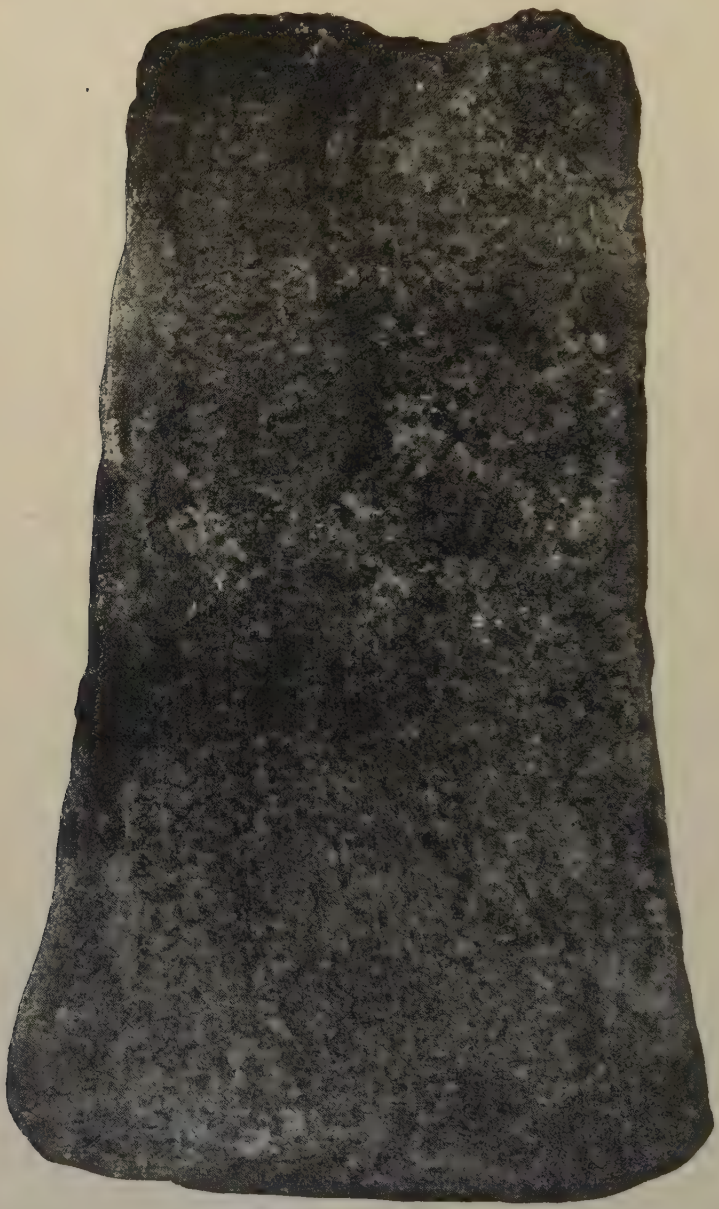


Fig. 19. Large copper axe, length 6½ inches, width at bit 4 inches.

discovered in this mound. The cist was made by preparing a platform of clay, the highest point of which was 10 inches above the floor of the charnel house, and 4 inches above the first logs

Fig. 20. Large copper axe, length 5½ inches.

laid around this platform to form the walls of cist. The side walls of the cist were 18 inches high, and made in the form of a parallelogram, 7 feet 3 inches in length, and 4 feet in width.

The molds of the lower logs were fully 7 inches in diameter, while the upper logs varied from 5 to 3 inches in diameter. The usual split pieces, as indicated by the molds, were placed over the top. The clay forming the top of the platform had been burned. Upon this platform were placed two burials, one at the south end, which was burial number 21, and one to the east side,

Fig. 21. Copper axes, one showing a portion of the corroded copper removed and the other shows the incinerated bones adhering to the surface.

which was burial number 22. They were so placed that further burials could be placed in the cist.

Burial number 21, which occupied a portion of the south end of the cist, was an adult, and from the general appearance of the incinerated bones, was no doubt, a male. Before the incinerated bones had been placed in the grave, a tanned skin of some animal was placed at the bottom of the cist; upon the skin

was placed a large copper axe, 6½ inches long, 4 inches wide at the bit, and 3 inches wide at the pole. The axe was also wrapped in leather, which was preserved by the salts of copper. The incinerated remains were placed in a pile over the copper axe, and covered with a coarse matting of bark. Between burials 21 and 22 was placed a large spear point that was very much broken by heat, but it had the appearance of being fully 6 inches in length, if all the pieces could be found, and to that end the entire contents of the grave was placed in boxes.[5]

Fig. 22. Copper axe showing imprint of cloth.

Practically the same preparation was given burial number 22. The tanned skin was placed on the bottom of the cist, and large copper plates, 6 in number, were placed upon the covered platform. Two of the plates differed greatly from the other four, in being decorated with scrolls and scallops upon the sides and ends. Over the plates a very large string of beads were coiled. The beads were made of ocean shell, cylindrical in form, and varied in length from ½ to ¾ of an inch. The beads were firmly attached to the plate by cor-

[5] After the contents of the grave were shipped to the Museum and examined, the various pieces of the spear were found and fully restored: length 9 inches, width 3¾ inches.

rosion of the copper. On each side of the copper plates was placed a single ear ornament of copper, also seven large pieces of ocean shells, several of them 6 inches in length, and about one inch in width. All shells were perforated with two holes, one at each end for attachment, and so made as not to be visible from the convex side. This was done by boring a small hole at about the middle of the square end to a depth of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, and connecting

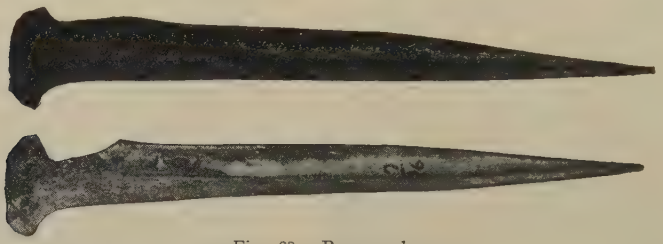


Fig. 23. Bone awls.

this hole with another, bored from the concave side of the shell. Ten or twelve bear teeth, which had been split and polished into thin gorget-like forms and perforated with two holes, were placed around the outside of the copper plates. The cremated remains were then placed over the ornaments and several thicknesses of matting, made of bark, were placed over all.

Between the two burials, but near to number 22, was located an adult human skull with lower jaw. * * * * The

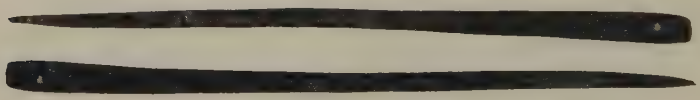


Fig. 24. Bone needles.

plates and other objects found in the grave, could only be superficially examined in the field, and the most interesting points would necessarily be left until the objects were brought to the laboratory.

The plate shown in Fig. 10 is perhaps the heaviest and smoothest of all the plates taken from the mound. The scroll pattern cut upon one side of the plate, represents the first specimen of the kind taken from the mounds of Ohio, as far as known. The

plate was wrapped in leather when it was placed in the grave, and portions still adhere to the plate, as shown in the cut.

The plate in Fig. 11 is perhaps unique. An attempt is made in this plate to decorate the ends of the plate instead of the side. The work of cutting the scrolls is not so perfect and graceful as in the other plate, but is more elaborate. The intervening portion between the scrolls is cut into scalloped forms. The other end of the plate is divided into three scalloped sections, and each section has a repousse decoration at the center. The speci-

Fig. 25. Canine teeth of black bear, unperforated.

men is covered with several layers of cloth, and the repousse decorations do not show so prominent in the Figure.

The plates taken from other graves in the mound were similar in form and size to those contained in the grave described. However, one grave containing two copper plates, a large and a small one, together with 8 other copper ornaments. The large plate presented a new feature in copper plates. The original plate was reinforced by being covered with another plate, a little larger in all of its dimensions. The edges were hammered down over the original plate, in such a manner as to resemble the work of a modern artisan. The plate is shown in Fig. 13.

COPPER EAR ORNAMENTS.

Copper ear ornaments were frequently met with in the graves, and twenty specimens were secured. They were invariably found in pairs. The manufacture of these ornaments required skill, as well as a high degree of advancement in ornamental art. The mode of manufacture of the ear ornaments, although two different types were found, was similar. One type was made of two concavo-convex plates, and were connected by a cylindrical column; but only a few pairs of this type were found. Fig. 14 fully illustrates this type. The other type, which was most common, was made of four plates of copper,

Fig. 26. Canine teeth of bear with counter-sunk holes for attachment.

two of which are circular, and two concavo-convex. The concavo-convex plates are attached to the circular pieces, which form the inside of the ornament. The discs are connected with a small cylinder of copper.[6] Fig. 15 is a good illustration showing two views of this type of ear ornaments. Other copper ornaments were found sparingly in the burial cists. From one grave a large copper crescent was removed, and from another, six large copper balls.

The crescent is shown in Fig. 16, and was taken from one

[6] For a complete description of this type of ear ornament, see "Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio," Vol. 1, Section 3.

of the burials. The crescent, as shown in the figure, is attached to a large copper plate by corrosion. The plate is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide and the crescent is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and two inches in width at the center of the crescent, from which point it gradually tapers to one inch at the ends. The crescent is pierced with two small holes near the convex side at the center.

The plate and crescent as shown in the Figure measures 14 inches in length and the surface of both crescent and plate is

Fig. 27. Canine teeth of bear made into gorgets.

covered with the imprint of a thin, loosely woven fabric. The copper balls were very interesting and show that the ancient artificer displayed skill and patience in forming the malleable copper into the desired form. The balls were made of two separate hemispheres attached by a small cord passing through the small holes bored on each side of the hemispheres. The holes can be seen in the illustration, Fig. 17. The inside of the ball is invariably filled with yellow clay. The hemispheres were no doubt made in molds, and it has often occurred to me that the large stones with the small cup-shaped depressions might have

been used by the ancient artisans in the manufacture of their ornaments. During the explorations several large slabs of sandstone, containing from three to ten depressions, were found in close proximity to the mound, and one of the copper hemispheres fit in one of the depressions in such a way as to lead to the belief that they were used in shaping the copper to his use.

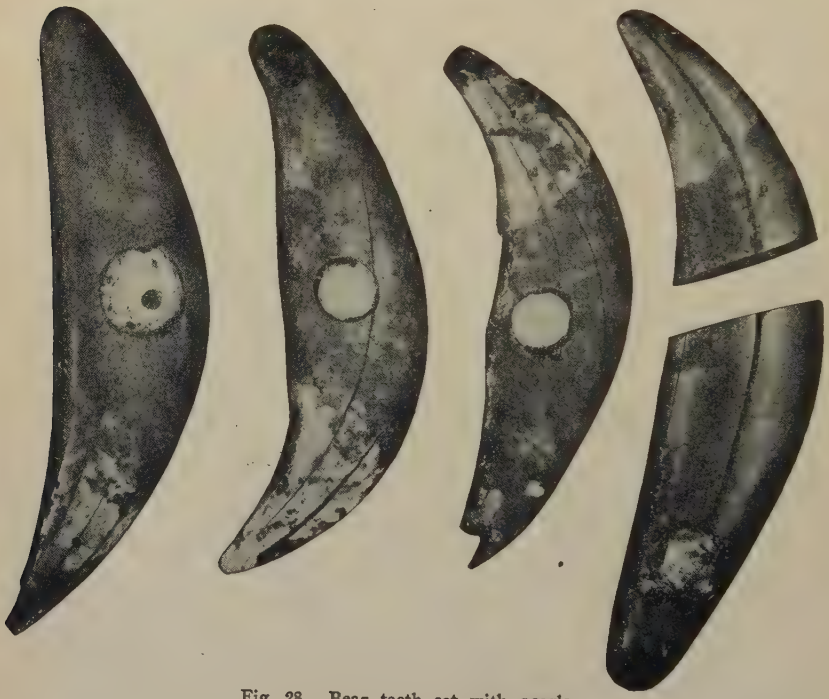


Fig. 28. Bear teeth set with pearls.

IMPLEMENTS OF COPPER.

Only two kinds of copper implements were found in the mound: the awl and the axe. The awls, four in number, varied in length from $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches to 3 inches, and were usually round, tapering to a point at both ends, although one specimen had one end blunt, the body of the awl flat and one end tapering to a point. Fig. 18 shows three of the copper awls. The largest is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in diameter at the center, grad-

ually tapering to a point at each end. The second awl shown in the illustration is flat, and is about ½ inch in width and ¼ inch in thickness with one end square, with a gradual taper to a sharp point at the other end. The third awl is 4 inches in length and ¼ inch in thickness, and this thickness is the same throughout the entire length with only a gradual taper to a point at one end; the other end is blunt. The fourth awl found in the mound was similar to the last one described, but only 3 inches in length.

Fig. 29. Effigy eagle claws.

The copper axes were unusually interesting on account of their variation in size. The largest was 6½ inches long and 4 inches wide at the bit, while the smallest was 2¼ inches long and 1 inch wide at the bit. Nine axes were taken from the various sections of the mound, and all were of the plano-convex type, so common in the mounds of this culture. They were made from masses of native copper by hammering into form, and the irregularities of the surface is quite pronounced in many of them. The large axe shown in Fig. 19 is much corroded, and pieces of

leather in which the axe was wrapped still adhere to the surface. The axe is 6½ inches long, 4 inches wide at the bit, and three-quarters of an inch in thickness, and weighs two pounds and eleven ounces. The axe is decidedly of the plano-convex type and shows the great amount of labor necessary to produce such a large and fine axe. Fig. 20 is another copper axe of the same type as the large axe shown in Fig. 19, and measures 5½ inches in length, 2½ inches at the blunt end, 3 inches at the cutting edge, and weighs 1 pound and 12 ounces. The axe is greatly corroded and the surface is partly covered here and there with pieces of leather in which the axe had been wrapped when placed in the burial cist. Fig. 21 shows two very fine axes of the same type but much smaller; both measuring four inches in length and two and one-eighth inches in width at the cutting edge. The first axe (the one to the left) is covered with pieces of calcined human bones, corroded to both faces of the axe. The axe to the right is very interesting, as it shows how it was attached to a handle, even the imprint of the string used in holding the handle in place can be seen; a portion of the corroded copper is removed from the face, showing the convex surface and the very sharp edge as well as the scratches made while sharpening the implement. Fig. 22 is the only axe showing the imprint of a woven fabric, which occurs on the flat side. The convex face of the axe is perfectly smooth and shows but little corrosion. The other axes (four in number) found in the graves of the mound, ranging in length from 3 inches to 2¼ inches, are flat on one side and convex on the other.

Fig. 30. Alligator tooth.

BONE OBJECTS.

Bone implements and ornaments are always associated with prehistory man in Ohio, and the implements of bone and teeth play an important part in the life of the builders of this mound. The bone objects may be grouped under two heads, utilitarian

Fig. 21. Shell beads.

and ornamental. Under the utilitarian objects are placed bone digging tools, needles, awls, etc. The bone digging tools were frequently met with outside the graves, and scattered through the soil of the mound. The tools were simply large fragments of the femur bones and shoulder blades of large animals, such as bear, deer, and elk. The bones were used in digging up the soil, preparatory to its use in building up the mound. The tools, naturally, would be carried to the mound, and frequently one would be lost when the load of soil was deposited upon the mound.

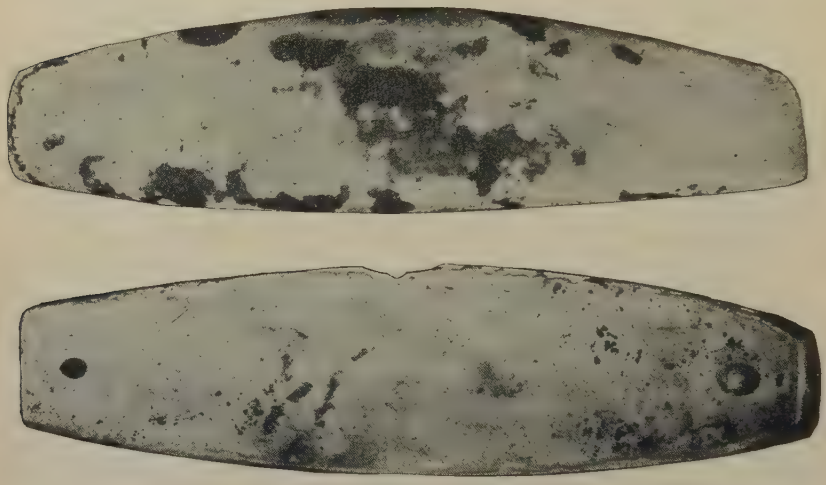


Fig. 32. Large shell ornaments.

BONE AWLS.

Bone awls, or bodkins, were for the most part, destroyed when the body was cremated, as many calcined pieces of implements were found among the cremated remains, but several perfect pieces were found. The awls were invariably made from the tarso-metatarsus of the wild turkey, by cutting away the anterior part of the bone, almost to the center and carrying this cut through to the posterior end of the bone. The awls would vary in length from 3 inches to 4 inches, the points having a gradual taper, and are very sharp. Fig. 23 is a good illustration of the bone awls.

Fig. 33. Large flint spear, length 9 inches, width 3¾ inches.

BONE NEEDLES.

Great skill and much labor was required to make the bone needles of the type found in the mound. They were usually made from the strong metapodial bone of the deer. The needles were usually from 3 to 5 inches long, gradually tapering from the head to the point. The head is invariably flat, and pierced with a small hole near the end, as shown in Fig. 24. The hole is bored from both sides. In one of the graves was unearthed a large curved needle 8 inches in length, and made of the rib of some animal. The eye of the needle was placed ¾ of an inch from the end, and in many respects, resembles the needles used by the Fort Ancient Culture.[7]

ORNAMENTS OF BONE.

Many ornaments made of bone and teeth were found in perfect condition in the burials of the mound, but many of the most valuable and interesting were destroyed by fire when the body was cremated. The greater number of pendants found in the various burial cists were made of the canine teeth of the black bear which were highly prized for ornament by aboriginal man. Many of the teeth were cut and polished but not perforated for attachment, while others were polished and perforated near the end of the root for attachment, while others were ornamented by a setting of a fine pearl upon the broad face of the root of the tooth, and several were found that had been cut longitudinally near the center of the tooth and the halves hollowed out and so perforated with small holes that the two parts could be attached. A good illustration of the plain polished canine of the bear is shown in Fig. 25. This collection was taken from one of the burials and the teeth were perhaps unfinished, as several of the teeth have holes for attachment drilled about one-third through the tooth. A good illustration of the bear teeth with counter sunk holes for attachment is shown in Fig. 26. This mode of attachment is quite common, but only a

[7] Exploration of the Baum Village in "Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio, Vol. 1.

few teeth were found in a single grave and these were perhaps attached to a belt instead of being used as pendants.

Figure 27 shows the bear teeth cut lengthwise and each half made into a gorget by drilling two holes near the center. The bear tooth gorgets are highly polished and were perhaps attached to belts or sashes. The bear teeth ornamented by being set with pearls are shown in Fig. 28. The setting of the pearls was very ingenious and shows the resourcefulness of primitive man. It was accomplished by boring a hole in the tooth where the setting was desired, a little larger than the diameter of the

Fig. 34. Gorgets of stone and bone.

pearl to be set. The depth of the hole would vary with the size of the pearl, for in all of the specimens found, the pearls extended above the body and the tooth about $\frac{1}{3}$ of its diameter. The pearl was held in place by a small string passed through a small hole previously drilled through the pearl. The two ends of the string were brought together and passed through a small hole drilled in the bottom of the cavity prepared to receive the setting. The string with the pearl attached was fastened on the back of the tooth, holding the pearl firmly in the cavity. The canine tooth shown to the left in Fig. 28, besides being set with a pearl, is cut into two parts and perforated with holes in order that

the two parts might be fastened together. Invariably one-half of the tooth is hollowed out and the cavity very often filled with a pigment or small piece of quartz or highly colored pieces of flint.

The most interesting of the bone ornaments were those of the effigy eagle claws. They were found in several graves, but the finest specimens were found at one of the burial shrines. The effigy claws were made of the rib bones of the elk, and very often exceeded 4½ inches in length. A representative collection of the effigy claws is shown in Fig. 29. Finding so many effigy claws of the eagle instead of the true claws shows that the eagle was a bird hard to capture or that aboriginal man preferred the effigy claws to the true claws.

Several cut and polished human jaws with the teeth intact were removed from one of the burial shrines, however, this was not an uncommon find in this culture, as many of the mounds examined revealed many specimens showing the use of human jaws for ornament. A large tooth of the alligator was unearthed in one of the graves, and from another grave, four more teeth of the same reptile. The large tooth was two and one-half inches long and almost three-fourths of an inch in diameter. The teeth were all perforated for attachment. As far as records go, this is the first record of finding alligator teeth in the mounds of Ohio. One of the teeth is shown in Fig. 30.

ORNAMENTS OF SHELL.

Ornaments such as pendants and beads were found abundantly, and all were made from ocean shell. From one grave almost 1,000 beads, made of ocean shell, and averaging one-half inch in length, were removed. The beads, when strung, measured more than forty-two feet in length. The beads were made from the heavy parts of large ocean shells, and the greater diameter was at the center, from which they gradually tapered to each end. The beads were pierced with a small hole through their longest diameter. Fig. 31 shows a small string taken from one of the graves. It measures nine feet in length and the beads are colored green by coming in contact with copper ornaments found

associated with them. In one grave was found a large necklace of beads circular in form, about one-half inch in diameter, and resembling small marbles. A good example of this form of beads can be seen near the center of Fig. 31, as this collection contained quite a number of small circular beads and one large one. Another interesting ornament made of shell is shown in Fig. 32. These ornaments were made of strips of ocean shell

Fig. 35. Drinking cup made of ocean shell.

about one inch wide at the center and gradually tapering to about three-fourths of an inch at the end, and varied in length from six inches to four inches. The ends were cut square into which a small hole was bored, about the center of the ornament, to a depth of one-fourth of an inch. A second hole was bored from the concave side to connect with the first hole, thus forming a means of attachment that could not be seen from the convex side. The strips cut from the body of the shell and conform to the gen-

eral curve of the shell. From one burial, a beautiful string of pearls was secured. The pearls were in good state of preservation, and no doubt caused the owner many years of search to secure the number. The flint implements and the various objects made of slate and granite were not abundant in the graves, but a number of excellent examples were secured.

OBJECTS OF FLINT.

Flint Knives — The flint knives flaked from cores of jasper and chalcedony from the Flint Ridge Region were not abundant in the graves, although quite a number were found with the remains, the greater number were found promiscuously throughout the mound, indicating that they were perhaps lost during the construction of the mound. The knives are not large, varying in length from three inches to one and one-half inches. They were made from large cores of banded and variegated Jasper. The convex face of the knife shows several facets, while the concave surface is perfectly plain, running to a sharp edge on each side of the knife. The knives were found abundantly upon the surface in the field surrounding the mound, showing that the implement was much used by the builders of the mound.

Flint Spears — The flint spear shown in Fig. 33 was taken from burial No. nineteen. When found it was broken into many pieces by the action of fire but the pieces were fortunately secured and the specimen fully restored; length nine inches, width three and three-fourths inches. It is impossible to tell the source of the flint from which the spear is made because of the discoloration caused by the fire. Other spear points were found in several of the graves, but all were small compared to the large one described above.

Figure 34 shows two gorgets, one made of dark yellow argelite discolored in several places by coming in contact with copper ornaments. The gorget is two and three-quarter inches long and pierced with a large hole near one end. The other gorget is made from the ventral shell or plastron of the turtle, two and one-eighth inches long and about one inch wide. The specimen is perhaps unfinished.

LARGE SHELLS USED FOR DRINKING CUPS.

From one grave a large container or drinking cup was found. The cup is shown in Fig. 35. It was made from the shell, known as Fulgur Perversum, by cutting away a portion of the body

Fig. 36. Simple weaving.

whorl and removing the columella. The beak, as shown in the figure, was carefully rounded and made into a wide spout which would serve as a place to drink from the vessel, or an aid in emptying the vessel after it was filled. The container is seven and one-eighth inches long and 6 inches wide, and the outer sur-

face is highly cut and polished so that the vessel appears perfectly smooth. When placed in the grave the vessel was evidently covered with a delicately woven fabric, as portions of the fabric still adhere to the shell.

TEXTILES.

In a number of graves, of the second section, the final ceremony consisted of setting fire to the covering of straw, twigs, and cloth, and here the charred remnants of cloth and matting were preserved. In the first section, the charred cloth, showing the simplest to the highest art in primitive weaving, was found at the burial shrines outside the graves. The builders of the Seip Mound had learned well the art of textile making, for we know that the true textile art began with the spinning or making of the yarn. This, of course, requires the separation of fibrous tissue from the plant, and twisting the fibers so as to make a strong yarn. The cloth was made from bast fiber, secured from many of the trees and plants known to exist in prehistory times.[8] For the most part, the specimens show the simplest form of weaving. (Fig. 36.) This was made by having the warp and woof made of the same kind of thread, usually large and strong, and both were drawn equally tight. However, a very fine reticulated weaving was frequently met with. The warp in this textile was placed about one-eighth

Fig. 37. Reticulate weaving.

[8] Specimens of cloth were subjected to Microscopical examination by Prof. J. H. Schaffner, Head of the Dep't of Botany, O. S. U., and he pronounced the cloth made from bast fiber.

of an inch apart and the woof one-sixteenth of an inch and the yarn finely spun. The threads of both the woof and warp equally drawn. A fine illustration of reticulate weaving is shown in Fig. 37.

TANNED SKINS.

Skins made into leather were found in a number of graves. The leather was always associated with copper ornaments and implements and was preserved by the salts of copper. The leather was usually placed upon the platform of the grave and the copper implements, such as axes and ornaments, such as plates were placed upon the leather, which would be preserved insofar as it came in contact with the copper. The leather was very fine and soft, resembling the chamois skins of the present time. A piece of the leather was soaked in water and thoroughly washed to remove as much copper and dirt as possible. The piece was found to be flexible and pliable, and retained some of its original strength. A small piece of the leather showing the shape of one corner of the copper plate that laid over it is shown in Fig. 38.

POTTERY.

Fragments of broken pottery were found in almost every portion of the mound, and in several instances, potsherds of good size, and representing a high type of fictile art, were found in several of the graves, but were not associated with the charred remains. Fig. 39 is a good illustration of the pieces of pottery found.

It seems strange that a people well versed in the fictile art, and able to produce objects in pottery as shown by the discarded sherds; articles requiring great skill and patience to produce the symmetry and grace therein displayed,—that these people would not in some way employ this art facility in their mortuary customs.

OBJECTS OF MICA.

Large blocks of mica were found in many graves, as well as the shrines of the burial cists, where the blocks often completely covered the floor. The detached thin sheets were often cut into geometrical designs and figures, and perhaps served as a decora-

tion, attached to their clothing, as many of the pieces have perforations for that purpose. Several designs are shown in Fig. 40.

RESUME.

A concise account of the examination of the Seip Mound has been given, and a brief mention of the more salient parts brought out by this examination, might be of interest.

Fig. 38. Leather.

The site of the mound was a charnel house where the dead were brought and prepared for the grave; the preparation consisting of cremating the body and afterwards placing the incinerated remains and ashes in a prepared grave within the charnel house. The site was abandoned before the house was filled; the building destroyed by fire, and a mound erected as a monument to the dead. The charnel house was made up of three distinct sections, and the size of the mound erected over the various sections was perhaps gauged by the standing or importance of the dead occupants. Over the first section the mound was 20 feet high, and the house contained 24 burials, all of which were more or less rich in copper and other objects. The monument over the second section was 11 feet 10 inches high, and the house contained 19 burials; only a few of which contained objects of copper; other implements and ornaments were very sparingly found,

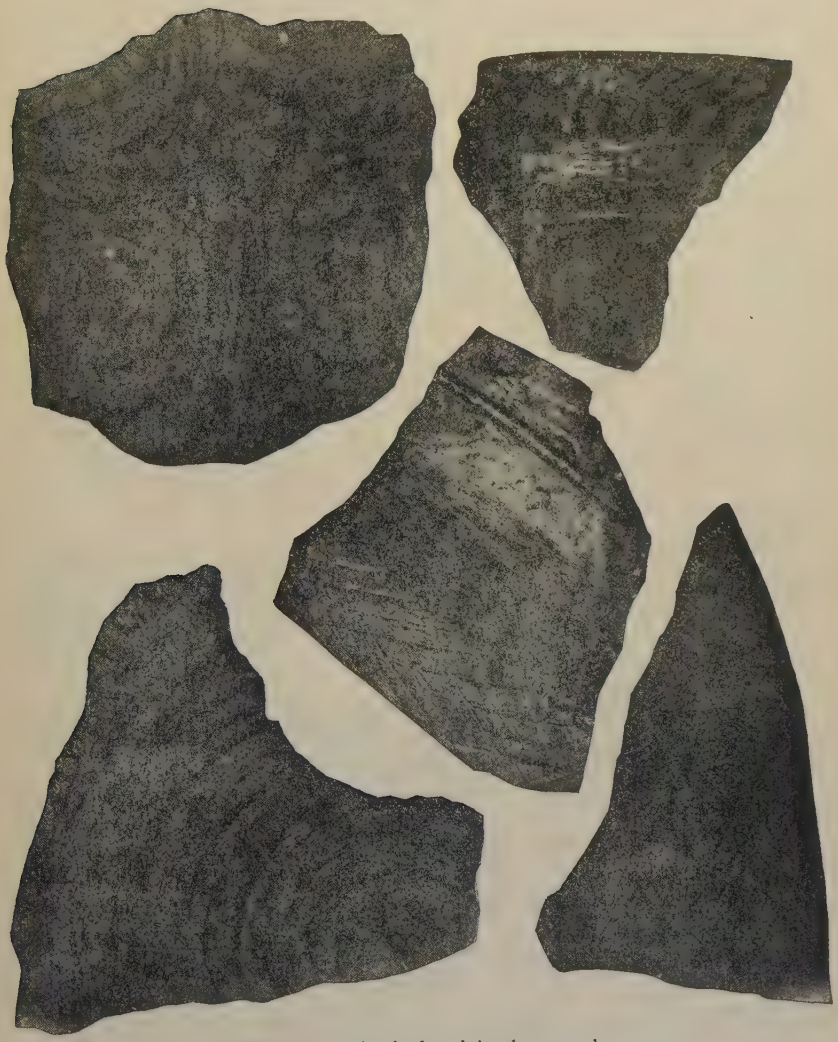


Fig. 39. Potsherds found in the mound.

while the third section was five feet high, and did not contain a single burial, on the floor of the house. In the first section, graves were enlarged, and very often two, and sometimes three and four burials, together with sufficient space for more, were recorded from a single burial cist, and as not all of the remains were those of adults, this condition would suggest that the large graves containing the remains of more than one person, were those of a family burial cist, the wide floor space between the cists making them readily accessible for burial at any time. The profusion of implements and ornaments made of copper, shell and bone, of a

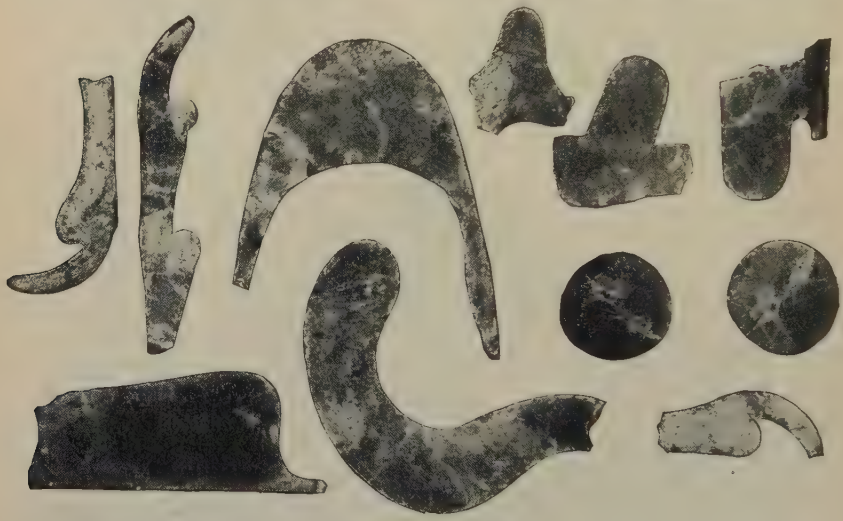


Fig. 40. Cut mica.

well marked individuality, shows that the builders of the Seip Mound belonged to the highest culture of aboriginal man in Ohio, differing widely in customs and culture from the Peoples inhabiting the Baum Village Site, only a few miles down the valley and practically in sight of the Seip Mound.

The data secured by the opening of this mound, places this group in the Hopewell Culture,[9] and according to Prof. W. H. Holmes' classification, the North West Group.[10] The builders of

[9] I have, for my own convenience, named the great cultures, whose remains are so abundant in Ohio, Fort Ancient Culture and Hopewell

the mound had an inter-tribal trade, as evidenced by the copper from the Lake Superior Region, the ocean shells and alligator teeth from the far south, and mica from North Carolina. The great variety and quantity of woven fabrics secured, indicate that weaving was assiduously practiced, and formed one of their most important industries. The examination of the mound proves beyond question, that the builders of the mound were pre-Columbian.

Culture; "Explorations of the Baum Village Site," Vol. 14, Ohio State Arch. and Historical Society Publications.

[10] Twentieth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology.

THE CENTENNIAL OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

A. H. UPHAM,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

The third week of June was marked by a highly significant and somewhat unusual occasion down in the southwest corner of Ohio. Miami University, old mother Miami, was celebrating the completion of her first centenary of corporate existence; and her children, unto the third and fourth generation, came from the corners of the earth bringing tribute of congratulation and good wishes. The village of Oxford was in holiday attire; but festooned bunting seemed tawdry and commonplace against the rare old-fashioned beauty of the wide, shady streets, the green inviting door-yards, and the leafy vistas of the University grounds. The weather was nearly — if not quite — perfect, making it possible to do most of the celebrating out among the trees.

President Guy Potter Benton.

The elaborate program for the week was carried out with most of the accessories that convention has attached of late to such affairs. One night the students made merry at the expense of the faculty, and paraded themselves about the campus burning quantities of red fire. On other nights a select few of them did Shakespeare and the like before sweltering audiences, as a relief from the interminable speech-making. There were vari-

ous long processions of black gowns and mortar-boards, at which certain of the old-timers stood aghast, protesting vigorously that they didn't trifle with such things in their day. His Excellency the Governor was on hand to represent the Commonwealth, attended by his imposing retinue in tight uniforms and gold braid. There was music by the band and music by the glee club; then there were some more speeches. Honorary degrees

New Auditorium and Administration Building.

were distributed with the somewhat liberal hand characteristic of such events. There was also a graduating class, much the largest in the history of the institution, but in the excitement it had the habit of slipping modestly into the background and being lost to view.

If anything was really lacking it was the general public — the uninterested, amusement-seeking public, that is. They had planned to come until word went forth that the only real live

President outside the African jungles would positively not be on exhibition. Then their attention wavered and they hurried off to Dayton to complain of the crowd and wait around in the hope that somebody would fly. Oxford was crowded almost to the limit of her accommodations, but not beyond; so that everybody was comfortable and in good humor. And the assemblage represented the past, present and future patronage of the Uni-

Brice Scientific Hall.

versity; those who have followed her career through decades, who have a part in her present remarkable advancement, or who look to her with anticipation of close relationships soon to be. Miami was emphatically in the hands of friends and kindred, so that the occasion constantly resolved itself into a great informal love-feast.

So much for surface appearances. But even the casual observer could not linger long about that animated campus without

realizing that, after all, the big thing about the celebration was not the general air of jubilee or prosperous contentment. It was the realization, — hard enough to express, but pounding at the heart of every visitor familiar with the facts, — of all the years of struggle with accumulated adversity through which the little old college has heroically progressed, and the immense potentiality Miami has been in the development and refinement of the Middle West. The story has been told often within the past year, from various points of view and with various degrees of completeness; but it is highly desirable that the obvious facts from the University's first century of achievement should be at least hurriedly summarized for those intimately concerned with the development of the commonwealth.

After negotiations extending over more than seven years, John Cleves Symmes received on September 30, 1794, letters patent from the United States Government, placing him and his associates in possession of "All that tract of land, beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river and extending from thence along the river Ohio, to the mouth of the Little Miami river, and bounded on the south by the said river Ohio, on the west by the Great Miami river, on the east by the said Little Miami river, and on the North by a parallel of latitude — so as to comprehend the quantity of three hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and eighty-two acres of land with the appurtenances." Certain specific reservations were made from this "Symmes Purchase," one of the most important reading as follows: "It is hereby declared, that one complete township or tract of land, of six miles square, to be located with the approbation of the governor, for the time being, of the territory northwest of the River Ohio, and in the manner and within the term of five years aforesaid, as nearly as may be, in the center of the tract of land hereinbefore granted, hath been and is granted and shall be holden in trust to and for the sale and for the exclusive intent and purpose of erecting and establishing therein an academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning, and endowing and supporting the same, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatever."

This statement may properly be interpreted as a national

guarantee of the perpetual maintenance of a college for the inhabitants of the Symmes Purchase, but to Symmes himself it meant just then a rather embarrassing situation. For this was not his first contract with the government. It was rather a second or third modification of the original document, in which also this academic reservation had appeared. Symmes had his lands on the market as early as November, 1787, and in his initial prospectus called attention to this college township, even locating it definitely on the map. Somehow the revised grant of 1788

New Alumni Library Building.

neglected to mention any township for academic purposes, and the portion first selected was soon divided up with the rest. So the final contract found poor Symmes with no full township at hand that would satisfy the requirements; and a neat little triangular controversy ensued, involving Symmes, the Congress of the United States, and the territorial governor, to whom had been delegated the responsibility of selection.

The question was still pending when Ohio took on the dignities and perquisites of statehood, one of which was the perpetual stewardship of these rather hazy thirty-six sections of college land and the institution to profit therefrom. Finally it was

necessary to settle upon a tract entirely outside the Purchase, but in the so-called District of Cincinnati — the unsold portion of Oxford Township and two and one-half sections adjoining. This settlement was not to go into effect for five years, in the hope that during the time an available complete township might turn up somewhere within the Symmes land.

Accordingly it was 1809 before the state of Ohio formally created The Miami University, provided for the Trustees and Faculty, drew up a charter of rights and privileges, and arranged to make the lands productive of funds for maintenance. These provisions were made by an act of the Legislature, February 17, 1809. With this act began the legal career of the University, recognized without reservation as an institution of the State of Ohio. It was a long way from this Legislative document and thirty-six sections of unbroken timber and undergrowth to a smoothly running educational machine. People didn't yearn greatly for these lands at first, under the terms of lease provided by the state. These leases were to be for ninety-nine years, renewable forever, and the tenants were to pay an annual rental of six per cent. on the land value of their property, with a revaluation every fifteen years. Then the state, with a commendable desire to get things going but a sad misconception of future needs, repealed the clause regarding revaluation, fixing the land rent to the University forever at the rate of six per cent. on the original valuation. Hence it is that during the long heart-breaking years, while the state denied further aid, the university struggled on desperately in a cramped and half bankrupt condition; and that nowadays, when the state is conscientiously administering the trust, these annual land-rents are about sufficient to maintain three professorships.

There was trouble for years over the location of the actual university, much as there had been over those precious lands. The creating act of 1809 definitely appointed a locating commission, instructed to select a spot "In such part of the John Cleves Symmes Purchase as an eligible place can be found." One commissioner failed to act, and the other two agreed upon Lebanon, Ohio, as the University site. At the next session of the Legislature, under various kinds of pressure, the proceedings of this

commission were declared void and the assembly itself fixed the location at the proposed town of Oxford, to be laid off and constructed within the college township itself. Thus the state became the proud and inexperienced guardian of a young University, begotten of the Symmes Purchase, but entirely outside the ancestral fences. Of course there was trouble. Various communities within the Purchase, whether they had ever had a chance at the College or not, began to feel that the Legislature had given them shabby treatment. Cincinnati in particular, who had been making several ineffectual efforts toward a seat of

Ohio State Normal College Buildings. (Now being erected.)

higher learning, took the matter much to heart, and planned two clever and well-nigh successful campaigns, in 1814 and 1822, to get the institution transferred to some point near the Ohio River.

Everybody concerned felt that the University was getting under way too slowly. Just what they could have expected from a trackless area of inaccessible woodland isn't quite apparent. People could not be forced to buy the land, even at bargain prices; and many who did were undesirable citizens who paid only under pressure. A "missionary" was sent out into New England and the Atlantic States, not to carry culture or religion, but to solicit funds for the new Miami. He had a hard time of

it and accumulated little. Gradually money was secured for the erection of buildings, beginning with the "school-house" that cost one hundred and fifty dollars, and culminating in a fairly adequate college building, under construction from 1820 to 1824. By this time the income had accumulated so as to justify the employment of a small faculty and the initiation of college work. Robert Hamilton Bishop, the first President, was inaugurated March 30, 1825, having undertaken the duties of his office the November previous. By the day of inauguration the roster of students had already grown from a mere handful at the opening session to nearly a hundred; and there was never a day thereafter, while the portals were thrown wide, that there were not eager youths in considerable numbers waiting to be taught.

With the machinery once in actual motion, Miami's skies for a time continued clear. President Bishop, a sterling Scotch character with vigorous mind and engaging personality, had associated with him men capable of great influence upon the pioneer country. Young McGuffey, fresh from college, served here his apprenticeship in teaching, and conducted the experiments out of which came finally the old Eclectic Readers of blessed memory. John W. Scott came early into this group, before he had tried his hand at imparting higher education to young women, or had a daughter old enough to win the heart of a future president. Three buildings — the two present dormitories and a little one-story Science Hall, — were erected in Doctor Bishop's time, bringing Miami into the front rank among western colleges in material equipment. So careful indeed was the Doctor's management of funds, that the records of his administration often show a surplus, sometimes as high as $2,000.

In this period, too, ventures were made in the direction of a real university scheme, with professional colleges. In 1827 it was a law school that the Trustees contemplated, and the President was authorized to prepare plans for the work and look out for a competent professor. For some reason this was dropped, and in 1830 a medical school was the focus of attention. This time a dean was actually selected and empowered to choose his colleagues, and announcements were printed and circulated.

The Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati protested, and by some timely maneuvering this project also came to be abandoned.

Prosperity and large attendance did not necessarily mean academic calm in the student community, as was illustrated all too well in the late 30's. Many turbulent spirits were there and discipline was a serious question. Even the literary societies, powerful factors for good as they were, held charters from the state and challenged openly the right of the faculty to interfere

Herron Gymnasium.

in their proceedings. Finally, after sixteen years of service, it seemed best that Doctor Bishop should resign his executive post, take a place on the faculty, and let some stricter disciplinarian try his hand. Choice fell upon George Junkin, President of Lafayette College, who was noted for his firm will and had just distinguished himself on the Old School side of the controversy between the two great branches of the Presbyterian Church.

In spite of the sterling qualities of Doctor Junkin the ex-

periment was not a success. The transition from President Bishop's somewhat milder methods was perhaps too abrupt. Then too the ex-president was still on the ground, a constant reminder to his many partisans of what they considered the unfair treatment he had received. The choice of so noted a Presbyterian zealot turned the eyes of the other denominations upon Miami, and led to the charge in the religious press that this state institution was being managed solely in the interests of the Presbyterian faith. The abolition movement was then in vogue throughout Ohio, gathering many Miami people to its support. Dr. Junkin, while an anti-slavery man, was firmly opposed to a rabid abolition, and took occasion to say so freely in the councils of his church. This rounded out his list of opponents, and he withdrew in 1844 to resume his old position at Lafayette.

In his stead came Erasmus D. MacMaster, one of the deepest logicians and ablest orators of the Presbyterian church. Moreover, he was an ardent adherent to the cause of abolition. His greatest service to the University was in the line of scholarship, the curriculum being raised to a level with the strongest institutions in the East. Soon after his arrival he presented once more to the Trustees plans for a complete university, including a Normal School and School of Agriculture, with those professional schools considered earlier. His weakness, in Miami at least, appears to have been on the personal side, for he seems never quite to have won the hearts of the undergraduate body. Pestilence was abroad during his stay and frequently threatened and even visited the little college town. Dissatisfaction among the boys led to numerous open outbreaks, one of these resulting in an almost wholesale expulsion from the student ranks.

The administration of William C. Anderson, from 1849 to 1854, was in many respects the most prosperous in the early history of the University. The enrollment, which was down to sixty-eight when he came, increased rapidly to over two hundred and fifty. Yet intellectual standards were in no sense depreciated and hard work was the order of the day. The faculty grouped about him were men of unusual attainments and influence. Doctor Moffat held the chair of Latin until recalled to Princeton, when he was succeeded by young Robert Bishop, destined to serve

more than a generation of loving usefulness in that position. David Swing followed Bishop in the Preparatory School. Professor Elliot, scholarly and absent-minded, wrestled with the problem of Greek. Stoddard, afterward of Wooster, presided over the queer little Science Hall, and Doctor Wylie, for years the grand old man of Indiana University, came in 1852 as Professor of Mathematics. All these men, with Doctor Anderson at their head, were great religious teachers, and Miami under their care experienced a spiritual awakening remarkable in its

Hepburn Hall, Dormitory for Women.

fervor and extent. Divisions and ill-feeling were unheard of, and financial adjustments could still be made. Still there was trouble enough ahead.

John W. Hall was the war president, his term of service extending through to 1866. Strangely enough, he was of Southern blood and training, yet so fair-minded and free from partisanship that he remained an effective leader throughout all the great national struggle. There were plenty to suspect and criticise him, and finally his resignation came as others had before

him. But many of the arguments used for his undoing involved matters entirely out of his control. Thus it was urged that attendance fell off sadly, interest in college work declined, discipline was lax. What else could be expected of those stormy years when Miami gave freely of her best, and those left behind were frantic in their longings to join comrades at the front. Money became again a serious issue. The old college curriculum began to seem inadequate to many people, who clamored vigorously for expensive modifications and enlargements. Some of these were indeed attempted. A Normal-English course was maintained for a time with a professor all its own. A gymnasium was opened on a limited scale and an instructor added. Practical Engineering was also undertaken. Modern Languages were offered for a time as a substitute for Greek, and unsuccessful steps were taken to endow a chair of English Literature, to be occupied by the brilliant thinker Swing.

Funds were if anything even lower at this time than for years before. During the war, for instance, it was necessary at least once to reduce the salaries of all the instructors pro rata, the reason given being "the present condition of the country and the existence of the Civil War, the consequent depreciation of the value of property and reduction of the prices of living, and the inevitable diminution of the income of the University." In 1865, there was favorable consideration of a proposition from the Presbyterian Synod of Ohio, to direct their endowment funds to Miami rather than to the founding of a new denominational college at Wooster. The Miami Trustees were about to accede to the stipulations involved, when it was discovered that these would require an amendment to the state constitution, and so the old University continued the peculiar property of the commonwealth.

President Robert L. Stanton came to Miami in 1866, with no disposition to dodge issues or to mince matters in discussing them. The institution was in sore straits, impoverished in the midst of an impoverished land. Students had fallen off in great numbers, and with them the very essential tuition fees they brought. The old buildings, however staunchly erected half a century before, were sinking into decrepitude. Rival colleges

had sprung up all about, and the demand of the day was for larger faculties, new courses of study — particularly in the sciences, with their expensive equipments, — and ample and comfortable quarters for the college community. Doctor Stanton worked hard and for a time appeared successful. Alumni and friends of the College raised a fund of nearly twenty thousand dollars to be expended on the buildings. Every session of the Legislature was besieged by petitions for a little further aid to

Residence of President of University.

complete the work begun, and there was always a remote possibility that something might be granted. Everything available was seized upon. The United States arranged for military instruction in a few colleges, and Miami bestirred herself and was one of the first on the accepted list. Ohio paid tuition for such of her soldier sons as desired college training, and a few of these helped swell the little column of assets. For a time Miami hoped great things of the land-grant funds provided by the national government for state agricultural colleges. Every effort was

made to get this new educational work and the accompanying income divided between the two state colleges already existing. The legislature decided otherwise, however, and established a third state institution, at Columbus, as the Agricultural College.

By the time that Doctor Stanton, defeated and discouraged, retired in 1871 in favor of Professor Hepburn of the faculty, the fate of Old Miami, for a time at least, appeared settled. Even a last resort had failed, an attempt to consign the whole institution, on almost any terms, to such religious denomination as would refit it, endow it, and put it on its feet again. So it was generally agreed to cease work for a time and allow the regular income to accumulate, as it had in those preliminary years before 1824. As this income was still limited by legislative enactment to little more than it had been in pioneer days, while the scope and expense of college efficiency had magnified many fold, the prospect was not particularly pleasing at its best. Anyhow the doors were closed to college classes with the Commencement of 1873, and the buildings relegated to the uses of a private academy, conducted first by Professor Bishop and afterwards by Trufont and Marsh.

In 1885 the friends and well-wishers of Miami could wait no longer. They began to realize what those of the present day are having constantly brought home to them, that this widening gap in the activity of the school was certain to be felt seriously later on, when callow graduates grew into prosperous middle-aged men of affairs, capable of helping Alma Mater. Anyhow Miami had money in the bank and influential friends at court just then. Why delay? With a loud flourish of trumpets the old weather-beaten machinery was set in motion again and the University began to make up for lost time. Truly a new era was dawning. For the state at this point gave up the played-out role of responsible but disinterested administrator, acknowledged the duty to support her ward, and made a first appropriation of $20,000 for buildings and repairs. During the two years of reorganization, Doctor McFarland, formerly the Professor of Mathematics, occupied the president's chair, with the understanding that he was not a candidate for permanent appointment.

Four other presidents have served since this formal re-

opening: President Warfield, now of Lafayette; President Thompson, now of Ohio State University; Doctor Tappan, now preaching at Circleville; and the present incumbent, Doctor Guy Potter Benton. Throughout their administrations advancement has come with rapid strides, the state showing gradually increased liberality and the institution responding with promptness and enthusiasm. The faculties have been of young and progressive specialists, trained in the best graduate schools and satis-

Main Building, Miami University.

fied with nothing short of the highest scholarship. Buildings and equipment have steadily improved and the students have appeared in constantly increasing numbers.

There have of course been occasions of dissension and discouragement, to each of which the new Miami has risen superior. A few fundamental changes of policy have been adopted in these last years. The doors have been opened to young women on equal privileges with the men, and they have come to form approximately one-fourth of the Liberal Arts enrollment. A State

Normal College has been instituted and is in thriving condition, being fitted out as rapidly as possible with its own buildings and equipment. The old name Miami University, always a misnomer in the strictest sense, is still retained as the corporate title, having gained a sentimental reverence through the years. But no one thinks of making Miami more than a college, and a small college at that: — the high-grade small college representing the best system of higher education yet devised in the east or west.

This has been a long arid recital of ancient history and you are lucky if you have weathered through it. But the aim has been throughout to make clear to the reader the environment of discouragement and enforced poverty through which little old Miami plodded heroically to this auspicious completion of her first centenary. The remarkable thing about it, however, is not merely that Miami has completed this century of years amid adversity. Many an ordinary turtle lives a great deal longer, and progresses with much difficulty too. The thing that should direct the eyes of all Ohio to this Centennial celebration is the inestimable services the University has rendered, directly and through her alumni, in the development of the state and of the nation. There is but one way to get at such a proposition: by marshalling in rapid review before the reader, with a mere apology of a system, a small assortment of the Miami men whose lives have meant something for humanity.

"The pioneers of southwestern Ohio," said Chancellor MacCracken, of New York University, in his Centennial Address, "were of near a dozen different national stocks, but mainly non-English Puritans. They were largely of Scotch and Scotch-Irish blood, like most of the early graduates of Miami. Of the twelve names of alumni of the twenty-five classes from 1826 to 1850, who are still alive, ten are Scotch or Scotch-Irish, from McCaughan of 1837 to Andrew Brooks of 1850. Many graduates were of Welsh blood, like Chidlaw, Thomas E. Thomas, and Senator Pugh. Others were Huguenots, like the Monforts; or Dutch, like Schenck and Groesbeck; or Palatinate Germans, like Shellabarger and Kumler; or they were of English Virginia blood, like President Benjamin Harrison. Miami was the

offspring of the highest intellectual aspirations of a fusion of Protestant races, mostly of Puritan training, thrown together upon the Ohio frontier."

From such material the various classes of Doctor Bishop's long administration were able, almost without exception, to graduate men who promptly achieved a national reputation. Examples might be of interest.

1826. Ebenezer E. Pressly, founder and first president of Erskine College in South Carolina, and a leader in religious work in the south.
1827. Robert C. Schenk, foreign envoy, congressman and brigadier-general; finally ambassador at the Court of St. James.
1828. William M. Thompson, minister and foreign missionary; author of "The Land and the Book."
1829. Ralph P. Lowe, governor of Iowa.
James Reily, U. S. Minister to Russia.
1830. Thornton A. Mills, editor of the Central Christian Herald and a leader in the Presbyterian Church.
1831. Freeman G. Cary, founder and first president of Farmer's College.
Theophilus L. Dickey, Assistant Attorney-General of the U. S.
Duncan F. Keener, president of the Louisiana Constitutional convention.
1833. Charles Anderson, scholar-statesman; offered appointment as Assistant Secretary of State and served as a war governor of Ohio.
Benjamin W. Childlaw, the great Sabbath School missionary.
1834. William Groesbeck, congressman, candidate for the presidency, and counsel for President Johnson in his impeachment trial.
John J. McRae, U. S. senator and governor of Mississippi.
Joseph G. Monfort, editor of the Herald and Presbyter.
Thomas E. Thomas, president of Hanover College.
1835. Samuel F. Cary, temperance lecturer.
William Dennison, was governor of Ohio and U. S. Postmaster General.
1836. James Birney, war governor of Michigan and U. S. minister to Holland.
1837. James B. Howell, U. S. senator from Iowa.
1838. John S. Williams, brigadier-general in the Confederate army and U. S. Senator from Kentucky.
1840. George E. Pugh, U. S. senator from Ohio.
1841. Charles H. Hardin, governor of Missouri and founder of Hardin Female Institute in Missouri.
Samuel Shellabarger, congressman and U. S. minister to Portugal.

This list is only a fair forecast of the classes to follow, except for certain splendid years of plenty, where it seems that almost every graduate passed into generous service for his countrymen. Every profession, every walk of life found men from Old Miami ready to do their part, and more, of the work at hand. The Christian ministry perhaps claimed the largest share of these early graduates, many of whom labored faithfully in some obscure corner of the vineyard till the close of day. Several, how-

Lower Campus, Miami University.

ever, became famous and influential preachers in the great city churches, like James Hall Brooks in St. Louis or David Swing in Chicago. Many found careers in colleges, more than a dozen becoming able college presidents, as have David A. Wallace at Muskingum and Monmouth, Samuel S. Laws at Missouri State University, and Henry M. MacCracken at New York University.

Law, statesmanship, and public life in general attracted many of them, as might be expected of youths trained so thor-

oughly in the give-and-take of the old Literary Halls. One president of the United States heads the list of these — Benjamin Harrison of the class of '52. Behind him troops a respectable following of cabinet officers and ambassadors to foreign lands. Of the first type not already noted may be named Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior in Lincoln's first cabinet; William H. H. Miller, Attorney General, and John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, under Harrison. Most prominent of Miami's diplomatic representatives in recent years is Whitelaw Reid, former minister to France and now ambassador at the Court of St. James.

The list of governors of states is an imposing one, and the faithful alumni secretary is still unearthing new ones from time to time. Five famous war governors are included: Dennison and Anderson of Ohio, Morton of Indiana, Yates of Illinois, and Birney of Michigan. The noted lecturer Will Cumback, formerly lieutenant-governor of Indiana, was a Miami man, and Governor Harris of Ohio, recently retired, brings the list down to date. The most recent of Miami's U. S. Senators was Calvin S. Brice, who died in 1897. The lower house of Congress nearly always had Miami men in it, so that the task of citing them would be almost as lengthy as to enumerate state legislators, common pleas judges, or plain everyday college professors.

It has been seen how the Civil War broke into the academic calm of Miami, situated as she was so near the border. There were many lads from the South in attendance up to that time, and the University gave freely to both parties in the struggle. Several of our great eastern universities have made much of their patriotic service in the rebellion, commemorating it with Soldiers' Fields and splendid Memorial Halls. But figures show beyond doubt that of all the colleges then active in America, little Miami sent by far the largest proportion of her students and alumni into service. They did service too, even the youngsters fresh from Euclid, in a way of which the state may be always proud. Many of them fought along in the obscurity of the ranks; but a surprisingly large number rose to conspicuous heights.

By the end of the war, half a score of Miami men had attained the rank of General in the Union army. The roster is

worth looking at: Robert N. Adams, Charles E. Brown, Joe Fullerton, Benjamin Harrison, Joseph B. Leake, John W. Noble,

Walk Through Lower Campus.

Ben P. Runkle, Robert C. Schenck, Gates P. Thruston, Durbin Ward. Robert N. Stemble became a rear admiral in the Union navy, and Stephen C. Rowan rose before his death to the rank

of vice-admiral. Humphrey Marshall and "Cerro Gordo" Williams did conspicuous service in the Confederate army, both having the rank of brigadier-general. Samuel C. Smith, class of '36, was surgeon-general for the state of Ohio. Many of these promotions came for deeds of heroism on the field of battle. Other heroic deeds brought no such reward, for the boyish daredevils who performed them lay still and lifeless when the day was done. Millikin and Falconer at Stone River; James H. Childs at Antietam; Joe Battle borne in Confederate gray through the camp at Shiloh: — Miami paid dearly of the bloody toll of war.

Governor Harmon Addressing the Alumni and Students.

Since the stormy '60's Miami has never relaxed for a moment in her large and efficient service for humanity. Perhaps the only difference in the last generation or so is that with the growing divergence of specialized occupations the University has distributed her sons more widely, clinging less closely to the time-honored triad of law, medicine and ministry. Out of the apprenticeship with Blackstone she has developed such eloquent and graceful orators as Samuel F. Hunt and George R. Wendling, as well as the famous law librarian of New York City, William Huffman Winters. In medicine she has produced numer-

ous specialists who have added valuable monographs to scientific knowledge, men like James T. Whittaker and S. C. Ayres. Most famous of her sons in this field is John Shaw Billings, the leading medical librarian of the country, and now at the head of the New York Public Library.

All the arts have found her ably represented, even in these latest years. The artist James Carter Beard, the eminent musician of the northwest Alfred M. Shuey, the critic William Sloane Kennedy, the artist-architect Heistand, the brilliant newspaper and magazine correspondent Edwin Emerson, and the rising young poet and dramatist Ridgeley Torrence, have all of them spent their apprentice years with old mother Miami, and bear evidence to the versatility of her product. Robert B. Stanton and Philip N. Moore, in New York and St. Louis respectively, rank among the first of civil and mining engineers. Business and finance have claimed many of the ablest minds from Miami, among them William Beckett, the pioneer paper manufacturer; A. C. McClurg, founder of the great Chicago Publishing house; John H. Patterson, of National Cash Register fame, and Senator Brice, the railroad magnate.

Some years ago the alumni secretary of the University compiled statistics of the Miami men, producing a table of the deepest significance to all who concern themselves with the possibilities of a small college or have ever questioned the justification of such an institution's existence. The result is appended.

PUBLIC OFFICES.

Presidents of the United States	1
Governors of States	10
Lieutenant-Governors	2
Cabinet Officers	3
Foreign Ministers	5
Attaches and Consuls	1
United States Senators	7
Congressmen	23
State Senators	30
State Representatives	69
Federal, State, County and Supreme Court Judges	53
United States Army Officers with the Rank of Captain and above	66

EDUCATIONAL POSITIONS.

College Presidents	30
College Professors, etc.	76
City and County Superintendents	52
Other Teachers	116

GENERAL OCCUPATIONS.

Teachers	274
Lawyers	327
Ministers	313
General Business	111
Physicians	122
Editors and Journalists	50
Authors	50
Farmers	80
Bankers	13
Manufacturers	17
Engineers	24

At that time the total number of Miami graduates was 1,826.

Thanks to the reader's patience the purpose of this paper is at last accomplished; the task of showing what was really in the hearts of loyal Miami men, as they strolled idly but fondly beneath the elms and walnuts on this recent centennial occasion. The hope is that everyone who worries through the detail may feel with them that the glory of Old Miami is not to have lived one hundred years, but to have survived such hardships and discouragement and to have produced and effected so much.

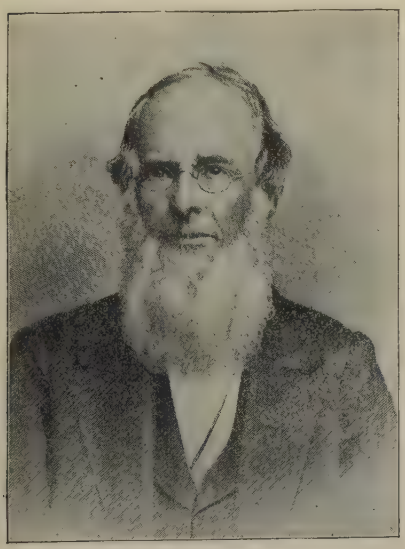
SPIEGEL GROVE

THE HOME OF

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

LUCY ELLIOT KEELER.

Memorials take many forms, and the gift to the State of Ohio, for the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society of that portion of Spiegel Grove, the beautiful homestead of President Hayes, through which runs for a half mile the old Harrison Trail of the War of 1812, is one of the most interesting, commendable and generous gifts of recent years.



SARDIS BIRCHARD.

The deed from Colonel Webb C. Hayes to the State of Ohio for the Harrison Trail State Park, now a portion of Spiegel Grove, conveys about one-half of the Spiegel Grove property and reads: "To have and to hold to the State for the use and benefit of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, so long as the premises shall be maintained as a State park, in which the old French and Indian trail along the Sandusky-Scioto water course from Lake Erie to the Ohio river, later known as the Harrison Military Trail of the War of 1812, shall be preserved in its present location and maintained as a drive, in which the trees, shrubs and flowers now growing in said park shall be preserved and cared for, and together with such

other trees, shrubs and flowers as may hereafter be planted in said park shall be properly marked with the scientific and common names so as to be instructive and interesting to visitors."

Furthermore: "The Grantor reserves the right to transfer the remains of Rutherford B. Hayes and Lucy W. Hayes to the knoll in the premises hereby conveyed in Spiegel Grove, to be placed in a granite block beneath the monument heretofore designed and erected by Rutherford B. Hayes in Oakwood Ceme-

Spiegel Grove Residence from Northeast.

tery, Fremont. The said monument together with such improvements as shall be placed around it shall be preserved and maintained forever, but no building or structure, save the monument, other than a suitable enclosure from the public roads or around the monument, shall be erected in said park without the consent of the Grantor in writing."

In the will made by President Hayes but a short time before his death, he bequeathed, at the request of his children, Spiegel Grove and all the personal property connected therewith to them

to be held in common without sale or division. Five years later, the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, of which President Hayes was the president at the time of his death, issued a confidential circular with a view of securing the property with its valuable library and collections which had been tendered them on the sole condition of raising an endowment sufficient to preserve and care for the property. In this circular the Society said: "This offer of the family is unusual for its liberality, and most worthy of commendation for the filial desire it expresses to perpetuate the memorial to loved and honored parents. The place known as Spiegel Grove is of great historic interest, being located in the old Indian reservation or free territory maintained at the lower rapids of the Sandusky River, for a long time prior to the Revolutionary war. The old Harrison Trail, so called, a military road, leads from Fort Stephenson to Fort Seneca, passes through the Grove and is preserved as its principal driveway. Of all the homes of our twenty-four presidents, covering a period of 110 years, the only ones that have been preserved are those of Washington at Mount Vernon, Jefferson at Monticello, Madison at Montpelier, Jackson at the Hermitage, and Lincoln's modest home in the city of Springfield; but in every case mentioned more or less time had elapsed before the homes were acquired and put in a state of preservation, and few or no personal relics or memorials were secured. Spiegel Grove is now in a perfect state of preservation, and all of the valuable historical effects of President Hayes remain there intact. Unquestionably this is the largest and most complete and perhaps most valuable collection of documents, papers and books ever left by any of our presidents. President Hayes was a great reader and a man of scholarly tastes and attainments. He acquired the finest library of American history perhaps ever owned by any private individual, and during his public life he preserved all papers and memoranda in an orderly and accessible form." The Society, however, did not succeed in raising the required endowment and the entire Spiegel Grove property, library and collections became the property of Col. Webb C. Hayes by deed from the other heirs in the settlement of the estate in 1899, since which time he has maintained it as the Hayes family summer home. Colonel

Hayes became much interested in locating and marking for preservation the old French and Indian trail, the northern half of which was known as the Harrison Military Trail of the war of 1812. This trail extends for over half a mile of its length through Spiegel Grove, and in the numerous conferences with the officers of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society looking to its preservation, the eventual disposition of Spiegel Grove property was again brought up. On October 7, 1908, a formal offer was made by Colonel Hayes "to deed to the State

Winter Scene at Spiegel Grove.

or to your Society, the road or drive in Spiegel Grove now known as the Harrison Trail, together with all the adjacent tract of land (about ten acres) to be forever preserved as a State park." Colonel Hayes added a clause which partially revived the original proposition, "that in the event of your Society securing the erection of a suitable fire-proof building on said Spiegel Grove property, I will transfer to your Society or the State a suitable site therefor in said Spiegel Grove, together with all papers, books and manuscripts left by my father for permanent

preservation in such building," together with his own very large collection; and expressed the desire that eventually all of the Spiegel Grove property, including the residence, should be under the care of the Society, though maintained as the Hayes family home, typical of the American home of the last half of the nineteenth century.

Not only has everything been preserved as it was left by President Hayes at the time of his death, but his son, Colonel Hayes, has added very largely through his indefatigable efforts in collecting articles of military and historical interest gathered not only during his service in the army in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and China; but in his numerous journeyings since leaving the military service in China, the Orient, South America and in several trips around the world. The care of the grounds has likewise received constant attention, interesting trees and shrubs have been planted along the edge of the public highways in such a manner as not to detract from the beauty of the natural grove, but yet screen the highways from the house. The knoll to the south has been carefully planted with appropriate evergreens and deciduous trees and shrubs, including an enormous border of rhododendrons. In order further to add to the privacy of the enclosure on the knoll, it is separated from the remainder of the grove by two little lakes and a running brook with several small waterfalls.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Lower down on the knoll, marked by a great granite boulder in memory of departed war horses of President Hayes and his son, lie the remains of the only war horse of President Hayes

which survived the battles of the war, "Old Whitey, a Hero of Nineteen Battles."

Spiegel Grove, the beautiful twenty-five acre grove of native American trees, is a portion of the historic site of the free city of the neutral nation of the Eries, who three centuries ago built two fortified towns on opposite sides of the Sandusky river. The site of this free city where later the Wyandots (or Hurons) made a village, was on the great natural runway of the earliest French explorers and missionaries and their Indian allies, in passing from the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes to the Ohio and the Mississippi. This old French and Indian Trail was along the westerly bank of the Sandusky-Scioto water course from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. Both passed through the old free city at the lower falls of the Sandusky, the trail extending for over half a mile through Spiegel Grove. This trail was traversed by the early Frenchmen and by French war parties with their Indian allies from Detroit, in their endeavor to expel the British from the Ohio country, and was the common meeting ground of the war parties and exploring parties of both the French from Detroit and the British from Fort Pitt.

Upon the capture of Quebec in 1759 by the British, the French surrendered all their territory in North America, and the British sent out an expedition under Rogers to take over the French forts. Old Fort Sandoské, originally built by British traders in 1745, but destroyed and rebuilt and destroyed again in the contest between the French and the British, was rebuilt and left in command of Ensign Pauli. The great Ottawa chief Pontiac refused to be delivered to the British and organized his great conspiracy which early in the spring of 1763 resulted in "nine of the British forts yielding instantly, Detroit and Fort Pitt alone escaping capture. Sandoské was the first to fall." Captain Dalyell with 260 men marching to the relief of Detroit during its siege by Pontiac, came upon the ruins of old Fort Sandoské, on Marblehead peninsula, July 26, 1763, and furious at the devastation and the sight of the decomposing bodies of Pauli's little garrison he resolved on some measure of retribution. Marching inland to the Huron village on the site of the old neutral town at

the lower rapids of the Sandusky, [now Fremont,] he burned it to the ground, and destroyed the adjacent fields of standing corn.

In the spring of 1764, General Gage, in command of the British forces in America, sent Colonel Bradstreet from Albany and Colonel Bouquet from Fort Pitt to punish Pontiac and his confederates and regain possession of the western forts. Bradstreet's force numbered 1,183, Israel Putnam, later the Revolu-

President and Mrs. Hayes and Hon. William Henry Smith on Porch, Spiegel Grove Residence, Winter of 1888-9.

tionary patriot, being in command of the Connecticut battalion. The present Fremont was the westernmost point reached by this force. The whole army with cannon sailed up the Sandusky river in their unwieldly batteaux, and encamped on the high ground extending from the present site of Fort Stephenson around the bluff to the Fair Grounds, at which latter point and as a protection to the left of his line Israel Putnam constructed fleches and redoubts. Lieut. John Montresor, engineer of the

army, noted in his diary under date of Sept. 22, 1764, that he had that day been to the Huron village destroyed by Dalyell the previous year, and "took sketches and bearings of that advantageous and beautiful situation and the meanderings of the river. Remarked that the left of our encampment is contiguous to the remains of an old fort where the Delawares and some of the western Indians took shelter against the Iroquois near one hundred years ago. This construction is in the form of a circle 300 yards in circumference, one-half defended by the river."

Lucy Webb Hayes.

During the War of the Revolution, Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton were each led captive along this trail through Spiegel Grove. Preceding and following the Revolutionary war more Indian captives were brought here along this trail than to any other place; the Moravian missionaries Zeisberger, Heckewelder and their followers being among the number.

Our next knowledge of Lower Sandusky comes from Captain Samuel Brady the scout, whom Washington sent out for information upon the movements of the Indians of this region, and who, concealed on the island in the river, ever since called Brady's Island, watched the Indians race their horses along the shore. Washington's interest in this locality was great and in 1782 his friend Gen. William Irvine, commandant at Fort Pitt, noted that a British post had been established at Lower Sandusky, giving this place its claim for Revolutionary honors.

The location of this free city was the two mile square tract, now Fremont, which constantly reappeared in the old treaties

between the Indians and the Government. The treaty of Fort Mackintosh, Jan. 21, 1785, reserved "two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of the Sandusky River" in the allotment of lands to the Indians. This "two mile square upon each side of the lower rapids of Sandusky river" was again reserved by the United States in its quit claim to the Indians in its treaty of Fort Harmar, Jan. 9, 1789; and in the treaty of Greenville, from the Indians to the United States of America, Aug. 3, 1795, the Indians ceded "one piece two miles square at the lower rapids of the Sandusky river."

Although by the treaty of peace of 1783, the present boundary line was established between American and British territory, nevertheless the British on the pretext that treaty obligations to the loyalists had not been observed retained possession of Detroit and its outposts, including Lower Sandusky, and from these vantage points kept the Indians in a constant turmoil supporting their claim that the Ohio river was their natural boundary. It was not till after the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, when the great Indian confederacy was crushed, that the British surrendered control of Detroit and its contiguous territory including the two mile square now Fremont. Tarhe, the famous Wyandot warrior who made his home at the lower falls of the Sandusky in the former free city, and who was the first Indian chief to make terms with Wayne, received from him a promise to erect a fort at the lower falls for the protection of himself and the other friendly Indians. On the outbreak of the second war with Great Britain, and after the ignominious surrender of Detroit in June, 1812, the American settlers fled to the Sandusky country, and the old Factor's buildings at the lower falls were transformed into a fort under the direction of Major Wood, one of the first graduates of West Point. In the spring of 1813, this fort was enlarged under the direction of Colonel Stephenson, from whom it received its name, and was gallantly defended on the 1st and 2d of August, 1813, by the youthful hero, Major George Croghan. Gen. W. T. Sherman, in a letter to President Hayes emphasizing the importance of this victory wrote these words: "The defense of Fort Stephenson, by Croghan and his

gallant little band, was the necessary precursor to Perry's Victory on the Lake, and to General Harrison's triumphant victory at the Battle of the Thames. These assured to our immediate ancestors the mastery of the great west, and from that day to this the west has been the bulwark of the nation."

Drawing Room with Glimpse of Mrs. Hayes Reading in Library.

In General Harrison's advance to repel the invading British and Indians, he established forts and depots and constructed a military road following the line of the old French and Indian trail, and the heavy wheels of his wagons have left a clearly defined course which is still easily distinguished in its meanderings

through Spiegel Grove, although nearly one hundred years have elapsed since the present State road was laid out in a direct course, crossing and recrossing the old trail.

In the campaign of 1813, owing to the insecurity of Fort Stephenson, General Harrison selected as his headquarters Fort Seneca, nine miles up the river, whence he could make swift trips to Fort Stephenson, to Fort Meigs on the Maumee, to Huron and Cleveland. During this campaign, all the noted officers of the war of 1812, with the single exception of Andrew Jackson, traveled over this trail. Gen. William Henry Harrison, the victorious commander-in-chief was inaugurated President of the United States in 1841; Col. Richard M. Johnson, of the Kentucky Mounted Riflemen, "the man who killed Tecumseh," was inaugurated Vice President of the United States in 1837; Brig. Gen. Lewis Cass, who commanded a brigade, served as Secretary of State in the cabinet of Buchanan; Governor Meigs of Ohio became Postmaster General in the cabinets of Madison and Monroe; and the venerable Governor Shelby of Kentucky always considered this campaign as the crowning glory of his distinguished career.

Such famous Indians as Nicolas, the renegade Huron chief; Pontiac, Tecumseh, Little Turtle and Tarhe the Crane were frequenters of this old Harrison Trail and occasional residents of this place.

Under the treaty of 1817, the Indian title in Ohio was finally extinguished, and the land opened for settlement. The place now known as Spiegel Grove became a portion of the northwestern quarter of section three in the United States Reserve " Sandusky," which was entered by Josephus B. Stewart and William Oliver. When the patent was executed, however, by Andrew Jackson in 1834, it was to their assignees Jacques Hulburd, one of the first settlers of Lower Sandusky; and to the heirs of Martin Baum. After a partition by these owners, the first transfer was for an undivided half and was made in 1834, by which Sardis Birchard, the uncle of Rutherford B. Hayes, became the owner of about one-half, including Spiegel Grove; and R. P. Buckland, who became a distinguished lawyer and soldier and who later formed a law partnership with Ruth-

erford B. Hayes, became the owner of the remainder; their properties being separated by the old State road from Lower Sandusky (Fremont) to Fort Ball (Tiffin), now known as Buckland Avenue.

Several years after the purchase of the Spiegel Grove tract, Mr. Birchard removed his residence from the village to the country home of Mr. and Mrs. James Valette, in a house built about 1828 and now known as the Edgerton homestead. It is near the site of Colonel Ball's victory over the Indians on the banks of Sandusky river, on July 30, 1813, two days before the assault on Fort Stephenson. It was to this house that Mrs. Hayes brought Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes, of the 23d Ohio, after his partial recovery from his severe wound at South Mountain on the opening of the Antietam campaign in 1862. Mr. Birchard on his way to and from the village daily passed his new purchase, noted the deep woods, its pools of standing water reflecting like mirrors (the German word for Spiegel) the great trees and tangled boughs and swaying vines, listened to the song of birds, the hooting of owls and the mourning of the doves, crooned over the legends of the place, smiled over its traditional ghosts and spooks, recognized many a likeness to the scenes of the German fairy tales dear to his childhood; named it

Original House Before Remodeled. Reunion of 23d Ohio at Fremont, Sept. 14, 1877.

Spiegel Grove and selected it for the future home of his declining years with his nephew, Rutherford B. Hayes.

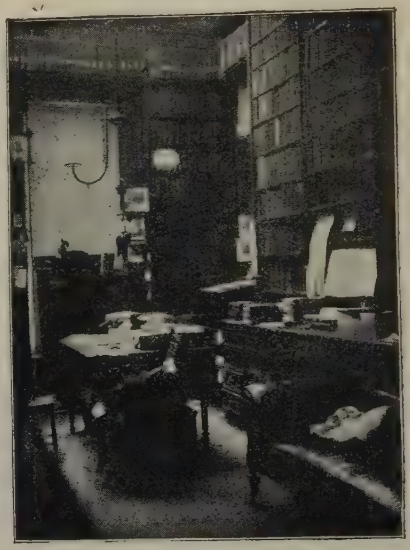
Sardis Birchard, this early patron of Spiegel Grove, was born in Vermont in 1801 and early left an orphan. Upon the marriage of his sister Sophia to Rutherford Hayes, the boy of eleven was adopted and went to live with them, and in 1817 was taken by them from Dummerston, Vermont, to Delaware, Ohio. In 1822 occurred the death of Rutherford Hayes and the birth of his son Rutherford Birchard Hayes, and young Sardis Birchard, then twenty-one years of age, in his turn assumed the care of the family and became the devoted guardian of his sister's son. He never married. He was a man of extensive culture and of the highest social and benevolent qualities. He was active in public and corporate works of progress in northern Ohio — the improvement of navigation, of vessel building, of the Western Reserve and Maumee Turnpike, a national work; also of the Toledo, Norwalk and Cleveland railway of which he was at first the main support. In 1851 he organized a bank which in 1863 he merged into the First National Bank of Fremont, standing fifth on the list of national banks, Mr. Birchard remaining its president. He gave two public parks to the city of Fremont, endowed a public library for the use of the county and gave generously to the First Presbyterian and other churches of the city.

The house at Spiegel Grove was begun by Mr. Birchard in 1859 for the permanent home of his nephew and ward, who owing to his services in the army, in Congress and as Governor of Ohio, did not occupy it till 1873, Mr. Birchard living there until that time and enjoying frequent joyful visits from his nephew and later from the latter's wife and young children.

The original house was a brick structure, two and one-half stories high, surrounded on three sides by a veranda, but in 1873 General Hayes added two frame buildings containing a kitchen and an office and library. In 1880, preparatory to his return home from the White House he built a substantial addition on the north, duplicating the original gabled brick front of the house, and materially remodelled the interior. In 1889 further extensive changes were made, at which time the present

large dining room, kitchens and several upper chambers were added. This date remains memorable in the family because before the alterations were finished the beautiful mistress of the house who had looked forward eagerly to the larger opportunities for hospitality, was stricken and died. Only two rooms of the old house remain intact, the red parlor on the first floor, and the ancestral room directly above it, which had been Mr. Birchard's chamber.

The house has high ceilings, spacious rooms with hardwood floors and many open fireplaces. A veranda eighty feet long and fourteen wide, so arranged as to make thirty-three laps to the mile, extends in front of the whole house. From the center of the large entrance hall one can look up four stories to the observatory, the upper halls forming balconies opposite the stairways. On either side of the front door hang portraits of Sardis Birchard and of George Washington, the latter being an original painting by Gilbert Stuart. The two archways opening from the hall are draped with the regimental flags of Colonel Webb C. Hayes in the war with Spain and in the Philippine insurrection; which take the place of his father's regimental flags of forty years earlier which are now carefully preserved in glass cases. Immediately behind, on a third archway hang the "grandfathers' guns" of the war of 1812, being the old flintlocks used by Rutherford Hayes of Vermont and James Webb of Kentucky. Opposite these a glass case contains the side arms used by General Hayes during the War of the Rebellion; two swords, two pistols, a field glass and an empty revolver holster. General Hayes had drawn his revolver, but lost



The Library.

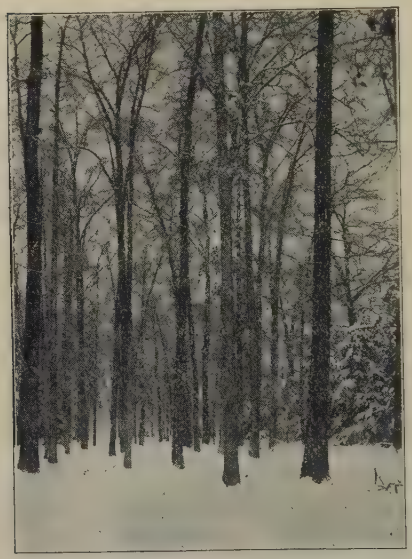
it when his horse was instantly killed and he himself badly injured while rallying his men during the morning surprise of Sheridan's victory at Winchester. Eighteen presidents of the United States, from Washington to Roosevelt, served as soldiers, but none other was wounded, with the single exception of James Monroe when a young lieutenant at the battle of Trenton. General Hayes was wounded in battle six times and had four horses shot under him during his four years' service, 1861-1865. A full-length portrait of General Hayes in the uniform of a Major General hangs in one of the hall niches. The chimney piece in the hall is hung with Indian tomahawks, totems, peace pipes, belts, wampum and mosaics. A silver plate presented to Mrs. Hayes by the soldiers of the 23d Regiment, O. V. I., on the occasion of her silver wedding at the White House, is engraved with the log cabin in which Mrs. Hayes lived for two winters in her husband's camp in Virginia; and with verses inscribed to "Our Mother."

The drawing room opening to the right of the hall is forty-six feet long and connected by an open archway with a library room of the same length, where is stored the fine historical library of President Hayes. This room preserves an atmosphere of homelikeness and comfort and is indicative of the well rounded character and refined principles of the student who arranged it. The many thousand volumes of Americana include apparently everything which has been written. In the drawing room hang life-sized portraits of President Hayes by Brown and of Mrs. Hayes by Andrews, and other choice portraits and landscapes. Books are here too in great profusion, many of them being first editions and invaluable autograph copies. Fine old mahogany furniture, a magnificent Chinese rug and embroideries, a facsimile of the desk on which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence; six great vellum volumes of autographs; a bronze figure of Lincoln and the cast of his hand; seals used by Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Jackson; a cup made from Farragut's flagship, are interesting treasures of this room.

The red parlor to the left of the hall contains a full length portrait of the only daughter of the house, a water color by Turner, oil landscapes by Bierstadt and others.

The bedroom in which both President and Mrs. Hayes died faces the south and overlooks one of the most beautiful parts of the grove. The furniture is of old mahogany, and the books and pictures of Mrs. Hayes remain exactly as arranged by General Hayes after her death.

One of the most beautiful rooms of the home is the large dining room with great windows at each end looking over the lawns. The shelved chimney piece over the large fireplace is devoted to fine examples of old Indian pottery, with elk horns and the skull and jaws of a huge grizzly shot by Colonel Hayes. The two old mahogany sideboards are family heirlooms, descended from the Birchard and the Webb sides of the house respectively; two mahogany serving tables from the White House, purchased during Madison's administration, were bought in at a public sale of discarded furniture in 1881; as was also a handsome secretary, purchased during Lincoln's time and used in the President's cabinet room until its sale with many other interesting relics on the renovation of the White House after the death of President McKinley. Other furniture of the dining room is a Korean cash box, studded with brass swastikas; and a second chest superbly carved, fashioned from cabinet doors brought by Colonel Hayes from Peking. An antique clock which ticks circumspectly near the dining room door was bequeathed to the president by his grandmother and brought hither from the ancestral Hayes homestead in Brattleboro, Vermont. On this clock stands the owl which by dangling on the plumb-bob of the Washington Monu-



Along the Harrison Trail, Spiegel Grove.

ment nearly caused the despair of the engineer in charge, who thought that his foundation had proved insufficient and that the monument was "wobbling."

Scarcely less than the rooms on the first floor, the upper chambers are crowded with historic and beautiful objects. The ebony room contains furniture designed by a cousin, William Rutherford Mead, of the firm of McKim, Mead and White, and purchased by President Hayes for use in his little daughter's room at the White House and to be retained by her as a souvenir. The ancestral room has untold treasures from a colonial and antiquarian point of view; and other rooms are fitted with furniture and hangings collected by Colonel Hayes in the Orient. One of the Oriental rooms contains a Chinese bed, a monumental affair carved, inlaid and paneled with paintings on rice paper; while the Filipino room contains typical Filipino furniture, a console, a peacock dresser, and two canopied cane-bottomed bedsteads.

The Gen. Crook Oak, The Garfield Maple, the Reunion Oaks — Gens. Sheridan, Rosecrans, Comly and Scammon.

Upon General Hayes's personal assumption of the Spiegel Grove property in 1873, he began to improve and beautify the place, preserving and accentuating its natural advantages by clearing out indifferent trees, extending the lawns immediately about the house to let in the sunlight, opening vistas to throw into relief some superb old oak or elm; and planting the hemlock avenue and wind-breaks of spruces and pines. The handsome Japanese cypresses and deciduous trees south of the house were sent thither from the centennial exposition in 1876, being among the earliest of such Japanese importations. General Hayes took particular pleasure in gathering historic trees, among which

were a Napoleon willow, the forebears of which were willows on Washington's grave at Mt. Vernon and Napoleon's at St. Helena; two oaks grown from acorns of the veritable Charter Oak at Hartford, Conn.; and tulip trees from the Virginia home of James Madison. General Hayes would point out to interested visitors storied trees like the one to which the savage Indians bound a captive maiden and built a fire about her when a thunder storm burst and put out the flames. White traders hearing of the outrage sent a swift runner to Detroit to get an order for her release from the Crane, the Wyandot chief; and he returned in time to save the captive. Another tree with a tale is "Grandfather's," an oak with a large hole near its base, under which Mrs. Hayes's father camped one cold night during the war of 1812. The story ran that he and a comrade were sent out to forage for provisions. It was so bitterly cold that they could not make their way back to camp, and building a fire at the foot of this tree slept there in the open. The soldiers in camp had their feet frozen that night, but this pair escaped such disaster. The old musket and hunting horn of this Private James Webb, of the Kentucky Mounted Riflemen, are among the treasures of the house.

West of the residence, in an open field adjoining Spiegel Grove, General Hayes laid out the Lucy Hayes Chapel in young walnut trees, with nave, transepts and tower, — a chapel which he used to say would be worth looking at two hundred years hence.

General Hayes moved the main entrance to Spiegel Grove from a point almost directly in front of the house to its present location at the northern entrance of the Harrison Trail, and laid out the winding driveway to the house. The entrance is further marked by a thirteen inch shell fired by the battleship *Oregon* at Morro Castle in the siege of Santiago de Cuba in the war with Spain, which failing to explode was later presented to Colonel Hayes by Admiral Clark, captain of the *Oregon*.

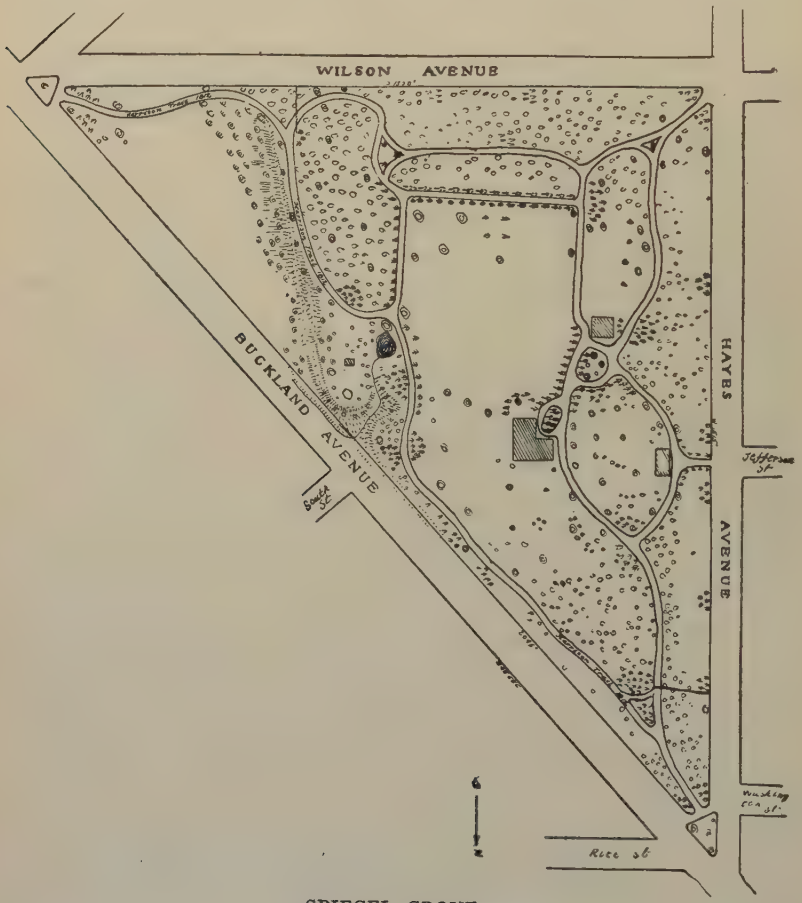
The main drive through Spiegel Grove follows the old Harrison Military Trail of the war of 1812, down which General Harrison brought his troops on his way to Fort Stephenson after Croghan's Victory. The road leaves Spiegel by the southwest

gateway, continuing down to the old French spring, and on to Ball's battlefield, Fort Seneca, Fort Ball (Tiffin) and Upper Sandusky to Franklinton, (now Columbus).

Of the many interesting events which have occurred at Spiegel Grove the more prominent were the meeting and greeting of General Hayes by his old neighbors and friends in Fremont, on the evening of his third nomination for governor of Ohio in 1875, after what he had considered as his permanent retirement from public life. The next year this was followed by another gathering on the occasion of his last visit home prior to his departure from the State capital at Columbus to be inaugurated as president of the United States. Six months later occurred the greatest demonstration in the history of the town, in the annual reunion of his regiment, the 23d Ohio, on the 14th of September, 1877, followed as it was by the dedication of the new City Hall building. During this reunion President Hayes entertained the members of his regiment at a luncheon on a table spread under five of the giant oaks of Spiegel Grove. At this table also was Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, the favorite battle general of the war of the Rebellion; and the four Colonels of the regiment in the persons of Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, E. P. Scammon, Rutherford B. Hayes and J. M. Comly, together with the first lieutenant-colonel, later Justice Stanley Matthews of the Supreme Court. The five oak trees were christened for the five guests. Major William McKinley was the orator of the day, and other speakers included Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite and James R. Garfield, after whom in later years were named

The Cleveland Hickory.

the McKinley oaks, the Chief Justice Waite oak and the Garfield maple, to commemorate visits by them. The finest elm in the grove was christened the General Sherman elm on the occasion of his visit after his memorable trip escorting President Hayes and party to the Pacific coast and the Texan frontier posts. President Hayes was the first chief executive to visit the Pacific coast during his term of office. On the return of President



SPIEGEL GROVE,

Showing Old French and Indian Trail, Sandusky-Scioto Route; Later Known as Harrison Trail, War of 1812.

(Trail Runs Nearly Parallel to Buckland Avenue Over Half a Mile.)

Hayes to Fremont, after leaving the White House, he was greeted most cordially by his fellow townspeople and escorted to his home where he delivered a short address in which he expressed his love for his old home and his neighbors of many years standing. He said in the course of this talk:

"This is a good place to find an answer to the question which is often heard: What is to become of the man, what is he to do, where is his place, who having been chief magistrate of the Republic retires at the end of his term to private life? It seems to me the answer is near at hand and sufficient. Let him like every other good American citizen be willing promptly to bear his part in every useful work that will promote the welfare, the happiness and the progress of his family, his town, his State and his Country. With this disposition he will have work enough to do and that sort of work which yields more individual contentment and gratification than the more conspicuous employment of public life from which he has returned."

The Grandfather Oak on Harrison Trail.

Four years later as president of the Sandusky County Soldiers and Sailors Monument Association, President Hayes presided at an enormous gathering at the exercises of the dedication of the soldiers' monument in Fort Stephenson Park, to commemorate the services of the soldiers of all the wars of Sandusky County, but particularly in memory of Major George Croghan and the gallant defenders of Fort Stephenson on the 2d of August, 1812.

The sudden and unexpected death of President Hayes's beloved wife, June 21st, 1889, came as a great shock not only to himself but to the community at large, and a great number of friends gathered at Spiegel Grove to show their respect and love.

His comrades of the 23d Ohio, serving as guard of honor, marched down the old Harrison Trail en route to Oakwood Cemetery. A little less than four years later, another great concourse gathered at Spiegel Grove out of respect to the departed soldier and statesman. Chief among the mourners was the ex-President and now again President-elect, Grover Cleveland, who made the long journey in the midst of furious winter storms to show his frequently expressed admiration and regard. With President Cleveland in the red parlor, were gathered also members of the cabinet who represented President Harrison; Generals Corbin, Breckenridge and Luddington, who represented the United States Army; Gov. William McKinley of Ohio and the State officers and members of the Ohio Legislature; the official representatives of the Loyal Legion of which President Hayes was commander-in-chief; and representatives of many other military, literary, educational and philanthropic organizations with which he was connected. A deep snow covered the ground, trees and shrubbery, so that the scene was a most strikng one, to which the gaudy coloring of the military trimmings, indicative of the different arms of the military service added much to make it a scene long to be remembered.

The Taft White Oak — Spiegel Grove.

Four years after the death of President Hayes, his former regimental comrade and aide, William McKinley, as President of the United States, was an honored guest at Spiegel Grove on the occasion of the marriage of Fanny, the only daughter of the house to Ensign Harry Eaton Smith, United States Navy. On the following day the reunion of the 23d Regiment was for the second time held at Spiegel Grove. Mrs. McKinley and the ladies invited to meet her occupied sofas and chairs on the roof

of the broad veranda, from which they looked down on the speakers' stand constructed around a group of five white oaks, since called the McKinley oaks, from which stand President McKinley and other prominent men spoke.

On the 90th anniversary of the Defense of Fort Stephenson, Aug. 1st, 1903, a memorial tablet was dedicated on Fort Stephenson, and the George Croghan Chapter, D. A. R. held a reception at Spiegel Grove in honor of Mrs. Charles W. Fair-

Funeral of President Hayes — Procession from Spiegel Grove to Oakwood Cemetery.

banks, the president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and Mrs. O. J. Hodge the State Regent. An address was delivered by the Hon. C. R. Williams, of Indiana. An elm was planted on the knoll by the Daughters, and ivy from Warwick Castle on one of the great oaks by the Colonial Dames of Toledo. Again on Aug. 2d, 1906, the remains of Major George Croghan were reinterred at the foot of the monument erected in his honor on Fort Stephenson Park, and the grave

covered with myrtle taken from the family burying ground at Locust Grove, near Louisville, Kentucky, where Croghan had been originally interred after his death in 1849. Addresses were made at Fort Stephenson by the Hon. Chas. W. Fairbanks, Vice President of the United States; Gov. A. L. Harris of Ohio, and others, after which a public reception was held in their honor at Spiegel Grove.

Funeral of President Hayes — Troop A, O. N. Guard, Capt. J. B. Perkins.

Just before starting on his speaking campaign during the presidential canvass in 1908, Judge William H. Taft and his charming wife (who as Miss Helen Herron had been a frequent visitor at the Hayes home both in Ohio and at Washington) came to spend a day at Spiegel Grove as the guests of Colonel Hayes, the present owner. They were conveyed from the landing place at Port Clinton, on Lake Erie, in automobiles to Fort Stephenson, and then on to Spiegel Grove, where they were entertained

at luncheon and in looking over the old house. Judge Taft was advised by his host of the custom of naming trees after distinguished visitors, and after having had pointed out to him the General Sherman Elm, the Cleveland Hickory, the Garfield Maple and the McKinley Oak, he was invited to select his tree. He promptly advanced to one of the grandest oaks in the Grove, immediately in front of the mansion, and placing his hand upon it said with a Taft smile: "This is about my size!" since which time the tree has been known as the Taft Oak.

Col. Webb C. Hayes.

The Cleveland hickory was also named by the laying on of hands. On the occasion of the attendance of President Cleveland at the funeral of President Hayes, the family carriage horses became somewhat fractious owing to the crisp air and the music of the bands, so that as President Cleveland was about to enter the carriage the horses made a plunge forward. President Cleveland temporarily alighted and while the horses were being brought under control he placed his right hand upon a thrifty shell-bark hickory, thereupon deemed especially appropriate to be named in honor of the great Democrat.

On October 18, 1908, the occasion of the annual State Conference of the Ohio Daughters of the American Revolution, a brilliant reception was held at Spiegel Grove. During the summer months ever since the return of President and Mrs. Hayes from Washington, in 1881, Spiegel Grove has been the scene of many delightful gatherings of their guests, and this custom has been continued to the present time. Since the inauguration of the National Rifle contests at Camp Perry, on Lake Erie, the visiting teams, especially the members of the teams representing the army, navy and marine corps have been frequent visitors for week-end parties during the period of the contests.

Thus there is no absence at Spiegel Grove of that tradition which Ruskin thought would "rob your rivers of their laughter and your flowers of their light." Nature and artifice, working hand in hand, have stamped beauty and story upon its every detail. One feels that the influence of the early denizens of the place still haunts it; that over house and grounds broods a spirit of beautiful other days when a sturdy man and a lovely woman who had received the highest honors in the land lived there, leaving behind them traditions of gracious manners, high ideals and noble characters as a legacy to their children, their townspeople and countrymen. Of memorial parks such as Spiegel Grove this land has all too few.

Spiegel Grove Residence.

OHIO: A LEGEND.

D. TOD GILLIAM.

An Aviator sailing through the skies,
'Tis said, in quest of Paradise,
Checked suddenly his rapid flight,
And gazed in rapture at the sight,
That burst upon his startled eyes,
And held him speechless in surprise.
Quoth he, at length, his sense regained,
"My long sought purpose is attained,
If Paradise exist below,
This surely must be it I know;
'Tis Paradise or Ohio."

"I've sailed the skies of every clime,
I've seen the beautiful, sublime,
But never in my wanderings wide,
O'er solid earth or ocean's tide,
Has such a realm of mortal bliss,
Filled sense and soul replete like this.
'Tis one or t'other — that I know,
'Tis Paradise or Ohio."

"There's naught in space to block the view,
'Twixt green-clad earth and heaven's blue,
Save fleecy, flowing wraith-like shrouds,
Of erstwhile tumbling summer clouds.
Mellow light, the perfumed air,
Birds of plume, flowers rare,
Birds of song with swelling throat,
Pulsing lays of sweetest note,
Crystal streams, the singing brook,
Sunlit plains, the shaded nook,
Verdant hills, the fleecy flock,
Bubbling springs, the mossy rock,
From all I've heard and seen I know,
'Tis Paradise or Ohio."

Columbus, Ohio.

AUTO-SKETCH OF CHARLES WILLIAMS.

[Charles Williams was the first white settler — so claimed — in what is now the city of Coshocton. Mr. Williams settled there in the spring of 1800, the town being laid out the next year. For a season or two prior to his locating at Coshocton, Mr. Williams had grown a crop of corn on "the prairie" four miles up the Walhonding River. Mr. Williams was a typical pioneer, and his sketch written by himself is of special interest because giving not only glimpses of the early life of those days, but of the average education of the early settlers. This reminiscence was written by Mr. Williams in an old account book in the year 1831 and was copied by James R. Johnson, of Coshocton, from the original manuscript now in the hands of Joseph Mizer of Bloomfield, Ohio. The article as herewith printed gives the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization of the original manuscript. The words in brackets being interpolations of the — EDITOR.]

Charles Williams is 67 yars last October 16 1830. October 1779 stared from fiten [fifteen] mill [mile] Creek in Marland Crost the monten barfooted Cam to plas Calend brush run 7 mills west of now Cald Washanten town thar I staid under my fathers Control in the sprink of 1781 the ingens tok a famly and kild som about one mill off in the sam spring my father moved to Cox fort thar I lived hard biled wheat and Corn in slats homney in the fall lived very will on Cashaws and punkens and milk gord Cupes horn spouns or wood ingens kilen and taken all most evey weak som bodey I then beCam abiel to Carey a gun foled [followed] nothing god [good] was not thout of hardly

In 1783 I went in the Countery with my father on Cross Crek 3 mills [from] the fort in a short tim I beCam a hunter kild bars and dayar [deer] and every other thing all most afer som tim I went to my self the ingens kild one yanky in my haring then wee rased about 20 man and foled [followed] them and over hold [overhauled] the ingens in Suger Creek pans [plains] at the moth [mouth] that I kild one I think and wee got the Whit mans bibel and a dead [deed] for som land went hom saife I think the yare 1784 Crost the river when I under stand that

thar was but eight man parsons in the stat of Ohio after som tim I engaged in the rangen bisnes

then very trublsom tims lived hard but ease [easy] then I [was] mared to a garl Susana Carpenter I had to steel hur a way and wee was pour [poor] onabel to get lisens fer w[a]nt of mony but all Cam right thar was a jestes of the pes [peace] in virginy and hee agead to mary mee for a buck skin and we went over the river in Ohio thar wee got mared on a big roCk in the woodes som barfooted went hom had a fine dans breeCh Clout and som barfooted then nothing but a wyfe then wee and my fren [friend] went to the wodes and dug gensang and bout [bought] som small housel [household] funtery [furniture] and lived hapey

Then I bored [borrowed] a old Cors bentiCk [bedtick] and shee fild it with Cut huskes as wee was young you mout of hard it som small distens

in the next winter I lost my mare by Caring a havy lod of meat then nothing but my gun and dang then moved over the river in Ohio in the yare 1787 I think then in the rangen bisens [business] foled [followed] the ingens and hunted for a liven Severl yars all hapey very trulsom tims with the ingens I lived at a plas Caled Carpenters Stashen 1 mill of Short Creek wee had fine tims nothing to doy but dans and ete homney and gard our selves then after som yars I thout I wold quit all and goy [go] to work and went down the river to plas Cald man-Chaster in this stat and thout I wold werk fer my livn and begun to werk to rase a Crop but not ben thar long on till a party of man Com thar going after som prisners that was taken on salt (?) river in CantuCk about thirty wiman and Children nothing wold doy but I must goy with them and at last a gred to goy with them and went and the sebent day fell in with a party of ingens and ataCked them and kild purhapes three I think I shout one and hee was a wyt man raised with the saveges from a child and was going to wer [war] then to the moth of Siothe [Scioto] to tak bots [boats] to get propety and kill the pepel as hay had taken many boats thar in the abov ataCk I lost one man kiled fell agenst mee the name of Joseph Jones a

a fine solger 4 of our party thout w[e] wold run in the Camp with our horsus and tomhCks [tomahawks] and did so and lost Jones it was in the night Jon[e]s was not yit out of breth when I left him but wee had to run fer our one [own] safty as wee thout thar was som more ingens near by sur a nuff it was so and returnd hom thout still to qu[i]t but in short tim the engens tuCk three horses from me then my ambashen was raised aganst them and started with the survars [surveyors] that was going to survay the vurgina millary land be end siothe [Scioto] and laid out with ot fiar [fire] I think sixty oud nites with one blanket the grater part of the tim snow Cook Cuper [supper] night gether brush keep a way the snow and lay my brush or bark as it wase open my b[l]anket and put on dry sokes and moCksens thar sleep very will about half sound expeten what mit fall on us that night

Afer being out fer som tim we met a ingen in the wodes as the survar was runen a line and the ingen run of and wee getherd to gether all our fors wiCh was I think 21 most part young lades puhapes ten or a 11 with guns in the morning after breCkfest wee started with intant to serch the Camp but mist it a litel but fall on thar trail found it to meny for us our Compnay very mush a larmed on the Count of the young lades thenel Masay [Nathaniel Masey] was with us he Wod not agree to lut us ataCk them then still I was put before went about tow mills thar wee found a trayl of about 8 ingens I told Masey that wee wold folow them as thay went our Cours then he tuCk the care [?] to push up fer fair of what was bee hind at soun down wee Cam whar the ingens was Ca[m]ped fer the night we soon got ther horses CeChed up and wated on till dark then mee and 4 more was to atak the Camp

Creted [crept] up within few feet and fiard on them kiled two the rest run of all but naChed wee went fast fer hom fer fare of what wee had past that day wee went about 4 mills thar had [stayed] all nit and Cooked and eat then fer hom kild two baflows got hom next day All saif lived with out bread then I thout I wold goy with Antny Wayen [Anthony Wayne] and started got with him at Sansnata [Cincinnati] ther I was giv 2

dollars a day fer to goy about 12 mill ot [out] to tak Car of Catel fer the yeus of the army very dangers fe far of the ingens as thay was plenty waChen the army after som tim I got werd from hom that my wyfe was very seCk and went hom then I was ofered one hundred and fifty dollars to tak a man by the nam of William MCdanel [McDaniel] left his bad in Washanten County range narly three hundred mills up the river in the ded of winter river high got him thar saif dangers tims eat posems and rakoons meat after som tim returnd hom found my wyfe very low in the spring moved to peas of land whiCh I had bout on brush Creek with a famly with mee by the name hogland and he did [died] a short tim after then I moved baCk in the statshen when wee was at the land it was very dangers [dangerous]

After som tim I moved up the river whar I Cam from Carpnters Stashon Short Creek then had money 2 horses then fees with the ingens I thout I wold pay them up fer what dameg thay had dun to mee steling horses and foling [following] thee menmy mills went out to New Cumars town thar I and 3 more parsons fell in with 30 or 40 ingens giv them a small Cagg of whiskey and keep one to trad on thay got putery [pretty] high soon and Cam to tak my bread and got hold of the bagg and run but I soon over hald him and tuck it way from him soon after they Com to get more whisky and I sold them for one dollar a quart 1 third water

Then I was paying them up in 2 or 3 day I got dun traden and went hom in fin hart thinken what I wold doy next trip soon started out with severl horses loded with artlehles fer trad one horse lode with whiskey as it wold make nearly 2 hors lodes Com to the Camp plenty of ingens thar hungery fer trad I mad a good trad fer my self thar I found a man one named robart higguns and the inguns and mee got a old woman willian to marey him then the buckes foot [bucks foot] and corn was handed about and the mareg was over wee put them to bed on a bar skin then I started home mad a good trad tuck som ingens with mee Cam hom my father and law had been taken prisner and wonded [wounded] very angry at them hard work to save them but did it sold of my trad very well and lived high plad

Cardes pines and run horses spent it as fast as I mad it but tuCk good Car of my famley som tims I layd sporting with in six mills all weak spend all spent a gan in the spring I tuCk my brouthern law with mee tuCk plenty of trad seshily [especially] whiskey as it was good trad that wold sell when Cash and all skins was gon fer the leest of Clothen full of lyse wash them up seel them agan to them that had skins then the ingens got very troublsom wanted to tak my whisky and I fout fer it and Carpnter left mee a lone hard tims but savd my propety had none taken but hard work to save it

in a few days sold all out get sobert and I pint fer hom about fiften or twenty went hom with mee then I begun to understand them a litel mad trad esery fer mee I traded eight yars with them and my wyfe under stout them before I was dun trading Then after som tim in next fall I thout to move to the muskingum salt spring whar Chandlers mad salt then started over the Ohio to the Moth of Muskingum then up to the salt werks on the way got the oage [ague] had it 2 month or thar abouts landed at dunkens falls thar was about thirty or more ingens waten fer mee I had a barel of whiskey fer them soon thay got drunk thar I was now parson but my wyfe and 3 children My hands was gon up to the salt werks in the night wee had to mov our bad and barel of whiskey seven tims that night to keep from being robed [robbed] as thay outways found us day lit Com at last I had hard werk to save all but did so aftur som tim in the day my hans Com fer mee stol [stole] of the barel of whiskey started it left it out in the wodes Cam baCk fer the famly started in bout 2 mills I tuCk siCk and left mee under a tree thout a blanket over mee up Com a very hard rain on mee not abel to get up in the even the Com fer mee with a horse went about 4 mills thar Com to my wyfe and children now shalter exept a small ten hard tims no parsen to werk I siCk laid so fer about 2 month with out bread or eny thing but meet very hard winter after som tim I got abel to go after som purvishen peChed [purchased] severl hors lods and lod of bouns had to paCk it about 80 mills deep snow no road got hom grat joy bouns and bread thar was som yong man that had ben traden with the ingens thay Cam to see us and ingens all very dry sought to hav

a froliCk and had one I had to keep very study all got putery high salman MCloCh [Solomon McCullough] and William Morsen [Morrison] Cut a hole in the is [ice] or it was Cut poked one ingen in it I run and tuCk him out but that tim thay had striped one more all but one legen and breeCh Clout he brok and run to the wodes stayd all night deep snow very Cold mee and my wyfe foling [following] him but Cold not over tak him in the morning hee Cam baCk not frose laid under a bank whar was a spring saved his lif at the next night the yankes plaid a triCk on one of our band this sam two san man got hold of one of ther man got a rop round his neCk swere that they wod draw him up the Chimney I abaid haird them spok to them and leet him go in a few days bound [bands] all gon all quait my nabers ingens but in short tim I had 2 nabers whit parsens William MCleCh [McCulloch] and hanery Crookie thin I mad money makin salt and keepen purvishen fer traverles spent it all by Coutin [cutting] road to keep the road by my house spent all then sold out and moved to Whitwoman thar the ingens Cam robed [robbed] mee all outher [other] bast [best] Clous from under my head thay stole my hors and severl more I went with the oners [owners] of the horses and got 2 baCk [back] agan then thay stole more hor[s]es I felt very willing to foling [following] them tuCk 2 ingens with mee and started over hald one that stol my Clous and hee had plad [played] all away at MoCksen [a game] the chief told mee to tak him bit I thout it best to leve him thay ingens had sent baCk the hors that hee had stolen to whar I lived then next morning started Cam to plas Caled hilltoun a small ingen toun thar treted very well no newes of stoling propety next moring went on to low sanduskey thar I found them very mush alamed on the Count [account] of two ingens that had stolen 2 horses and three man had fold [followed] them and kild them both the mans nam was eles houges [Elias Hughes] John rattep John blan [Bland] at sanduskey the ingens had a feest about thre hundred was thar I mad

I thout my Chans bad but luCk or nothing I bolted up in the Midle of them tole the chief what was my arent that was to return the horses and quit steling them that wold not bee no more kild then He agread to giv all the horses up and I got

eight or nine hom and the oners got them that put a stop to horstiling with the ingens to this day 1831. Then I had the age [ague] for nine month all most every day. Then I moved to CoshoCkton hair I lave 32 yars. Then I thout I wold try to mak sonthing to live on in my old days. Keep a large stoCk somtims th[r]ee hundred, somtims lees [less] and tarven fer about 28 yars Mad money on all sides very pushen drove hogges and Cattel fer severel yars before I left the salt werkes the ingens roobd my wyfe of one Cagg of Whiskey stole 2 horses when I was a way from hom Com hom and foled them with 2 more man with me over hald them on Whitman [Whitewoman] river that I mad all right with them this was in pees time I think I was gon five days Now I goy on as I rember wee was the hapest pepel in the world when ontill our Countery was fild with ireash and yankes other spaklen [speeking] davels thay got between the pepel then it was a grat thout to get very [every] man what hee CoCld [could] opene [oppose] one another geten worse tha plarsh [?]

Thar fais with religen now makes them wers about fiften yers I was about 21 yers I think I had my hous burnt and 2 children one of my one [own] one of my brouther [brother] Sams and lost every thing but a meat trifel left naChed in about one month I was doing bisnes as good as ever keepen tarven and drawing after a tim the last war Com on I [t]hout I must see what was g[o]ing on at huls [Hulls] serander I was orderd out with one hundred man or thar abouts went on to Mansfield beefore I got thar I had som trubel with the ingens to tell What thay wold doy [do] go to the briCh [British] or goy to over arme and My man kild one then thay Com to us after a day or two stooped at Mansfield in few day the ingens Com with in few mills and kild 2 old parsons man and wyfe I [t]hink thay was 70 or upwards and there dauter and one mor man I and for or five more went whar thay was kild found them all kild and sColpt in the Corse of the day thay was bared [buried] no cofens [coffins] in few days Com about 15 or 20 ingens Whar thar was a famle and som miltare man about one mill of Whar thay kild the outhers and kild I think 4 parsons I siCk at this tim sent 20 man after them but could not overhall them after

a month I was orderd hom with my man and still thout I must see more of the war I started out in the winter to see harson [Harrison] I keep about the arme with Generel harsen went a Cross the lake to malden then I was put before with a boat and a few man with mee to roay [row] a Cronas [across] after two days wee landed then I went frunt of the armey to detroit thar was a grat runing of what ingens that was thar to the woodes after som tim I Com hom and in the yare 1814 I was eleCted to lagater and my elexon was Contested and sent hom Com hom and WOS sent baCk I then under tuCk keepin store with a Jonsten [Adam Johnston his son-in-law].

Thar lost a grat deel hee was two hard fer mee as I plast all my Confendes in him hee used mee up purty hard after som tim I qu[i]t keepin store keept tarven and farmed rased Cattel and hoges mad money but had had luCk in hoges at one time eight hundred at one other tim near two thousent and so on ontill I ogt [got] behind so that I have had hard werk to this day August 25. 1831 I was ataCked by every stinkin up start that cold Com to ur Counterey I ben a man of strong mind but no larnen fough[t] it to the last som of them the durtest squrndens [scoundrels] in the world

GRANT TABLET DEDICATION.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR ANDREW L. HARRIS.

[At Point Pleasant, Ohio, the birth place of Ulysses S. Grant, there was dedicated on Wednesday, October 2d, 1907, a tablet to the memory of the great general and president. Many distinguished citizens participated, and of the several speeches, that of Governor Harris was especially in sympathy with the occasion. — EDITOR.]

On this occasion I am doubly honored. It is my privilege to respond to an inspiring address of welcome from Clermont county's most eminent lady of letters, who is justly regarded throughout our country as one of the most accomplished writers in her department of literature, Mrs. Eliza Archard Connor. I am at the same time here by your invitation to participate in the exercises incident to the dedication of a monument that shall fittingly mark the birthplace of the most distinguished native of Clermont county and one of the most distinguished military chieftains of the Republic and the world. For this rare opportunity which, through your kindness, comes to me as chief executive of the native state of Ulysses S. Grant, I most cordially thank you. For your generous welcome I can make no adequate response. You have made us feel that we are indeed at home in your midst, that as something more than guests we share with you in the consecrated services of this hour. The honor is heightened by the presence of Generals Corbin and Grant, two of our most eminent soldiers, whose participation in these exercises is most fitting and welcome.

Words cannot add to the fame of him whose memory we honor in this enduring tablet. His eulogies have been said. The story of his achievements is familiar to every American. A cadet at West Point in his seventeenth year; four years later a graduate from that institution; a lieutenant in the Mexican War with promotion for distinguished services in the battle of Molino del Rey and Chapultepec; presiding officer of the first union meeting in Galena, Ill.; in rapid succession and for demonstrated merit,

colonel, brigadier general and major general of volunteers, major general of the regular army, and lieutenant general and general of the armed forces of the United States. Paducah, Ft. Henry, Ft. Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Petersburg, Richmond, Appomattox,— these are the steps by which he rose in the nation's supreme crisis to the proud position of first soldier and triumphant defender of the Republic.

I shall not dwell upon his public career. I leave that to Judge Swing, the eminent jurist who is to follow me in the address of this occasion. General Grant was an Ohio man in something more than is indicated by his birth in this village, on the 27th of April, 1822.

It is reported that some time after his death, a number of military men who had fought on both sides in the Civil War were discussing a question that has been raised in regard to almost every one who has risen to great fame,— whether the eminence attained was the result of good fortune of unusual ability. Among the number was the Confederate general, S. B. Buckner, of Ft. Donelson fame. One of the officers observed that it was only the opportune or unusual ability.

"But," said Buckner, "he was a near man."

Another bystander remarked that there was nothing transcendent in the genius of Grant and that any one of a score of officers that might be named would have done equally well under like circumstances.

"But," remarked Buckner again, "you must remember that Grant was a near man."

A few questioning glances were directed toward the Confederate chieftain, but the conversation continued. Grant's operations about Richmond were freely criticised.

"But," interrupted Buckner, "for all that, Grant was a very near man."

"What do you mean when you say that he was a near man?" asked one of the critics.

"Why," replied Buckner promptly, "when I found that I could not longer hold Ft. Donelson, Grant was right there to receive my 'unconditional surrender.' When Pemberton, with his exhausted army, was compelled to capitulate at Vicksburg,

Grant was on hand to receive his sword. When Lee yielded to the inevitable and his devoted followers were ready to lay down their arms at Appomattox, Grant was in the immediate vicinity to stipulate the terms. He was a very near man."

The more we study the series of events that brought him enduring fame, the more fully we shall appreciate this truth: By nature and training and experience he was fitted for his career of illustrious achievement. His victories were not the result of chance; there are no chance victories.

In an altogether different sense, as we shall realize in the perusal of the simple story of his early life, Grant was a near man — near to us — by lineage and birth and the moulding influence of environment a typical Ohioan. It is proper for us to recall on this occasion that he was ours by more than the accident of birth. His father came to the Western Reserve about four years before Ohio was admitted into the Union. This father learned his trade in the tannery of Owen Brown, the father of John Brown. As they worked together and talked at times of the evils of slavery, little did they dream of Harper's Ferry and Appomattox; little did they think that their sons would figure so prominently in the history of their country, that one should inaugurate and the other triumphantly conclude a war for the liberation of a race. Jesse Grant brought to this little village on the banks of the Ohio the thrift, industry and virtue of New England,— the fortitude, courage and hope of the pioneer. Here his son, whose memory we honor, first saw the light of day. Not far from here in an adjoining county, he grew up to young manhood. His father owned and operated a tannery. Nothing can surpass in interest his own simple narrative of his youthful days:

"In my early days," says he, "every one labored more or less in the region where my youth was spent. While my father carried on the manufacture of leather and worked at the trade himself, he owned and tilled considerable land. * * * I was fond of agriculture and of all employment in which horses were used. We had, among other lands, fifty acres of forest within a mile of the village. In the fall of the year choppers were employed to cut enough wood to last a twelve-month. When I was

seven or eight years of age, I began hauling all the wood used in the house and shops. I could not load it on the wagons, of course, at that time, but I could drive, and the choppers would load and some one at the house unload. When about eleven years old I was strong enough to hold a plow. From that age until seventeen I did all the work done with horses, such as breaking up the land, furrowing, plowing corn and potatoes, bringing in the crops when harvested, hauling all the wood, besides tending two or three horses, a cow or two, and sawing wood for stoves, while still attending school."

How typical the young life here set forth in clear and simple outline. Like Washington and Lincoln, Grant grew up close to the great heart of nature. Manual labor was his lot from early childhood. He experienced the enervating influence of neither luxury nor poverty. He was a conspicuous example of what could be accomplished with the opportunities of his day and generation,— a product of the social conditions prevailing in our state in its first half century.

Over the southern Ohio hills he followed the plow; in the primæval forest he swung the ax and drove the team; here he tended the flocks, cultivated the crops and helped to gather the harvests in; through the meadows, by the winding stream and under the open sky, with other bare-foot lads he wandered far on excursions of joy and freedom. Here he developed the traits of character that crowned his illustrious career. Duty called to other states and his ashes now rest in the metropolis of the Republic, but by birth and nature he was ours. In this state he remained until called to West Point, and to the close of life his thoughts turned in loving memory to the Ohio farm where his "youth was nurtured and sustained."

It was but natural, when this farmer lad had reached the hour of his supreme triumph, that he should wear his honors with becoming modesty, that he should be magnanimous toward a vanquished foe, that he should say to the Confederate chieftain at Appomattox, "I will instruct my officers who receive the paroles to allow the cavalry and artillery men to retain their horses and take them home to work on their little farms."

Ohio has long pointed with pride to her galaxy of illustrious sons. To the Republic and the world she has furnished her quota of writers and inventors and orators and jurists and statesmen and warriors. To-day we honor him who stood first among the military chieftains of his time —

> Whose life in low estate began
> And on a simple village green.

To the humblest youth of our land his life is an inspiration. From the furrows of the field he rose to pre-eminence.

> Our greatest, yet with least pretense,
> Great in council and great in war,
> Foremost captain of his time,
> Rich in saving common sense,
> And as the greatest always are,
> In his simplicity sublime.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XVIII. No. 3. E. O. Randall JULY, 1909.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST BATTLE GROUND.

For many years it had been the ardent desire of the Editor to traverse the country of the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny, where the youthful Washington began his diplomatic career, entered his military life, received his baptism of fire, won his spurs in battle, met his first defeat and succumbed to his only surrender; experiences that taught him his preparatory lessons in the science of statesmanship and the art of warfare. A few days snatched from the busy mid-summer just passing, gave the Editor his longed-for opportunity.

It is but a two hours' whirl on the railway from Pittsburg, the old-time Fort Duquesne, up the course of the Youghiogheny to Connelsville, the route, if one so chooses, carrying the traveler through West Newton, the location selected by the original Ohio Company for the building and launching of the galley "Adventure," the Ohio Mayflower. From Connelsville the traveler speeds on southwestward to Uniontown, passing the while, a station called "Gist's," the site of the one-time home of the famous Indian trader, guide, pioneer diplomat, Ohio Company's agent, Christopher Gist, often the companion and always the friend of Washington. In this commonplace journey one realizes that one is in the land of historic memories, but the country, now thickly crowded with busy villages and noisy towns, all united and interwoven by a net-work of steel threads for steam and electric railways, does not remind one of the descriptions of the Indian inhabited river banks and mountain sides, thicket fringed and forest covered. At Uniontown, however, one does to some extent, bid farewell to the disillusion wrought by modern civilization. The Editor and his companion, in comfortable carriage, were driven at once into the wildness and beauty of the valleys and hills of the Laurel range, which finds its southwestern termination in Fayette county. The route followed was the National highway, the modern, improved, *edition de luxe,* of the old Washington road, extending from Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.) to Brownsville, present site of the ancient Redstone store house of the Ohio Company on the Monongahela. Washington's road, now mostly in its course paralleled by the National Road, was originally, in this section, the path hewn through the forest and thicket by the Delaware Indian, Nemacolin. It was over this route that Washington passed with Gist and servitors in the winter

of 1753 on his errand for Governor Dinwiddie to the Ohio Forks and Logstown and thence up the Allegheny to Venango and Le Boeuf, where he met the French embassy, the negotiations however amounting to naught. It was this same route that the young Virginian soldier passed over, in the spring of 1754, from Will's Creek, to pre-empt the occupation of the Ohio Forks by the building of a fort that was to command the entrance of the Ohio Valley, an enterprise previously assigned to Captain William Trent. But Trent and his fort builders were overpowered by the French forces who suddenly swooped down upon the Virginia soldiers, and put them to flight. Then Dinwiddie, the royal governor of the Virginia province, appointed the boy Washington, for he was scarcely twenty-two, commander of three military companies, and despatched him to the Forks, over that same Nemacolin's Path. The story of that unique and adventurous campaign has been told time and again in standard American histories, by Sparks, Irving, Bancroft, Parkman, Avery, and most recently by Hulbert in his "Historic Highways." But Washington's own report and letters at the time are our surest authority. The young and intrepid commander, then a lieutenant colonel and adjutant general of the northern division of Virginia, with some three hundred frontier soldiers, set out from Will's Creek, late in April (1754). He slowly but boldly pushed along into the wilderness of the mountainous region of southern (now) Pennsylvania, then claimed as part of Virginia. They had to literally work their way inch by inch; the trail had to be widened and leveled, trees had to be felled, underbrush cut away, creeks bridged or forded; it was the tedious and difficult advance through a primitive forest. They had proceeded some fifty miles toward their destination, when they reached the region of the Laurel ridge. Indian out-runners from Washington's old friend, Tanacharisson, the half-king of the Delawares, arrived to warn the colonial commander to be on his guard as a party of the French were advancing from the Forks, where after the abandonment by Trent, they had built Fort Duquesne. Such indeed was the case; the French force was paddling its canoes up the Monongahela to the mouth of Redstone Creek.

Washington, not to be entrapped unprepared, took a position at a place called the Great Meadows, on a branch of Great Meadows Run, at the foot of Laurel Hill, a situation Washington described as "a charming field for an encounter." Here he cleared the underbrush, threw up an entrenchment, made ready to defend himself and awaited results. Gist arrived from his home, some ten miles north, to tell Washington that La Force in command of fifty French soldiers were only a few miles away and rapidly approaching. The Delaware half-king with a band of friendly Indians, hurrying to the aid of the English, sent a scout to inform Washington that the French detachment was in his (Half-King's) vicinity, only about six miles from the Great Meadows. Washington immediately chose a contingent of forty men, leaving the rest to guard the camp, and set off to join the Half King. The intervening

distance lay over one of the steep hills of the Laurel ridge. The only path was an Indian single trail, through a dense woods. Washington's diary states: "I set out with forty men before ten [P. M.] and it was from that time till near sunrise before we reached the Indians' camp, having marched in small paths through a heavy rain and a night as dark as it is possible to conceive; we were often tumbling over one another, and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes' search could not find the path again." This march of five miles required ten hours, a weary, wet drag at the rate of a mile in two hours. Hulbert, who made a minute study of the route, says: "Beside this all-night march from Great Meadows to Washington's Spring, Wolfe's ascent to the Plains of Abraham at Quebec was a pastime." And after viewing both localities the Editor is ready to confirm the comparison. Our drive took us from Great Meadows over this Laurel Hill. We ascended from the basin of Great Meadows Run to the Summit House, a pretentious summer resort hotel that rests upon the crest of the hill. Here we left the Washington Road, as now constructed, and literally dived into the depths of a seemingly impenetrable forest, apparently a second growth of the woods Washington threaded that rainy, dark night, a century and a half ago. No wilder scene or thicker mountain fastness has it been our fortune to enpass. It is as pathless now as it was in its pristine growth. This is indeed the forest primeval; oaks, maples, chestnuts, poplars, locusts, sumacs, spruce and occasionally a stray elm, elbow their branches for room, while the ever present wild vines knit the all-too-crowded trunks and over-reaching limbs together in one entwined tangle. The rock-covered hillsides are too steep and sterile for cultivation and nature is left to reveal unchecked in its vigor and beauty. It was over this timber encumbered mountain side that the stony, jolting road brought us to the site of Washington's Spring, now in the posession of a thrifty woodsman farmer, almost the only one we met, whose natty house marks the place, part way down the hill, where the Half King, Tanacharisson, and his associate sachems, Scarooyadi and Monakatoocha, with their band of savages, awaited the coming of Washington's forty heroes. It was early morning, on that eventful day,

> "And the woods against a stormy sky
> Their giant branches tossed,"

when the two forces united and descended a mile further down the hill to the hollow where La Force and the French held their half-concealed position in a "low, obscure place." Washington and his colonists led the right wing of the advancing little column; the Half King and the Indians comprised the left. The rattle of the English musketry suddenly rang out from the open hollow in the forest depths and echoed along the mountain side. They had found the foe. It was Washington's first battle, and in a letter to his brother, relating the affair, he wrote: "The right wing where I stood was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire; here I heard the bullets whistle and believe me, there is something

charming in the sound." Here the warrior Washington was born, in the heart of the gloomy forest on the mountain sides of the Laurel range, between the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela rivers, not sixty miles from the banks of the Ohio, for the valley of which beautiful river, this same battle was fought. This skirmish was short, sharp and decisive, lasting "only about fifteen minutes." Washington reported "We killed ten, wounded one, and took twenty-one prisoners." Only one Canadian escaped. The Virginians had one man killed and three wounded. Among the prisoners was La Force and among those killed was Coulon de Joumonville. It was claimed by the French that Joumonville was an embassador, under military escort, on a mission as a civil messenger, to warn the English not to trespass on the French territory, and that his "killing off", under the circumstances, was in violation of the usage of nations. But after examination by the Council of Virginia and the House of Burgesses, Washington's first victory remained untarnished as to his honor or soldiership. The claim was only a phase of French duplicity, La Force's expedition being in fact, as Washington puts it in his diary, "a plausible pretense to discover our camp and obtain a knowledge of our forces and situation." The glen where Joumonville met his tragic end is today, as it must have been at that time, apparently the only breathing spot amid the wild density of the forest that extends unbroken for miles in every direction. Washington now fell back, across the hill, to his camp at Great Meadows, where he completed the entrenchments previously begun, calling the crude earth-packed palisades, forming an irregular, triangular enclosure of about a third of an acre in area, Fort Necessity. The name was suggested by the scarcity of provisions and ammunition and the deprivations endured by the little garrison. The location of this famous fortification is most picturesque. It lies in the center of a long basin or narrow gap between two of the Laurel hills, the little valley extending length-wise at this point stretches nearly north and south. The entrenchments were not more than sixty yards from the base of the western hill and perhaps two hundred and fifty from the foot of the eastern range. The Great Meadows Run, here a trinkling stream, so attenuated as to hardly deserve the name, cut through a corner of the earthworks. These latter are today scarcely distinguishable, though here and there a slight elevation or hump of grass and weed-grown sod suggests the line that was once followed by the earthen defenses. A row of tall stakes, erected at intervals, designates the lines where no longer discernible. To the civilian, this site for a defense would seem to invite attack from the surrounding elevations, rather than command protection, but Washington's strategic sense was instinctive and proverbial and we yield to his judgment. It was near the middle of June when Washington was re-enforced by Virginia troops till they numbered some three hundred, still further augmented by a company of South Carolinians under Mackey, holding a commission of captaincy in the regular British army. To the fortification also came

the Half King and Queen Aliquippa, her son and "about twenty-five or thirty Indian families," making in all about eighty or one hundred persons, including men and women. A band of Shawnees from the Ohio and many Indian traders were among the incomers. Washington, thus situated and equipped, played the waiting game, till the morning of July 3rd, when there appeared among the trees on the rising ground at the base of the western hill, more than five hundred French soldiers and some four hundred Indian allies, the latter mainly from the Ohio country, all under command of Captain De Villiers, brother of the unfortunate Joumonville. The French and Indians, skulking under cover of the forest, began the firing late in the forenoon. Washington placed his troops mostly in the trenches in front of the fort. It was a desultory conflict in which the attacking party had greatly the advantage. The rain fell in torrents, "nearly drowning the English soldiers" in the stockade trenches where the men stood knee-deep in the water and soft mud. At eight o'clock at night, when darkness had dropped its veil over the scene, the French commander requested a parley. Washington consented. The negotiations were carried on in the rain, by the light of a candle, unsteadily flickering in the wet wind. Washington realizing the inequality of the contest on his part, his troops and ammunition water-soaked, his Indian allies discouraged and ineffective, the enemy far greater, indeed more than double, in numbers, agreed to a capitulation, which granted him permission, the next morning, to retire with all his forces and return undisturbed to his own country, carrying with him all his arms, except the swivels or small cannon. He was to march out with drums beating and banners flying, thus being accorded the honors of war. So it was. Early on the morning of July 4th — memorable date in later years — the brave commander, defeated but not conquered, marched out of his rain-drenched enclosure. Washington had met his first repulse, and the only time in his career surrendered to the enemy. The losses were almost equal, seventy killed and wounded on each side. Such was the defense of and the defeat at Fort Necessity. The Half King, who witnessed rather than participated in, the affair, expressed himself as perfectly disgusted with the white man's mode of warfare. "The French," he said, "were cowards; the English, fools," neither knew how to fight; Washington, he frankly remarked, "was a good natured man, but had no experience and would by no means take advice from the Indians, but was always driving them on to fight by his directions; that he lay at one place from one full moon to another, and made no fortifications at all, except that little thing upon the meadows, where he thought the French would come up to him in open field." Such was the memorable and unfortunate event which the young Virginian colonel then thought would seriously disparage, if indeed it might not end, his military career.

We turned off the main road and drove down the lane, through Fazenbaker's farm, across the little bed of the Great Meadows Run, insignificant in appearance but large in perspective interest, to the spot

staked out as the fort. As we stood within the historic precincts and began to jot down a note or two, the scene of that battle filled our mind's eye; the French and Indians dodging behind the trees, now mostly cleared away, then fringing the nearby hill base; the waist-high earthen embankment, within which stood the plucky Virginians, battling for the possession of the Ohio country beyond the "beautiful river," a land, though that day was lost, soon to be theirs, and later the western empire of a new republic. Our mental picture, was made more vivid and partially real, by the singular incident, that as we stood there, in our historic reverie, the massed clouds in great black battalions rushed over the Laurel hilltops, and to the flashes of forked lightning and the rumble of heavy thunder, heaven's artillery, burst their cerements and swept the Great Meadows with a deluge of rain. That feature of the dramatic day, a hundred and fifty years ago, was all too realistically re-enacted. We did not desire to longer hold the fort but capitulated and with less dignity and military form than the occupant of that other stormy day, retreated to the hospitable abode of good farmer Fazenbaker, a spacious brick mansion, an old-time inn on Washington's road.

But we had stood within the remains of Fort Necessity; its walls, through the pounding of the elements and the ruthless hand of man, are wellnight worn to oblivion, but the Great Meadows plain, serene, stately and solemn, lies in peaceful and picturesque perfection as of old, guarded by the encircling sentinels of imperishable hills and enshrined in the halo of Washington's immortal fame. That Fort Necessity was a hallowed spot in the sentiment of its builder and commander, is evidenced by the fact that in 1769 Washington acquired from Virginia, a patent, which was afterwards confirmed by Pennsylvania, for the tract of two hundred and thirty-four acres of the Great Meadows land, including the fort. This he sedulously retained till his death, disposing of it in his will. We can imagine how in the later years of his incomparable life, the first citizen of the nation, he had made free and independent, would visit the scene of that July day, when on the threshold of his career, with all lost save honor, he retreated haughtily with his little garrison, "his regimental colors borne in front and the men carrying on their backs their wounded comrades and such of their baggage as they were able to carry in this way."

The bones of those warriors have crumbled to dust,
The steel of their swords is naught but rust,
And their souls are with the saints — we trust.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Marietta, Ohio, November 27 and 28, 1908.

On Friday and Saturday, November 27 and 28, 1908, the Ohio Valley Historical Association held its second annual meeting at Marietta, Ohio; the first annual meeting was held a year previous in Cincinnati, the proceedings of which meeting were briefly reported in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical QUARTERLY for January, 1909. The complete proceedings of that meeting were published in a separate pamphlet by the State Society just named. The Ohio Valley Historical Association, it will be recalled, is an organization consisting of the historical and patriotic societies located in the states bordering on the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi. The membership also includes all students, teachers and writers in history, residing in said territory, the object being to arouse and promote interest in the history of the Ohio Valley, stimulate the teachers in the colleges and schools, to emphasize the history of their localities and collect and preserve historical manuscripts and memoranda and other material that should not be lost. The Association at once entered upon an active and successful career, the first meeting in Cincinnati, being largely attended, addresses were delivered by many prominent writers and teachers in American and especially Western history. The second meeting, held at Marietta, was equally successful. We give the program as previously arranged and as practically carried out. The proceedings in full have recently been published in separate pamphlet form by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. We reproduce a synopsis of the four sessions and also such of the papers or addresses as pertain more particularly to Ohio history, or are valuable and suggestive on the subject of studying history, gathering and preserving its material.

THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

ANNUAL MEETING, MARIETTA, OHIO,

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27 AND 28, 1908.

PROGRAM.

Presiding Officer, E. O. RANDALL, Columbus.

I.

Conference on Historical Manuscript Collections Friday, November 27th, 10:00 A. M., Assembly Hall, The Library, Marietta College.

Leaders of the Conference, I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati; Harry B. Mackoy, Covington, Ky.

I. Report on Historical Manuscript Collections.
   - (*a*) Colleges and public Libraries—Professor Harlow Lindley, Earlham College.
   - (*b*) Local History Societies—Professor C. T. Greve, University of Cincinnati Law School.
   - (*c*) State and County Collections—Virgil A. Lewis, State Archivist and Historian, Charleston, W. Va.
   - (*d*) Private Collections—Frank T. Cole, Columbus, Editor "Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly."

II. Discussion of the above, with reports of local representatives, closing with paper by Mrs. Mary McA. Tuttle, Hillsboro.

III. Discussion of plan for locating the manuscript collections of the Valley and preparing a general index of the same.
   - (*a*) Methods of Locating Manuscripts—I. J. Cox.
   - (*b*) Methods of Indexing Manuscripts—II. B. Mackoy.

IV. "The Charles G. Slack Collection of Manuscripts in the Marietta College Library," Miss Hortense Foglesong, Assistant Librarian.

The Slack Collection will be open to visitors throughout the morning session.

II.

General Public Meeting, 2:00 P. M., The First Congregational Church, Muskingum Avenue.

Address of Welcome — President A. T. Perry.

Address — "The Relation between Geography and History," Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, Louisville, Ky.

Address — "Historic Beginnings of the Ohio Valley"— W. J. Holland, Ph. D., LL. D., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Address — "The Ohio River, its Improvement and Commercial Importance" — Colonel John L. Vance, Columbus.

Address — "Lord Dunmore's War"— Virgil A. Lewis, Charleston.

III.

Reception, 4:00 P. M.

A reception to the visitors in Marietta will be tendered in The Ohio Company's Land Office, (Oldest Building in Ohio, standing on the original site,) by the Marietta members of Ohio Society of Colonial Dames. Reception Committee: Mrs. Lovell, Miss Woodbridge, Mrs. Daniel H. Buell, Miss Buell, Miss Putnam.

IV.

Banquet, 7:00 P. M. Young Men's Christian Association Building, Second Street.

Main Address — "The Problems of the Present Day South" — President S. C. Mitchell, Ph. D., LL. D., of the University of South Carolina.

Toasts.

V.

Excursion, Saturday, 7:30 A. M.

Captain William M. Hall, U. S. Engineer in charge of Dam No. 18, invites the Association in common with the Marietta and Parkersburg Boards of Trade to pay a visit to the Dam. The low stage of the river and the nearing of completion of this great work makes the present opportunity one of a lifetime. Interurban cars can be taken at the Bellevue or Norwood Hotels at 7:00, 7:30 or 8:00, which will allow visitors time for sight-seeing and permit them to return on the car reaching Marietta at 9:30 or at 10:00 o'clock. Round trip fare to Bryn Mawr (Dam 18) thirty cents.

VI.

Meeting of the History Teachers, Saturday, 10:00 A. M., Assembly Hall, The Library, Marietta College. Meeting under the direction of F. P. Goodwin, Cincinnati.

Paper — "The Civic Value of Local History" — Arthur W. Dunn, Director of Civics, Indianapolis Public Schools.

Discussion of the Paper — W. G. Culkins, Cincinnati;
Henry R. Spencer, Ohio State University.

Paper — "The Present Status of Local History in the Schools" — Miss May Lowe, Circleville.

Business Session.

VII.

Historic Highways Meeting, Saturday, 2:00 P. M. Meeting under the direction of A. E. Morse, Marietta College.

(*a*) Braddock's Road, Henry W. Temple, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.

(*b*) Zane's Trace, C. L. Martzolff, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.

(*c*) The Old Maysville Road, Samuel M. Wilson, Lexington, Ky.

Specific historic roads will be described, and there will be a discussion of some plans for marking these and other historical places and sites.

FIRST SESSION.

The second annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association opened in the Assembly Hall of the Marietta College Library with President E. O. Randall, of Columbus, in the chair. The conference on Historical Manuscript Collections, under the leadership of Messrs. H. B. Mackoy, of Covington, Ky., and I. J. Cox, of Cincinnati, was the first feature on the program. Professor Charles Theodore Greve, of the Cincinnati Law School, spoke briefly of the work of local historical societies in preserving and making available their manuscript collections and incidentally described those of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, which he officially represented. He believed that all such societies should make greater effort than at present is done to collect and classify such historical manuscripts as are to be found in their vicinity, even where they seem to be safely kept in private hands, for one can never tell the moment when such collections may be scattered beyond hope of recovery. The people in general must be instructed in the value of all *old* pieces of paper and from his own experience he would especially urge the importance of old pamphlets.

Mr. Virgil A. Lewis spoke of the value of state and county collections and to emphasize his various points showed his audience an indictment by one of the Western Virginia grand juries against Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York Tribune, charging him with personally inciting the Negro to rebellion, — and also a telegram showing when the Confederate troops crossed the Ohio River near Ravenswood in the summer of 1863. This feat was performed to enable General Jenkins to plant on a hill near the place of crossing a flag presented to him for that purpose by the ladies of Richmond, Virginia. These bits of contemporary history served not only to emphasize the various points of his remarks but represented countless other forgotten documents of similar character now reposing in public archives. It was his special purpose as the official head of West Virginia's Department of Archives and History to collect, preserve, and render available such material.

ADDRESS OF VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

Archivist of West Virginia.

I rejoice that the Ohio Valley Historical Association has been organized. As declared in the Second Article of its Constitution: "Its object is to promote the general historical interests of the Ohio Valley and especially to encourage the *study* and *teaching* of its local history." I am pleased that it has already commenced the work before it, and that chief among its varied interests, is that of the collection and preservation of historical Manuscripts — documents which throw light upon both the general and local history of these Ohio Valley States. This, I may say, I regard as being immediately the most important work before the Association — this for the reason that these documents should be found and their contents known, before the most thorough study, and consequently, the best teaching of the local history of this vast region can be secured.

By reference to the Program, it will be seen that to me has been assigned the topic, "State and County Collections of Manuscripts," — that is of a historical character. The entire mass of recorded history of the region embraced within the field of work of this Association is divided into two classes — (1) Printed Documents and (2) Documents or Papers written by hand — Manuscripts — our subject at this time.

Of What They Consist: — These may be said to consist of Journals of Explorations and Travel, diaries, memoirs, narratives, surveyors' books, accounts of early settlements, church records, county records, municipal proceedings, "dead" court papers, family records, autograph letters, military papers, army rosters, political announcements, records of early joint stock companies and other corporate organizations, account books of early merchants, and note-books of lawyers, ministers and physicians, together with a hundred other classes treating of as many different individual efforts.

These Manuscripts Divided: — These taken as a whole may be divided into two classes; viz: — (1) Those which have been collected, arranged, and classified by some State, Institution or Society; (2) Those which yet exist but are scattered far and wide throughout the whole Ohio Valley Region, in the possession of families, individuals, county clerks' offices, and church and other organizations.

(1) The First Class: — I regret that I am unable to speak intelligently regarding the first class, that is of Manuscripts collected and preserved. No Catalogues or Finding-Lists of these have reached me and I am, therefore, without detailed information as to what the State Libraries of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois have accomplished in this field; what the Carnegie Institute, Marietta College, the Ohio, and the Ohio State Universities, the University of Cincinnati, the University of Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, and other educa-

tional institutions in these States have achieved; or what the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, or the kindred Societies of Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois have done. But all, as I understand, have been engaged in this work. I have no information whatever as to county collections in these States.

What West Virginia Has Done: — I am better prepared to speak of the work of rescue in my own State — West Virginia — yet not able to give such information regarding this as would be contained in a Catalogue or Finding-List. But we are at work. The State's collection is in the custody of the Department of Archives and History, in which the labor has been so great, that as yet, it has been impossible to prepare a list of the collection. Last year the Legislature appropriated $2,500.00 to purchase Manuscripts relating to the formation of the State, and this was expended for that purpose. In 1831, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an Act requiring the Supreme Court of Appeals to sit 90 days annually at Lewisburg, in Greenbrier County, for the purpose of hearing appeals from the counties of Trans-Allegheny Virginia, now West Virginia. This was continued until the division of the State. After the Civil War, West Virginia came into possession of many of the papers of that Court — "dead" court papers — in all about one thousand. The State has about fourteen hundred Manuscript letters and documents of various kinds, pertaining to the Restored Government of Virginia, which made possible the existence of West Virginia; and these, with many other productions relating to the Fairfax Land Grant and the early settlement and development of the State, make a mass which, when properly listed, will contain material for, I should say, about three thousand titles.

History Material in Our Counties: — No county in West Virginia has collected, or attempted to make a Manuscript Collection, but the offices of the clerks of courts in each and all of them are rich mines of local history — all in manuscript record-books. These are ponderous volumes — dockets, order books — registers of births, marriages, and deaths, settlement rights, land titles, proceedings of the Old Virginia Circuit Superior Courts, Courts of Chancery, and Courts of Equity, beginning in 1754, when Hampshire County — the oldest county in West Virginia — was formed, down to the founding of the State in 1863, — a period of more than a hundred years — and covering all the region from the Potomac to the Monongahela, and from the Alleghenies to the Ohio. Among these records are many manuscripts of a purely historical character. Let me illustrate this: On the 15th day of July, 1798, Colonel John Stuart, the historian of Lord Dunmore's War, and the most prominent pioneer settler of the Greenbrier Valley, went into the office of the County Clerk of Greenbrier County, and beginning on p. 754 of Deed-Book No. 1, wrote what he was pleased to call a "Memorandum." This he commenced by saying: "The inhabitants of every country and place

are desirous to enquire after the first founders, and in order to gratify the curious or such who may hereafter incline to be informed of the origin of the Settlements made in Greenbrier, I leave this Memorandum for their satisfaction, being the only person at this time alive who is acquainted with the circumstances of its discovery and manner of settling." Then he proceeds to tell the story of the settlement of that region by white men of the Indian Massacre of 1763, of the re-occupation of the Valley, the opening of roads, the character of the people, etc. No one can ever write the early history of West Virginia without a knowledge of this manuscript.

An Indictment Against Horace Greeley: — As a further illustration, permit me to quote from the Circuit Court Records of Harrison county, Virginia — now West Virginia.

Virginia, *to-wit.* *In the Circuit Court of Harrison County.*

The Grand Jurors for said County on their oaths present that heretofore, to-wit on the fifth day of July in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, Horace Greeley did write, print and publish and cause to be written, printed and published in the City of New York and State of New York a book and writing, to-wit a newspaper and public journal and styled and entitled "New York Tribune." The object and purpose of which said New York Tribune was to advise and incite negroes in this state to rebel and make insurrection and to inculcate resistance to the right of property of masters in their slaves in the State of Virginia.

And the Jurors aforesaid do further present that said Horace Greeley afterwards, to-wit on the day of July in the year 1856, did knowingly, wilfully and feloniously transmit to and circulate in and cause and procure to be transmitted to and circulated in the said County of Harrison the said book and writing, to-wit the said "New York Tribune" with the intent to aid the purposes thereof, against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth.

And the Jurors aforesaid upon their oaths aforesaid do further present that said Horace Greeley on the day of July in the year 1856 did knowingly, wilfully and feloniously circulate and cause and procure to be circulated in said County of Harrison a writing, to-wit a newspaper and public journal, which said writing, newspaper and public journal was on the fifth day of July in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six written, printed and published in the City of New York and State of New York and was styled and entitled "New York Tribune" with intent in him, the said Greeley, then and there to advise and incite negroes in the State of Virginia aforesaid to rebel and make insurrection and to inculcate resistance to the right of property of masters in their slaves. Against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth.

Upon the information of Amaziah Hill and Seymore Johnson, witness sworn in open court and sent to the Grand Jury to testify at the

request of the Grand Jury who had the said New York Tribune in the above presentment referred to before them and examined the same.

A. I. GARRETT, *Foreman.*

When can another Document be found which shows so clearly the conditions and feelings of the people in Central West Virginia, in 1857?

These Manuscripts will never be in the possession of the State Department of Archives and History for they are parts of the county records to which they belong, but we list them in our Catalogue, showing where they may be found, so that the person making research may know where the originals are.

Other Counties in Other States: — I am very sure that the counties of these Ohio Valley States are just as rich in history materials as are ours, and will in the future, like ours, be inexhaustible sources of local history. There must be at this very moment, history material in the county, manuscript records of Washington County, Ohio, from which to compile one of the most interesting and valuable volumes ever written on the local history of that State; so with Hamilton County. Likewise it is true of Madison, St. Clair, Monroe and Randolph Counties in Illinois; of Knox and Allen, in Indiana; and of Jefferson and Fayette in Kentucky. Indeed it is true of Hundreds of counties in these Ohio Valley States.

(2) THE SECOND CLASS: — But it is with the second class that we are chiefly concerned — that is with that great mass — a vast mass — I may say, of Manuscripts which are scattered far and wide over the whole area of these Ohio Valley States, Manuscripts which are in the possession of individuals, their whereabouts unknown, but if located, collected and properly classified, would furnish new sources of information — such information as would, to a considerable degree, require the history of this great Valley to be re-written. Some persons have seemed to think that after the pilgrimages of Lyman C. Draper, up and down this Valley, the whole region was left without history material — that he had borne away all sources of information regarding its history. A signal mistake. He was a pioneer collector, one who, in a way, explored the field, leaving it for others to gather that to which he had opened the way. The trouble has been that he has not in fifty years had a successor worthy of the name. On every hand he left a great mass of material relating to the struggles between the White and Red men for supremacy in this Valley; to its occupation and settlement by the latter. Then to this has been added these scenes of olden time history, the manuscript material dealing with the part enacted by this vast region in the greatest Civil War of all time. From these Valley States went more than half a million men to do battle in that mighty struggle, and they wrote letters, kept journals and diaries which were sent or brought home; but more than forty years have passed away and no systematic plan has been, as yet, undertaken for their collection and preservation. What

we need most in this great work of rescue and preservation, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, are more Lyman C. Drapers, — men who, with knapsack on their backs, are not only willing, but anxious to go on foot, if need be, many miles to the left and to the right to secure a journal, a diary, a memorandum, an autograph letter, that shall be preserved and become a priceless document to those who are to come after us.

It is not my province to suggest a plan of work as to rescue, classification, or cataloguing the written but unprinted sources of the history of the distant past, and more recent history of the Ohio Valley. But may we not hope that ere long, some plan for systematic action may be devised and adopted — one which will result in rescuing from oblivion, all which yet remains of the Manuscript history of a Valley filled with the most progressive people of the world. Within a period of five years this should be done, and those Documents in the possession of persons who will not part with them, should be catalogued or listed by title, with names of owner's location, and brief description, but sufficiently elaborate to indicate to the student the value and character of the Manuscript.

I close, as I began, by saying, that I rejoice that The Ohio Valley Historical Association has been organized, and that its greatest work, in the immediate future, is the collection and preservation of the Manuscript sources of the history of the region included in its field of work.

Mr. Lewis was followed by Prof. Frank T. Cole of the Old Northwest Genealogical Society, who presented an address.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS.

FRANK T. COLE,
Old Northwest Genealogical Society.

Probably each one of us could name instances where the papers and correspondence of the grandfather, preserved with care by him and his children have gone to the waste basket at the hands of the third and fourth generation, and thus, through carelessness or ignorance there has passed from sight much accumulated material for state and local history.

This meeting does well to consider the question, how many we discover, preserve and render available to the student such collections.

Some years ago, by the efforts of Mr. William Henry Smith, a beginning was made of such a collection in the State Library, and the papers and correspondence of Governor Thomas Worthington, Governor Ethan Allen Brown and some others were secured and deposited there.

I have had occasion to consult the Worthington papers and I know of how much assistance such a collection may be to the student of local conditions. Possibly a reference to some bits of experience may be permitted.

Colonel James Kilbourne, who in 1802 walked from the end of the stage line at Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, to Lancaster, Chillicothe and Franklinton, examining with Nathaniel Little, his companion, the land of Central Ohio for a group of Connecticut and Massachusetts men who called themselves the Scioto Land Company, left a chest of papers, among which was the report which he made to his company concerning his journey. The report was published in "The Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly," together with some of his correspondence during his ten years' service in Congress, 1811-1821. Among these papers were especially notable the memoranda for and a copy of his bill in furtherance of free homesteads to actual settlers, (for he was the first who introduced a homestead law in Congress), and also his correspondence with the people of the Kaskaskia and Cahokia settlements in Illinois.

We found in the home of a Delaware County farmer a diary begun in New Hampshire in 1816 and continuously kept by mother and son up to within a year ago; a series of letters by Colonel James Denny, who commanded a regiment under General Hull in 1812, written to his wife, which gave a frank account of the expedition and of the General; a story of the early life in Germany, emigration by sailing ship, canal journey to Ohio, early business struggles and later business prosperity of a representative citizen of foreign birth, and also an account of a missionary tour of two months among the people of western New York in 1808.

At our request Mrs. Mary McArthur Tuttle examined the papers of her grandfather, Governor Allen Trimble. These papers were in the Governor's desk just as it had been carried up stairs after his death thirty and more years ago. She found a delightfully vivid autobiography whose existence was wholly unknown to the family. The manuscript covered some thirty-five years of his life up to the time that as President of the Senate he succeeded Governor Ethan Allen Brown in the executive chair on the latter's election to the U. S. Senate. Would that Governor Trimble had completed the accounts of his pro tem term, of Governor Morrow's term, and his own term, when he was elected to succeed Governor Morrow; of his labors in the interests of education and agriculture, and of his campaign as candidate of the American Party against Chase. He did give full accounts of his share in the War of 1812, and of his early legislative career.

The papers above referred to we have published besides many others. I refer to them simply to show what may be found by those who search in a small way. There are extensive family collections and some of magnitude in private, college and historical libraries, and some, like one

that I know of in Columbus, still resting in the old desk where its owner, a distinguished scientific man of Ohio, left it over thirty years ago, still undisturbed unless it be by the prying fingers of curious little grandchildren.

The men who settled this region preserved the letters received by them and in cases of importance, copies of their own letters. These should be found, published, or copied or placed in some safe depository where they may be of service. The State Library would seem to be the proper place for them, especially when they have suitable room for their preservation. If not the State Library, the State Archaeological and Historical Society, which, before many years, will have adequate quarters for the proper care of such papers. But at any rate, the material should be sought out, catalogued and duplicate lists distributed to all libraries.

The mention by the preceding speaker of Governor Trimble and his autobiography formed a most fitting introduction to Mrs. Tuttle's paper, which follows in full.

HISTORIC MATERIALS FOUND IN OLD DESKS.

Mrs. Mary McArthur Tuttle.

[In the absence of Mrs. Tuttle, her paper was read by Mrs. J. A. Gallagher.]

It was a lonely afternoon when the mother of a statesman and her daughter, sat side by side, in deep reflection: for old age was fast overtaking the mother, and the white hair and delicate flesh tints were suggesting to the mind of the daughter, the opal colors of the sun sinking beyond the horizon. The daughter looked up and said—"Sister has done so much for you, what is there left for me to do? Anything that will make you happy?"

"I fear to mention that there is one thing, I should like to see accomplished before my death, the papers in your grandfather's secretary gone over. They have not been looked at for many years; and it may be there are yet papers of especial importance and interest there."

It was a very warm August afternoon, but the daughter assured the mother, all should be done according to her wishes. The next day a large table was placed in front of a wide open western window, and stacks of papers, which filled a colonial secretary, were laid in the sun light. Could you believe one would ever have patience to examine each and every one? Ah! yes: because the dear mother desired it. And now let me tell you a secret. This labor was only terminated at the close of two years of correspondence, editing, etc., etc.

Autographs of value, were found; land grants, bearing the signatures of our early presidents; correspondence with eminent men; invitations to Washington Irving, and Henry Clay, Governor Dewitt Clinton, and their replies to the early societies who had invited them to participate in their celebrations over such internal improvements in the State of Ohio as canals, public schools and the like; letters from celebrities of the State; and last, a small roll of *manuscript,* which proved to be the *autobiography of a Governor,* describing the early days, when Governors led the "Simple Life," and watched the trend of big events. What was to be done with such materials? Aired, and put back in the old secretary? Not at all! We must write to the editors of our State Historical and Genealogical Magazines, and inquire what they would take out of your materials, mentioning the contents that they might judge the value; to the BIBLIOPHILE SOCIETY of Boston, Mass., see what they would give for any valuable paper; to autograph hunters, and find out their prices; and finally, learn how to edit such materials. Possibly as the result of such labor, and research, one of you will awaken some fine morning and find that you have become a *Life member* for your labors, of some Historical Society. But to those of you who have not yet thought upon these matters to the extent that the writer of this brief article has, may she jocosely say, that from the standpoint of *good housekeeping,* open the western windows; air the manuscripts; dust the letters; as well as scour the brass handles and polish the mahogany of the old Colonial Secretaries — let them not be "whitened sepulchres." The heart of the nation is within. Let us amplify their importance.

The late Prof. Herbert Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University, said to us: "The daughters are doing more to help the historians of the age than can well be estimated." But the daughters now say: "What about money returns to women for such work?" A very sensitive, aristocratic Virginia woman remarked to us: "No, I will not throw valuable parchment into the hands of historical societies, unless they compensate me, any more than I will give historical museums my old Colonial furniture." "It is a very unfeeling way men have towards the labors of women," she continued, "women compete in other lines, why not in historic work?"

To be made a life member of the Historical and Archaeological Society of my native State, was for me sufficient compensation and honor, and could not be valued by dollars and cents. "Yet," I replied, "I want to reason well in arguing with the members of this Historical Association on this point. If they will inquire into the matter, they will find that our historical societies, in some instances, are not even self-supporting, with an income derived from the fee of membership. Learn, therefore, to contribute to their aims, and make their interests our own. Perhaps, you may not all have a kind brother to decipher worn and

faded manuscripts for you and put the same into type-written form, so that editors will readily accept them; or you may not have historic mat ter so much at heart, as the writer of these lines has; nor have been taught by an honored historian, a dear husband, how to handle historic facts.

The leaders of the morning's conference then reported briefly upon their correspondence preparatory to the meeting and outlined the following proposed scheme for the work of a committee on Historical Manuscripts.

METHODS OF LOCATING HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

I. J. Cox,
University of Cincinnati.

In my estimation, the first point to be determined is, *Who are the historical personages of the valley?* Among the methods for preparing lists of such persons we may suggest the following:—

1. The comparatively brief list that can be obtained from the general histories of the United States.
2. This list should be supplemented by state, county, and city histories.
3. From family and genealogical records published.
4. From the files of historical magazines.
5. From lists of members of historical societies, who by correspondence will report from their localities.
6. As a sort of final resort, by advertising in the papers.

Having thus determined the question, who are historical personages in the Valley, and prepared tentative lists of such, the next point to determine is the question, *did they leave manuscript collections,* and if so, what is the present place of deposit of such? In pursuing this phase of our subject, one would naturally first make a thorough search of the printed reports of well known manuscript collections, such as the Library of Congress, the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the larger eastern state societies. (Some letters of Senator John Smith of Ohio are to be found in the *Pickering Papers* in the Massachusetts Historical Society.) In pursuing this search one should, if possible, also secure the names of those corresponding with the individual searched for, for these in turn will serve to locate other historical personages of the Valley.

In a search of the manuscript collections one should undertake to find if a given historical character has left descendants in the locality in which he lived. It is usually possible to ascertain this fact by cor-

respondence with local authorities, compilers of family histories, contributors to historical magazines, and members of historical and patriotic societies. If this somewhat lengthy list be exhausted without result, we may at last resort obtain some information from present day officials of the locality, especially those connected with the County Clerk's or Recorder's offices. The latter, at least, will be able to suggest some clue that may lead to the discovery of those sought for. Correspondence with these will frequently reveal new names and unexpected collections. The correspondence will frequently show removal on the part of descendants to other states. This will naturally lead to a correspondence with historical societies of those states and will thus emphasize the spirit of co-operation.

Having thus determined who are the historical personages, and whether or not they left manuscripts, we may suggest a possible organization for facilitating the acquisition of information of this sort. The plan that seems to suggest itself more readily, is that of a general committee composed of one representative from each state in the Ohio Valley. This general committee should divide up the work along state lines, each individual being responsible for his own particular state. The state representatives in turn should endeavor to secure as many corresponding members of this committee as possible. It seems hardly necessary to have a separate correspondent in every county, and in some counties it may be advisable to have more than one, so I would suggest no definite unit for sub-dividing the state, but would emphasize the necessity of using all who may be in the least serviceable.

INDEXING MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS.

Harry Brent Mackoy,

Member of the Filson Club of Kentucky.

Mr. Mackoy prefixed his remarks by stating that three classes of persons should be interested in the work of an organization such as ours; makers of history, writers of history, and preservers of history. While comparatively few could hope to belong to the first two classes, there was opportunity for many to participate in the work of the third class and it was the hope of those who were in charge of the Ohio Valley Historical Association to secure the active co-operation of such persons and thus give them an opportunity to enroll themselves among the "preservers of history." He read extracts showing the interest

aroused in many Kentucky families in the plan for hunting possible manuscript material. He spoke of a number of Kentucky collections that had recently been transferred to the Library of Congress in Washington. While they were thus removed from the scene of immediate local interest, they were probably deposited in the place where they would be rendered most available for historical students and most generally used. In the absence of a strong local sentiment for retaining a given collection and where no fire proof repository is available he would favor the giving of valuable manuscripts to the Library of Congress, our recognized public repository. Mr. Mackoy also suggested a method of describing and indexing a manuscript collection, the significant features of which are embodied in the blank form in Appendix F.

At the conclusion of Mr. Mackoy's remarks a motion was made to recommend that at the business session on Saturday morning a permanent committee be appointed to take up the task of locating and rendering more available for the use of historical students the manuscript collections of this region which were still in private possession, and where feasible to direct the attention of owners of such collections to the advantage of depositing the material in the most available safe local repository.

SECOND SESSION.

President E. O. Randall was in the chair at the second session, held in the First Congregational Church — a historic spot, for upon its site was built the first Protestant house of worship in the Old Northwest if we except the Moravian missions. The meeting was a general public session and was well attended. President Perry, of Marietta College, delivered a brief address of welcome. Then followed the numbers of the program introduced by a paper on "The Relation between History and Geography" by Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, of Louisville, Kentucky, which paper is not here reproduced as it was published not only in the complete proceedings of the meeting, at which it was read, but also in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, Vol. XLI, No. 7 (July, 1909), pp. 422-439.

HISTORIC BEGINNINGS OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

W. J. Holland, D. D., LL. D.,
Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, Pa.

The Ohio River and the Ohio Valley are from the standpoint of the geologist of very recent origin. There was a time when the greater part of the water which is discharged through this great stream found its way to the valley of the St. Lawrence, and thence to the Atlantic Ocean. At the glacial epoch the great continental glacier creeping down toward the south opposed barriers to the northward flow of the waters, and in consequence they were turned toward the southwest, and the great river, on the banks of which we are today assembled, came into being. When the ice-sheet retreated, Flora, returning again from the south, cast her garlands upon the desolated hills. The valleys, the ravines, the mountains were clothed once more, as they had been clothed before the Age of Ice, with splendid vegetation. The musk-ox, caribou, and other boreal animals followed the ice as it retreated, and from the region of the Gulf of Mexico there pressed up another fauna. And later came man, moving northward and eastward from the region of Mexico to which he had wandered, coming originally by way of Asia and the Pacific coast. There were succeeding waves of human immigration into the great Valley from the southwest and from the southeast, whether racially distinct, or not, is a question in relation to which there is dispute. Traces of this early human occupation are left in objects of stone and pottery, mounds and earthworks, sprinkled all over the region. At the time of the discovery of the continent by Europeans the great valley, so far as it possessed human inhabitants, was occupied by Indian tribes of the Algonquin stock.

In honor of Queen Elizabeth the eastern shores of the new world were called "Virginia." Even what we know today as New England was called "North Virginia." In 1606 James I. issued a charter which defines the territorial limits of Virginia as extending from the 34th to the 45th parallel of latitude, the western boundaries being fixed one hundred miles back of the Atlantic coast. A second charter issued three years later, extends the boundaries westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific. There was but a dim comprehension of the geography of the continent in the minds of those who issued these old charters. In fact, it was believed that the Pacific Ocean extended eastward as a great body of water, marked in the old maps as the Gulf of Verrazano, which was supposed to cover the whole of what we know to be the upper valley of the Mississippi.

While England was active in establishing colonies along the Atlantic coast, Frenchmen were equally active in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and pushing westward by way of the Great Lakes, they discovered the

broad lands now covered by great American Commonwealths lying about the headwaters of the Mississippi. The entire Valley of the Mississippi including the Valley of the Ohio they claimed by right of the discoveries made by La Salle and others. I cannot take time to recall to your memories the early movements leading to the discovery of the lakes, the rivers, the mountains, and the vast territorial expanse of the continent. As time passed and the truth became known, other charters were granted by the English crown, trenching to some extent upon the elder first grant made to Virginia. Lord Baltimore received the grant of Maryland; New Jersey was a gift to English noblemen; William Penn obtained the grant of the wooded lands which bear his name. But Virginia still claimed the lands lying westward of the Alleghany ridges, and maintained that within her boundaries lay the greater part of what is now known as western Pennsylvania, and the whole of that vast tract covered today by the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. She asserted her right to the Valley of the Ohio with all the lateral valleys drained by its affluents.

For over one hundred years after the grant of the first charter to the colony of Virginia the settlements made by Englishmen upon her soil did not advance westward beyond tidewater. The plantations lay along the shores of the James, the Rappahannock, and the lower Potomac. Between the westernmost plantation and the blue peaks of the mountains, which were here and there visible toward the setting sun, was a broad stretch of forest land tenanted only by the wild deer and the Indian. Governor Spotswood in 1716, looking toward the distant peaks which he saw, determined upon visiting them and crossing them. The expedition which he organized partook of the nature of a junketing party. Fifty of the leading citizens accompanied by their servants, provided with abundant supplies for the comfort of the inner man, set out upon the journey and arrived at last at the summit of the Blue Ridge, not very far from Harpers Ferry. In the eastern part of the state, where the soil was sandy, it was not the custom in those days to often shoe the horses, but on this expedition among the rocky ridges it was found necessary to frequently shoe the beasts, and on their return the Governor presented his companions with a souvenir of their trip in the form of a stickpin made of gold surmounted by a horseshoe, and the members of the gay company were thereafter known as "the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe." What Spotswood saw and what Spotswood learned through other sources impelled him to recommend to the powers in England, whom he represented, that efforts should be made at once to press forward across the mountain ridges into the great valleys lying in the direction of Lake Erie, which was known to be one of the channels of communication for the French with the lands in the West. Spotswood himself offered, if allowed to do so, to plant a colony upon the shores of Lake Erie and thus to break the hitherto uninterrupted progress of

the French occupation. Governor Spotswood was a man who, though he possessed many faults, was endowed with statesmanlike qualities and admirable foresight. The question of the occupation of the western lands, having been thus raised, was never forgotten. In 1748 Thomas Lee of the King's Council in Virginia associating with him a number of prominent gentlemen in the colony, among whom were Lawrence Washington and Augustine Washington, elder brothers of George Washington, succeeded in forming the Ohio Company, obtaining a grant from the English Crown of five hundred thousand acres of land to be taken up between the Monongahela and the Kanawha. The condition of the grant was that two hundred thousand acres of the land should be selected immediately, to be held for ten years free from quitrents and taxes, the company to settle one hundred families on the land within seven years, build a fort, and maintain a garrison for the protection of the settlement.

In 1751 Christopher Gist as the agent of the Ohio Company crossed the mountains and made a preliminary survey. In 1752, accompanied by Joshua Fry and two other Virginian commissioners, Gist made a treaty at Logstown on the Ohio just below Pittsburgh with the Shawanese. The French had already been negotiating with these Indians and it was deemed expedient without loss of time to win them over to an alliance with the Virginians. The French, intent upon occupying the valley of the Ohio, had already in 1752 established themselves in the vicinity of Presque Isle. Leguardeur de St. Pierre had established his headquarters as French Commandant at Venango, now Franklin, Pennsylvania. Thither in 1753 George Washington, a young surveyor, but twenty-one years of age, was sent by Governor Dinwiddie to warn the French that their occupation of the territory was regarded by Virginia as an encroachment, and to demand the withdrawal of the French forces. Unable to obtain any satisfactory concessions from the French, Washington returned to report the failure of his mission, and on his return, as you well know, experienced some hairbreadth escapes from deadly peril. In 1754 his advice to occupy the point of land at the confluence of what is now known as the Monongahela and the Ohio was accepted, and Captain William Trent and Ensign Ward with a company of militia were pushed forward to the present site of Pittsburgh, with instructions at the junction of the rivers to build a fort. While laboring at their task, Trent being for the moment absent, an overwhelming company of French and Indians, numbering seven hundred strong, led by Captain de Contrecoeur came down the Alleghany in their bateaux, ordered the Virginians to desist from their work, and allowing them to take their tools with them, assumed possession of the spot and began themselves to erect a fort which in honor of the Governor-General of the French possessions in Canada they named Fort Duquesne.

Captain Trent and Ensign Ward with their handful of men retreated, and on the 25th day of April, at Will's Creek, joined the command under

Lieutenant Colonel George Washington who was encamped there awaiting the arrival of Colonel Joshua Fry, who was to bring up the remainder of the regiment, numbering three hundred men, that had been sent forward by the Virginians, the House of Burgesses having voted ten thousand pounds for the defense of the colony. Washington pushed forward as rapidly as possible. While Washington was halting at the mouth of Redstone Creek on the evening of May the 27th, an Indian runner came to him bringing the information that a party of hostile Frenchmen were encamped in a nearby ravine. Washington, taking forty men with him, proceeded to investigate. When the Frenchmen flew to arms at his approach he gave the order to fire. Monsieur Jumonville, the officer in command, was killed with nine of his men. The rest were taken prisoners with a single exception. "When on this memorable night Washington gave the command to fire," says Bancroft, "that word kindled the world into a flame. Here in the western forest began that battle which was to banish from the soil and neighborhood of our republic the institutions of the middle age and to inflict on them fatal wounds throughout the continent of Europe."

Knowing that he might certainly expect to be attacked in force by the French, Washington, upon whom the chief command now developed, owing to the death of Colonel Fry at Will's Creek, fell back to a bit of meadow-land under the shadow of the Laurel Ridge, and here entrenched himself, naming the spot Fort Necessity. On the 3rd of July, De Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, appeared with a force of nine hundred men, completely outnumbering the Virginians, who mustered only four hundred. The battle lasted all day until the night fell. The French fired from the cover of the woods and from the rising ground. Rain fell in torrents. In the dark the French sent a flag of truce and proposed a parley. The result was an agreement by which Washington was permitted to retire with the honors of war upon condition that he would surrender his artillery and give hostages for the delivery in safety of the prisoners who had been taken in the affair with Jumonville. The hostages given were Captains Van Braam and Stobo, who were sent by the French to Quebec, where for weary years they languished as prisoners, Governor Dinwiddie persistently refusing to respect the honorable stipulations which had been made by Washington. Captain Stobo has left us a record of the long years of imprisonment at Quebec and of his romantic escape, and upon this strange story Sir Gilbert Parker has founded his fascinating romance entitled "The Seats of the Mighty."

Beaten back by the French, the Virginians determined to redouble their efforts. The shot fired at the mouth of Redstone Creek in western Pennsylvania had been heard by kings and courts. An army led by Braddock, who was accompanied by the young hero of Fort Necessity, returned in the following year and advanced bravely to the attack of

Fort Duquesne. Through the insensate unwillingness of the Commander to heed the advice of the officers of the Colonial forces, among them Washington, who were well acquainted with the methods of Indian warfare, the English platoons marched as if on dress parade to their death, while the shaggy hillsides resounded to the wild cries and the savage war-whoop of their Indian enemies directed by a handful of Frenchmen.

It was not until the 25th day of November, 1758, just one hundred and fifty years ago day before yesterday, that the stain placed by Braddock's defeat upon the British arms was wiped out by the capture of Fort Duquesne. The capture was effected by a brave Scotchman, born in the old royal city of Dunfermline, who, although he was carried on a litter across the mountains of Pennsylvania, already stricken by a fatal disease, with lion-hearted courage held his way, supported, counseled, and cared for by Colonel Armstrong and Colonel Washington, the leaders of the forces sent to support the British regulars by Pennsylvania and Virginia. Associated with the Pennsylvanians and Virginians were several troops of soldiers from Maryland and North Carolina. In the dusk of the evening of November the 25th, 1758, Colonel Armstrong raised the cross of St. George where in the dawn the lilies of France had floated, and Forbes gave to the spot the name of "Pittsburgh" in honor of the "Great Commoner" whose political genius laid the foundations of England's supremacy in India and on the seas, and whose counsel, had it been followed, would have prevented the loss to England of the greater part of her vast possessions upon the soil of the new world. "Pittsburgh is," says Bancroft, "the most enduring monument to William Pitt. America raised to his name statues which have been wrongfully broken, and granite piles of which not one stone remains upon another, but long as the Monongahela and the Alleghany shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the Gateway of the West."

The first step taken after the occupation of Fort Duquesne and the naming of the spot as Pittsburgh, was the reconstruction of the fortifications at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela. The fort which was erected was called Fort Pitt, and was situated in part upon the ground occupied by the ruins of Fort Duquesne. The first Fort Pitt was subsequently replaced by a second and much larger fortification, likewise known as Fort Pitt, covering a wide area at the junction of the two rivers. Within the enclosure of this greater fortification in the year 1764 was erected on the edge of the parade-ground a block-house. This rude structure, alone of all the fortifications at the junction of the rivers, has escaped the ravages of time and today, carefully guarded and cared for by the Daughters of the American Revolution, stands as a memorial of the first occupation of the region by the British forces.

The story of the French and Indian War is familiar to you, and I need not even recapitulate its salient features. Suffice it to say that the contest between the French and English terminated by a definite treaty of peace signed on February the 10th, 1763, by which France renounced the occupation of all territories claimed by her on the soil of the new world east of the Mississippi River.

The western borders of the territory acquired by Great Britain were not, however, to be left in peace. The Indians who had been allied with the French, viewing with alarm the westward progress of the waves of immigration, resolved upon making a stand against the occupation of their lands, and under the leadership of Pontiac, who has been called the "Napoleon of the red men," entered into a widespread league to beat back the advancing whites. The storm of Indian warfare broke in 1763. Parkman in his charming narrative has given us the history of these stirring times, which you will do well to reread. The fort at the headwaters of the Ohio was made one of the points of attack. The few scattered settlers in the neighborhood, who had received some timely intimation of the hostile intent of the Indians, were gathered within the Fort, which was beleaguered by an overwhelming number of red men. For a long time the issue of the conflict hung in doubt; provisions were running short; the supply of ammunition had almost given out when Colonel Bouquet, at the head of a small army, rapidly advanced from the east and, after delivering to the Indians, who attacked him at Bushy Run, a bloody defeat, succeeded in raising the siege, and then coming westward into Ohio, by a display of tact and firmness, which marked him as a most able commander, succeeded in pacifying for the time being the Indian tribes occupying the country immediately to the west of Pittsburgh.

The movement on the part of the whites to occupy the region about the headwaters of the great river was at first slow and marked by timidity. The lands were not yet surveyed; there existed a conflict of titles between Virginia and Pennsylvania; the fear of Indian hostilities hung over the western mountain valleys. The means of subsistence to be won from the forest and the soil were at best but precarious. Nevertheless bold and adventurous spirits here and there crossed over into the region. They were mainly Scotchmen who came from the settlements made in the region of the Cumberland Valley, or Virginians, who having come from the south in the forces led by Washington had divined something of the possible future greatness and prosperity of the country. The men of Pennsylvania pressed westward by way of Bedford, Frankstown, and the Kittanning trail. The men of Virginia came by way of what is now Cumberland (Maryland) and the valley of the Youghiogheny. Those who came engaged in hunting and trapping, trading with the Indians for peltries, and established themselves here and there in the open glades in the woodlands where they were saved the

trouble of chopping down the huge forest growths with which the whole country was covered. Failing to secure such favored spots, with axe in hand they hewed down the great oaks and broke the soil about their rude cabins to create in the forest their little farms. Their lives were lives of toil and peril. In 1768 there had already gathered about the Fort a small settlement representing the elements of the frontier, and here and there in lonely clearings dwelt men of iron mould, who, fearless and self-reliant, set about to convert the wilderness into gardens.

Fergus Moorhead was one of these early settlers, and as his life is typical of the lives of many of these pioneers, you will pardon me if in a few words I sketch his career, because the story is familiar to me, and is one which I hope my children will hand down to their children. He was the son of a Scotch-Irishman, who had settled in the Cumberland Valley and had acquired, in obedience to the Anglo-Saxon "hunger for land," large tracts in that fertile country. Like Daniel Boone, in spite of the large holdings of his father, he found himself cramped by the presence of too many men about him, and so he wandered forth across the Alleghany ridges with his rifle in hand, and established himself about 1770 on the very outposts of civilization, in the midst of the wilderness, where he took up tracts which promised in time to become fruitful farms. He built a cabin for himself on a small prairie-like opening which he found in the forest near the site of the present county seat of Indiana County, of which he was the first settler. He was a man of force and character. Together with his brother Samuel, who joined him at a later day, he formed a body of frontiersmen into a company of militia for the protection of the western settlements. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, when the Indians, incited by the English in Canada, rose in hostility, Moorhead's troop, garrisoning Kittanning, held the western line of defenses in safety. But Fergus was waylaid at Blanket Hill by the Indians when going from the Fort at Kittanning to visit his wife, whom he had left in their lonely cabin. His sole companion, Simpson, a private in the troop, was shot dead. His horse was shot under him, and he was taken prisoner. Placing the saddle of his horse upon his back, his captors led him through the seemingly trackless wilderness north toward Canada. Again and again he tried to escape, but the vigilance of the Indians prevented. At last they brought him to Quebec and there for a year he languished in captivity. His wife waited and waited for his promised return, but he did not come. One of his children died. His wife with her own hands dug a grave and in it laid the body of her child. Then mounting a horse, with one of her children behind her and another in her arms, she set out alone through the forest to Fort Ligonier, thence across the Alleghany mountains, returning to Carlisle to her father's house. Here a year and a half afterwards, as she was seated one day upon the veranda looking down through the hot summer haze she saw coming

up the street a familiar form. She raised her hand to shade her eyes and then, with a scream, exclaimed, "Oh God! If Fergus Moorhead were still living, I would say that that is he coming up the street." In a few moments more he had her in his arms. Exchanged as a prisoner of war he had walked from New York to his home. You would think that an experience like that would daunt a man, but we find him the next year back again, rebuilding the cabin which the Indians had burned. His son Joseph, whom the mother had carried across the mountains, grown to man's estate, accompanied St. Clair on his memorable expedition into the Northwest Territory and was wounded at St. Clair's defeat. In return for his services he received the right to take up land within the State of Ohio. He chose as his portion a tract of land on the banks of this great river at the point where the City of Cincinnati now stands. His sister had married Isaac Anderson, a young man engaged in trade with the Indians. He made an exchange of his holdings of land in Ohio for the business of young Anderson. Anderson going to the banks of Black Lick felled a huge tulip-poplar tree, hollowed it out into a canoe, and into this he put his small store of household goods, his wife and children, and then floated down the Black Lick into the Kiskiminitas, thence into the Alleghany, and thence into the Ohio. He came down the river and established himself at Cincinnati. One of his descendants, the Rev. W. C. Anderson, D. D., was the honored President of Miami University, assuming that position in the year 1849 and holding it for many years afterward. Of the descendants of Fergus Moorhead many have risen to wealth, a score or more have been lawyers and clergymen of distinction, and one of them a justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. It was men like these who laid the foundations and who have given to the family of American Commonwealths, which now fill the great Valley from east to west, that courage and virility which has characterized their population. This man of whom I have spoken is only one of thousands like him, whose blood is telling today in the veins of those who come after them.

The contention between Virginia and Pennsylvania as to who should occupy and claim the upper valley of the Ohio, the metropolis of which is Pittsburgh, was continued for a number of years. The name of Fort Pitt was changed to Fort Dunmore in honor of the governor of Virginia. Western Pennsylvania was included in what was by Virginians styled the province of West Augusta. Courts were held at Fort Dunmore and elsewhere with appeal from their decisions to the court at Staunton, the seat of government of the province. The followers and representatives of the Penns protested; they caused the arrest of Dr. John Connelly, the representative of the Virginian governor. He was taken to Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, and gave bail to appear at the next term of court. He kept his word, and returned to meet his judges. But he was accompanied

by a considerable body of armed men, who captured the court and took them off to Staunton in Virginia as themselves trespassers. The merry war went on until the outbreak of the Revolution, and even after that time, and was not discontinued until in 1787 Virginia ceded to the confederacy of the thirteen states her claim to that great territory out of which Ohio and her sister states were at a later date erected.

But there was another element represented among the waves of immigration. Coming with the troops as chaplains, following the settlers into their remote homes, Bible in hand, were the ministers of Christ. The day after the occupation of Fort Duquesne it is a matter of historic record that a Thanksgiving service was held on the spot conducted by the Rev. Charles Beatty, whose grandson, the late Rev. Charles C. Beatty of Steubenville, Ohio, was not only an eminent clergyman, but also an eminent philanthropist, who consecrated his large fortune to the education of young men. Eight years afterward we find the Rev. Charles Beatty, accompanied by Rev. Mr. Duffield, visiting the region and then returning to their homes in the east to stir the hearts of men to send Christian ministers to teach the truth amidst the scattered settlements of the frontier. The very flower of the eastern colleges, which were then in their infancy, were selected for the work. Men like John McMillan, whom Albert Gallatin at a later date called "Cardinal" McMillan, so potent was his influence, — James Powers, Thaddeaus Dodd, and Joseph Smith, graduates of Princeton, were leaders in the work of evangelization and founders wherever they went of schools and colleges. Out of the log college established by John McMillan on the banks of Chartiers Creek grew Washington and Jefferson College, and we find this same McMillan, associated with the others, whom I have named, more than a hundred and twenty years ago in the Board of Trustees of the institution now known as the University of Pittsburgh.

While Presbyterian clergymen were laboring to organize congregations among the Scotch-Irish settlers in the valleys of the Alleghany and Monongahela, the Moravian missionaries were laboring to teach the red men of the wilderness the same truths and to educate them. David Zeisberger, whose mortal remains now sleep under the sod of Ohio, so preached the gospel to the hostile Monseys who were on the war trail upon the upper waters of the Alleghany, that they laid down their hatchets and were baptized in the name of Him who is the Prince of Peace. John Heckewelder, many of whose descendants live upon the soil of this State and whose daughter was, I believe, the first white girl born within the State of Ohio, did a work among the Indians that has made his name forever historic.

The close of the Revolutionary War brought to Pittsburgh a number of men who had been officers in the Continental armies. They were men of influence and culture. Associated with them as leaders in the early settlements were others, likewise men of culture, among whom

may be mentioned Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the author of a satirical romance entitled "Modern Chivalry," in which he sarcastically depicts the political conditions of his time. "The Pittsburgh Gazette," the first newspaper printed west of the Alleghany mountains, contains in its early columns a number of contributions from the pen of this versatile son of Princeton, who had been a classmate of James Madison, who at a later time became President of the United States. Brackenridge had unbounded faith in the future of the Ohio Valley, and he used his influence, not merely as a prophet, but as a very active politician and lawyer, to bring about the realization of the dreams which he had dreamed. One hundred and fifty years have passed since Hugh Henry Brackenridge prophesied, and it is interesting today to those who take the trouble to read what he wrote, to see how even far beyond his fondest fancies has been the issue of events.

It would be to me a fascinating task in detail to sketch to you how influences of various sorts have been woven together to bring about those conditions which we see at present. The portion assigned to me, however, has been in a few words to tell of the early beginnings of the settlement of the Valley. There is no time for me to do more than I have done, with a few bold strokes to recall to memory the stirring deeds from 1752 to 1787, in which in rapid succession we see the Virginian Cavalier and the Pennsylvanian uniting to expel the chivalry of France from the coveted valley, and then turning to contend between themselves for the possession of the gateway of the West; to picture to you the sturdy advance of the pioneer settlers, men whose implements were the rifle and the axe, to remind you of the warfare which they waged with the wild men of the forest and with the obdurate might of sullen Nature, to show how with that culture which comes through the plow there came the culture which comes through the printed Word, and how thus foundations were laid by the hands and the heads and the hearts of men for that triumphant civilization which has taken possession of the vast domain. New England has her traditions of Plymouth Rock, Virginia of her Jamestown, New York of her early life on the banks of the Hudson; but no less consecrated and no less stirring are the traditions which linger along the shores of what the poetic Frenchman called "la belle riviere," the fair Ohio, the shining waters of which flow past this historic town.

SKETCH OF OHIO RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

Colonel John L. Vance, Columbus.

President Ohio Valley Improvement Association.

It is impossible in the limits of a paper for such an occasion as this to go into a detailed statement of the various movements looking to the improvement of the Ohio. A brief summary, only, may be given.

In 1784 we find specific suggestions made of the value of the Ohio to the trade and commerce of the United States in a letter from Washington to Governor Harrison of Virginia, in which he suggested the connection of the Ohio and the Potomac by the way of Wills Creek. These words are used by Washington: "The Western States, I speak now from my own observation, stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them either way. They have looked down the Mississippi until the Spaniards, very impolitically for themselves, I think, have thrown difficulties in their way. * * * These causes have, hitherto, checked the industry of the present settlers. * * But smooth the road and make easy for them, and see what an influx of articles will be poured in upon us; how amazingly our exports will be increased by them, and how amply we shall be compensated for any trouble and expense we may encounter to effect it."

Later, Washington recommends the survey of the Ohio and its affluents in these words: "The navigation of the Ohio being known, they will have less to do in the examination of it. But, nevertheless, let the courses and distances of the river be taken to the mouth of the Muskingum and up that river, notwithstanding it is in the ceded lands to the carrying places of the Cuyahoga. * * * In a word, let the waters East and West of the Ohio, which invite our notice by their proximity and by the ease with which land transportation may be had between them and the lakes on the one side and the Potomac and James on the other, be explored, delineated accurately, and a correct and connected map of the whole be presented to the public."

Again, he wrote: "I could not help taking a more extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States from maps and from the information of others, and could not but be struck with the immense extent and importance of it and the goodness of that Providence which has dealt its favors to us with so profuse a hand. *Would to God we may have wisdom to improve them.*"

While Washington looked to the general improvement of the entire system of inland waterways, his letters to Governor Harrison and Thomas Jefferson make it plain that, in his view, the first inland waterway improvement would be in the connection of the Ohio and the Potomac and the James Rivers.

As early as 1804, the Legislature of Kentucky incorporated a company organized for the purpose of constructing the Louisville and Portland Canal, to avoid the falls of the Ohio. Although contracts were let for the work, it was not begun until 1825, and not until December, 1830, was the canal opened for navigation.

In 1820, Congress made an appropriation for a survey of the Ohio from Louisville to the Mississippi River. This survey was made by Captains Young and Poussin of the Topographical Engineers and Lieutenant Tuttle of the Engineers. In 1824, an appropriation of $75,000

was made for the improvement of certain sand bars in the Ohio, and for the removal of snags from the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. During the following year, Major Long, of the Topographical Engineers, began the construction of the first dike on the Ohio at Henderson, Ky.

In 1830, work was begun on the removal of rocks at Grand Chain; and dikes at Scuffletown, Sisters, and French and Cumberland Islands were constructed in 1831 and 1832. The first permanent work above the Falls was the dams at Browns Island, constructed in 1836. The construction of dikes and cut off dams was in pursuance of the project of regulation of depths by closing island chutes and by narrowing the channel by dikes projecting from the bank in order to concentrate the water upon bars to cause their removal. This method of improvement was carried on at many places until the practical discontinuance of appropriations for the Ohio in 1844. From 1845 to 1866 only two appropriations were made, one of which was quite small, and the other only $95,000. Upon the resumption of appropriations in 1866, the method of improvement by work of contraction was resumed, and with the removal of snags, wrecks, and other obstructions, and the cutting of channels by dredging, this plan is still in use. Ice harbors have also been constructed at various points above the Falls.

It was recognized at an early date that to improve the river to accommodate the existing commerce, a system of locks and dams must be inaugurated. The first recorded proposition for this purpose was made by Mr. W. Milnor Roberts, Civil Engineer, in 1870. In 1874, Major W. E. Merrill, Corps of Engineers, recommended the construction of 13 locks and movable dams with Chanoine wickets between Pittsburgh and Wheeling, and stated that there is no doubt of the absolute necessity of using locks in any rational plan of improving the Upper Ohio. In 1875, Major Merrill expressed himself in favor of extending the movable dam system throughout the entire river. In 1875, the sum of $100,000 was appropriated, "to be used for and applied toward the construction of a movable dam, or a dam with adjustable gates, for the purpose of testing substantially the best method of improving, permanently, the navigation of the Ohio River and its tributaries." This dam was constructed at Davis Island, and was opened for traffic October 7, 1885.

In 1895, the Ohio Valley Improvement Association was organized. The apparent neglect of the Ohio River caused the formation of this Association, which has labored assiduously in behalf of the permanent improvement of the river from Pittsburgh to Cairo by a system of locks and dams. It was thought at first that 6 feet of water would accommodate the traffic, present and prospective. It was found that more water would be required, and the plan was changed (in 1902) to 9 feet.

Beginning with 1890, appropriations have been made for thirteen other locks and dams. The act of June 3, 1896, authorized a survey from Pittsburgh to Marietta and a report as to the number of movable dams necessary to provide 6 feet of water at low water. This report provided for a system of 18 locks between the points named.

The act of March 3, 1899, provided for a survey between Marietta and the mouth of the Big Miami. The report of this survey provided for 19 additional locks and dams — a total of 37 to cover the river from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Big Miami. Special surveys have been made from time to time at various locations, for use in connection with the general improvement of the river.

The river and harbor act of June 13, 1902, provided for an examination at and below Pool No. 1, with a view of securing increased depth and additional harbor facilities for the city of Pittsburgh. A Board of Officers of the Corps of Engineers (ordered to consider and report upon this matter) was of the opinion that to meet the demands of traffic a depth of 9 feet should be provided from Davis Island (Lock No. 1) to Lock No. 7. The act of March 3, 1905, appropriated funds for securing a stage of 9 feet in the pools made by Dams Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, by a modification of these locks and dams.

The most important legislation in behalf of the Ohio River was contained in the act of Congress approved March 3, 1905, as follows:

"The Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a board of engineers to examine the Ohio River, and report at the earliest date by which a thorough examination can be made, the necessary data with reference to the canalization of the river, and the approximate location and number of locks and dams in such river, with a view both to a depth of six feet and nine feet; and in said report shall include the probable cost of such improvement with each of the depths named, the probable cost of maintenance, and the present and prospective commerce of said river, upstream as well as downstream, having regard to both local and through traffic. They shall also report whether, in their opinion, such improvement should be made, and whether other plans of improvement could be devised under which the probable demands of traffic, present and prospective, could be provided for without additional locks and dams, or with a less number than is described in surveys heretofore made, giving general details relating to all of said plans and the approximate cost of completion thereof. They shall also examine the said river from the mouth of the Green River to Cairo, with a view to determining whether an increased depth can be maintained by use of dredges."

In conformity with this act, the Secretary of War appointed the following officers as members of such Board: Lieut.-Colonel D. W. Lockwood, Lieut.-Colonel Ernest H. Ruffner, Lieut.-Colonel Clinton B.

Sears, Major Geo. A. Zinn, and Major Wm. L. Sibert. Captain Harry Burgess was the Recorder of the Board.

This Board most thoroughly performed the important duties committed to it, and on the 15th of December, 1906, made an exhaustive report. I must be content to quote the closing paragraph:

"In view of the enormous interests to be benefited by continuous navigation on the Ohio River, and the great development which may be expected from such increased facilities, the Board is of the opinion that the Ohio River should be improved by means of locks and dams to provide a depth of 9 feet from Pittsburgh to Cairo."

As provided by law, this report was referred to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors for review, i. e., Colonel H. M. Adams, Colonel Chas. E. L. B. Davis, Colonel R. L. Hoxie, Lieut.-Colonel C. McD. Townsend, and Major E. Eveleth Winslow. This Board made a personal inspection of the river and held a public hearing at Pittsburgh, and on the 18th of October, 1907, filed its report, from which I quote the concluding paragraphs:

"The General Government has expended large sums in improving the various tributaries of the Ohio. The utility of these improvements is dependent on the navigability of the main stream. The proposed improvement of the Ohio River will create a vast system of water communication penetrating one of the most populous and prosperous sections of the United States. Even in its unimproved condition the river has a marked effect on rail freight rates, the cheap rates quoted in the report as prevailing between New Orleans and Louisville, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh being directly traceable to its influence. Its effect on rail freight rates will be greatly increased if the proposed improvements are carried out.

"For these reasons the Board is of the opinion that the improvement of the Ohio River by locks and movable dams so as to secure a depth of 9 feet as recommended in the report of the special board is worthy of being undertaken by the United States.

"In making this recommendation the Board realizes that it is suggesting a plan for river improvement on a scale not hitherto attempted in this country, but it believes that there will probably be in the near future a popular demand for the improvement of several streams on such a scale. On account of the large commercial development of its shores and its connection with the lower Mississippi now maintained in a navigable condition the Ohio River is, in the opinion of the Board, the *one river* of all others most likely to justify such work. Furthermore, it should be noted that by authorizing the construction for 9-foot navigation of 14 locks at various parts of the river, Congress has already practically entered upon such a system of improvement."

On the 11th of January, 1908, these reports, accompanied by a letter from General Mackenzie, were transmitted to the house of Representatives by the Secretary of War and were referred to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

It remains for Congress to complete the work it has undertaken by adequate appropriations. There is no further room for discussion. All the arguments advanced by the Ohio Valley Improvement Association, in behalf of the permanent improvement of the river, have been verified and confirmed by the distinguished Engineers making the reports by direct authority of Congress.

And so, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, the dream of Washington bids fair to be realized.

[The excellent address of Mr. Lewis on Dunmore's War, is here omitted as the author desires to publish it elsewhere.—Editor.]

Following the papers of the formal session there was a most pleasing reception tendered the assembled members and their guests by the resident members of the Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Ohio, in old office of the Ohio Land Company on Washington street. The structure has the reputation of being the oldest building in the Northwest Territory still on its original site, and has fittingly passed into the keeping of this patriotic organization. There amidst the old desks, chairs, and other mementoes of early days, some fifty guests sipped their tea and chatted by the light cast from the blazing log in the old fireplace or from the flickering candles on the walls. The committee in charge of this feature of the program consisted of Mrs. Lovell, Miss Woodbridge, Mrs. Daniel H. Buell, Miss Buell, and Miss Putnam, whose efforts were gratefully appreciated by the assembled guests.

THIRD SESSION.

Over a hundred persons assembled in the Y. M. C. A. building at seven p. m. for the annual dinner of the Association. After partaking of the substantial repast provided for the occasion, President E. O. Randall, in introducing the toastmaster for

the evening spoke of the first banquet that occurred in Marietta on July 4th, 1788, near the spot where the guests of the Association were now assembled. On the former occasion the Marietta settlers were joined by the officers of Fort Harmar and the Indians of the immediate vicinity and Mr. Randall drew some amusing comparisons between that assemblage and the present one, reciting several apt citations from the speeches then uttered, the menu served, and the toasts rendered. He then in a few felicitous words introduced Prof. Charles Theodore Greve, of the Cincinnati Law School, who was to act as toastmaster.

Mr. Greve congratulated the Association upon its success in bringing together persons from all parts of the country to discuss matters of local historical interest, and emphasized the importance of many features of the work that was planned for the coming year. He then introduced President S. C. Mitchell, of South Carolina University, who delivered the main address of the evening on the "Problems of the Present Day South." Although speaking from a genuine southern standpoint, as was shown by his happy remark that he was forty years old before he learned that "damned Yankee" was not simply one word, President Mitchell speedily won the sympathy of his audience by his clear and convincing presentation of the causes and conditions that have rendered the South what she is today. It is a matter of great regret to the publication committee that Dr. Mitchell was unable to furnish them with a copy of his admirable and eloquent address, which was one of the most notable of the entire meeting.

Following the main address brief remarks were made by Mayor McKinney, of Marietta, Mrs. Lyria Poffenbarger, of Point Pleasant, Prof. E. D. Bradford, of Miami University, W. C. Culkins, of Cincinnati, W. W. Longmoor, of Frankfort, Prof. Archer B. Hulbert, of Marietta, Prof. I. J. Cox, of Cincinnati, and others. From the social and oratorical standpoints the dinner was a great success and the residents of Marietta, who attended in large numbers, expressed their appreciation of the opportunity to hear so many who were engaged in various phases of historical and civic work.

FOURTH SESSION.

At the Saturday morning meeting President Randall turned the program over to Prof. F. P. Goodwin, of Woodward High School, Cincinnati, who conducted the meeting in the interest of teachers of history. After some preliminary remarks regarding the value of local history as illustrative of national movements and of methods designed to utilize it in this way, Mr. Goodwin introduced the chief speaker of the morning, Prof. Arthur W. Dunn, the Director of Civics in the Indianapolis public schools.

The paper of Prof Dunn is not here reproduced as it was published in the complete report of the Association annual meeting, as well as in the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for December, 1908.

LOCAL HISTORY IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Miss May Lowe,
Circleville, Ohio.

Is he an educated man who, though versed in mathematics, in languages, in all the lore of the ancient civilizations, does not know that (it may be) where now stands his home once was waged as deadly and as cruel a war as ever startled Europe; that here dwelt a strange people of mysterious lineage, who wrought with their hands as remarkable structures as the Pyramids — who wrought with their minds as abstruse problems as did Euclid?

Can the resident of Pickaway County be termed educated, who, though trained in the history of foreign countries does not know of the remarkable fortifications (prehistoric remains) upon the site of which the county seat now stands — who does not know of the noble chiefs Logan and Cornstalk, and of the latter's sister (one as mighty as the chief in council and in war) the Grenadier Squaw?

What of those citizens of Marietta who are ignorant of the doings of the hardy pioneers who here laid the foundation of the first town in Ohio, and at the same time blazed the trail for others whose coming opened up all that vast region west of the Alleghanies? What of those citizens of Marietta who do not know that within twelve miles of them was that unique and beautiful house which was the scene of one of the most romantic episodes in any history; in which was hatched the stu-

pendous scheme for the establishment of that great Western Empire which Aaron Burr should rule.

What may be said of those citizens of New Lexington, who do not know that less than a half century ago, there worked and played about the beautiful hills with which they are so familiar, a young boy, who, by his learning, his intrepid spirit, his sympathy with the oppressed, was destined to "change the face of Eastern Europe"; who inspired the Russo-Turkish war; who died in far-away Constantinople, and who, to-day, lies in the little St. Rose cemetery, his grave marked by a huge unhewn boulder, his name forever enshrined in the hearts of those who know — MacGahan, Liberator of Bulgaria?

Endless, indeed, is the list of historical events bearing upon the various localities of this great country; and endless will be the profit and pleasure assured to the boy and girl to whose attention are brought these events. For, once brought to their notice in the right way, they will prove a source of infinite delight to the children, who will not be slow in connecting the links until, at length, there is strung together in their minds a chain of knowledge of historical events dealing with their neighborhoods. And it will become, to them, an endless chain, for they will follow it along, will add links dealing with their county, their state, their Nation, and eventually, other nations.

It rests with parents and teachers to stimulate this interest.

That a knowledge of local historical happenings is considered of importance, by thinkers and writers, is a matter of record. Note what Whittier says:

"Our mother, while she turned her wheel
Or run the new-knit stocking-heel,
Told how the Indian hordes came down
At midnight on Cocheco town,
And how her own great-uncle bore
His cruel scalp-mark to fourscore,
Recalling, in her fitting phrase,
So rich and picturesque and free,
(The common unrhymed poetry
Of simple life and country ways,)
The story of her early days."

And coming nearer home we have the words of the venerable Dr. William Henry Venable, with whom many of you are personally acquainted, and who is honored throughout the land. In a letter written some ten days ago, he says, "The topic is exceedingly important," and he expresses himself as being in perfect sympathy with the objects of the Ohio Valley Historical Association and mentions a number of his friends among the members. It is needless to say to you, who know him so well, that much of his work in prose and many of his poems

testify to his interest in the subject of local history. Beside that noble poem, "The Founders," written for your Central Ohio Valley History Conference, a year ago, we find in his latest volume many poems (among them, "John Filson," "A Ballad of Old Kentucky," and "Wending Westward,") which breathe forth a spirit of interest in events which shaped the history of a region with which we are all familiar.

Dr. John B. Peaslee, for many years the Superintendent of the Public Schools of Cincinnati, and author of that instructive and entertaining book "Thoughts and Experiences In and Out of School," has done a great deal to call attention to the value of this subject, as well as to encourage its study. I trust I am not going too far when I say that there seems to have been, on the part of those in authority, either some prejudice against or some lack of knowledge of the importance of this subject as a part of the work of the public schools. To overcome, in any measure, these difficulties has, no doubt, been an arduous task; and we perhaps owe it to the efforts of such men as Dr. Peaslee that they have, even in a small degree, been overcome. That the time may come, and soon, when certain time will be set apart in the school courses for local history, as it is for arithmetic and spelling, will be, in large measure, the result of the work of these pioneers and of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.

During Dr. Peaslee's superintendency of the schools, in Cincinnati there was not, and there is not now (to quote from a letter) any systematic course in local history. He, however, supplemented the incidental work done in this direction by the introduction of "Pioneer Day" celebrations. The character and scope of these celebrations may be gained from the following:

SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS:

1. The day we celebrate.
2. General George Rogers Clark.
3. The Ordinance of Eighty-Seven.
4. The Ohio Company.
5. Gen. St. Clair, first governor of Ohio.
6. Gen. Wayne.
7. John Cleves Symmes.
8. First settlement of Columbus and Cincinnati.
9. Fort Washington.
10. Habits of the pioneers.
11. Gen. Harrison.
12. The Cincinnati mound.
13. German pioneers.
14. The Indians.

SELECT READINGS:

1. Extracts from Ordinance of Eighty-Seven.
2. The West — extract from speech of Dr. Daniel Drake.
3. Description of the buckeye tree, by Dr. Drake.
4. Courage of Miss Zane.

5. "How Farmers Lived," by Judge Burnet.

6. Extracts from letters of Washington Irving, James K. Paulding, Jared Sparks and James Madison, all referring to our State or City. These letters were written in 1855, on the occasion of the "birthday" celebration of Ohio by the citizens of Cincinnati.

DECLAMATIONS:

1. "The Pioneers," "Tecumseh," and "Old Mound," by Charles A. Jones. (This mound stood near where the Hughes High School building now stands.)

2. "The Mothers of the West," and "Song of the Pioneers," by W. A. Gallagher.

3. "Ohio's Pilgrim Band," or "Pioneer Hymn," composed for the occasion by Lewis J. Cist, and sung to the tune of "America."

The schools were not confined to the above topics and selections; nevertheless, the list fairly represents the character and scope of the celebrations. As preparatory work, the Superintendent of Schools gave a talk of nearly an hour each to all the pupils above the third reader.

Mr. C. B. Galbreath, State Librarian of Ohio, while Superintendent of Schools in Paulding County, introduced some valuable work along this line among the pupils under his charge. Among other things was a collection of maps of local interest which he was asked to have prepared as a part of the educational exhibit at the Columbian Exposition.

Prof. Stanley Lawrence, Superintendent of the village schools at Ashville, Pickaway County, Ohio, (with which is connected a joint township High School) says that his school is typical of most of the village and township schools with which he is familiar, and that, in his school, little systematic effort is made to teach local history. The pupils read Howell's Stories of Ohio, in the 6th grade, and Ohio History Sketches, in the 8th grade; once in a while, in connection with composition work or as graduating essays, papers on local history are prepared by the pupils; papers on such subjects are given, now and then, on special programs in observance of patriotic days.

In the schools of Circleville, in the same county, a similar condition exists in regard to this subject. Those teachers who have a predilection for it give such instruction as their limited time permits. But no time is assigned for its study, and those teachers to whom payday is the most important period in history allow a rich field to lie uncultivated at their very doors. But all honor to those who do, in any degree, cultivate it, for in this additional task they are neither stimulated nor aided. Their reward comes, as it must come to so many toilers, in the consciousness that, whatever the lack of encouragement, they could not have been true to their high natures had they done less than their best.

A notable example of the work inspired by these teachers is that done by the pupils of the High School of Circleville, in 1906 and 1907, under the direct supervision of Principal T. O. Williams, now Principal of the High School at Newark, Ohio. A magazine was conducted, during these years, which reflected considerable credit upon the school. It took its name, as well as its cover design, from the old fortifications and the plan of the early town. Though the contents of the present number are taken, in some cases, almost bodily, from a recent History of Pickaway County, the selection shows discrimination, and the whole number exhibits, better than words can do, the lively interest taken, for a short period, at least, in the remarkable local history of the vicinity.

An application for information, directed to the State Superintendents of Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, brought courteous replies, but, as far as the two former are concerned, nothing very encouraging as to work undertaken or progress made in the study of local history in the schools. The required books of supplementary reading, in the Ohio Pupils' Reading Course, which course is not compulsory, include various volumes of stories of Ohio history; and the common schools of Kentucky are required to study the history of their State, the text book adopted being Kinkead's History of Kentucky. But it is evident that in these two states, as well as in most of the Union, the study of local history rests almost entirely with individual teachers — that no special time is allowed and no space assigned for this subject in the regular courses of study.

A History of Education in the State of Ohio, prepared by members of the Ohio Teachers' Association, formed a part of the representation of the educational interests of the State, at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, in 1876. It, in conjunction with Historical Sketches of Public Schools of the State of Ohio (same date) purports to be a complete record of the history, work, and progress of the schools of the State, up to that time. And as there is no mention of local history, in the synopsis of a course of study given (in the first-named volume) as representative of the courses taught in the graded schools of the State, it is, perhaps, safe to assert that local history was not taught in the Ohio schools, before that date. In the Historical Sketches the course of studies is given for each town and city and local history is not named.

Of general reports, I have had access to nothing later than the report of the Commissioner of Education, for 1906, and in it no reference, as far as I could detect, was made to the subject of local history study.

In the Report of the Committee of Ten (a committee on secondary school studies, appointed at the meeting of the National Educational Association, July 9, 1892, with reports of the Conferences arranged by this Committee) history is one of four subjects mentioned as being imperfectly dealt with in primary and secondary schools. This, it is to

be presumed, includes local history, as one phase of the general subject. This report was submitted by one of the nine Conferences of ten members each, decided upon by the Committee of Ten, this special Conference of History, Civil Government, and Political Economy convening at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., on December 28, 1892. These experts "wished that these subjects might be made equal to Latin, Greek, and Mathematics in weight and influence in the schools, but they knew that educational tradition was adverse to this desire." The Report says, that "taking a comparison of statements of 150 college students, American history is studied in only about one-third as many instances in High Schools as ancient history." It adds: "The dry and lifeless system of instruction by text books should give way to a more rational kind of work."

The only direct mention of the subject made in this Report, is as one of a list of topics suggested for a year's intensive study for High Schools, No. 14 being "Some considerable phase of local history." The only mention, notwithstanding the fact that the Conference urged that an eight-years' course of study of history be adopted by the schools, four in grammar grades and four in High School. The first two years, they suggested, be taken up with elementary biography and mythology, the third year with American history, "because that is the subject in which local interest is most readily aroused, and with which it is easiest to connect some study of civil government." They urge, however, that a year of classical history be taught in the grammar grades. Great stress is laid upon this point, the one year of American history being deemed quite sufficient, though the same Conference recommends the study of local and state government. In fact, one deduction made by this Conference would seem, to some extent, at least, to cast a damper upon the study of local history in the public schools. They say: "Nor has it seemed desirable to recommend a method not uncommon in Germany, by which the student begins with the history of his own city and widens out to his nation, to Europe, and perhaps eventually, to the rest of the world. If this process is at any point interrupted the child is left with the feeling that the world stops where his study has ceased." If this be true, (and far be it from me to insinuate that these ten experts in historical research are wrong,) would it not be better for Johnny and Jenny to think that Athens or China has no history than to think that Podgeville (where they live) has had no part in man's heritage of noble endeavor and stirring deeds?

The Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools, appointed at the meeting of the National Educational Association, July 9, 1895, makes very interesting reading, a number of good things, especially being suggested for the enrichment of the work of the rural schools, by means of subjects drawn from rural life and surroundings. This could, of course, be made particularly effective in the study of geography,

geology, botany and zoology, and might be made none the less interesting if attention were directed to local historical events and the preservation of historical sites and landmarks. This latter is slightly touched upon in an appendix to the Report, in these words, taken from an excellent paper by Francis W. Parker, of the Chicago Normal School: "Most towns in the Eastern states and some in the West have interesting local histories. There are generally stories of the Indians, of settlements, of colonization, of noted men and women, of the part taken by the citizens in the Civil War. A strong love of history can be induced and fostered by beginning this study close to the home." Though these words are so encouraging to our objects it is to be regretted that, as far as the Report goes, no definite action nor recommendation was taken along these lines.

But the seeming lack of interest in the teaching of local history manifested by the majority of those mapping out courses of school studies is pleasantly counteracted by the spirit which inspired the course of history as published in the State Manual and Course of Study for the Schools of Indiana, 1908-09. This is the most encouraging thing I have found in the whole range of reports and courses of study to which I have had access, and it may, no doubt, be said that Indiana is the pioneer in the encouragement of the study of American history and of local history. For, while other educational leaders seem to wish to ignore the history of our own country, passing over the subject, in their reports and study courses, as of little or no importance. Indiana comes to the front and through its State Course of Study asserts that American history and Indiana history are important — that, of all history, they are of supreme importance to the pupils of that State. For, out of an eight-years' history course, five years are devoted to American history, the first year being taken up entirely with local history. A note says: "The pupils should be led to form pictures of life in our own State and community by the study of those brave, faithful men and women who have brought the crude territory to Statehood, and the unbroken forests to the present fruitful fields."

The course mapped out is so significant of the great results which may be expected from its study, and so suggestive of the good which, without doubt, would result from its adaptation by other states, that I copy it in its entirety.

First Part. — Primitive Life.

References: Pictures of Indian life found in calendars, railroad circulars and general advertising booklets. *Books:* Old Indian Legends, Zitkala-Sa; Stories of Pioneer Life, Bass; American Indians, Starr.

I. Local Study.

1. Arrowheads, beadwork, moccasins, pottery and other Indian relics found in the locality may be brought to the schoolroom by the children. Indian mounds or Indian cemeteries in the neighborhood may be visited and information regarding these various relics and monuments, and the primitive people who lived in the locality before the white people came, may be obtained from people living in the community.
2. Study the local geography — hills, mountains, rivers, natural products, climate — and find the conditions that probably induced the Indians to live there.

II. Primitive Life as Drawn from I, 1 and 2, and from the References.

1. Food and clothing.
2. Houses and furniture.
3. Modes of travel and communication.
4. Occupations.
5. Amusements. (Games, etc.).
6. Education. (What was taught and how?)
7. Religion. (What was worshiped and how?)

Second Part. — Pioneer Life.

References: Stories of Pioneer Life, Bass; Great Americans for Little Americans, Eggleston.

I. Local Study.

1. What became of the Indians in the locality? Study relics, old buildings and other matter pertaining to the early white settlers.
2. Study the local geography and find the conditions of advantage to the early white settlers.

II. Pioneer Life as Drawn from I, 1 and 2, and from the Reading References.

1. Food and clothing.
2. Houses and furniture.
3. Modes of travel and communication.
4. Occupations.
5. Amusements. (Games, etc.)
6. Education.
7. Churches.

Third Part. — Great Americans.

References: Stories of Pioneer Life, Bass; Great Americans for Little Americans, Eggleston.

1. Extend the study of the primitive life and the pioneers from the locality to other parts of the State and country, and bring out the friendly relations and the struggles between the Indians and white people.

II. Study Individual Pioneers.

1. The first Governor of Boston.
2. Marquette.
3. William Penn and the Indians.
4. John Stark and the Indians.
5. Daniel Boone.
6. George Rogers Clark.
7. Story of Frances Slocum.
8. Down the Ohio.

That one is able to find, in the great desert of indifference and antagonism to the teaching of local history, such a pleasant oasis of interest and zeal, is indeed, refreshing; and that this interest may broaden and extend is to be most devoutly wished. One writer says: "History furnishes the best training in patriotism and it enlarges the sympathies and interests." This is more than ever true of local history, for is there not a special meaning, to the child's mind, in the fact, that upon the very spot where his schoolhouse stands were once performed deeds of valor or daring? Does not this come home to him more forcibly than if the same deeds had been wrought in far-away Asia or Africa? And does he not, each time he hears these stories repeated, cherish them and dream upon them, as did Elaine with the shield of Lancelot? Do they not become, to him, an incentive to high endeavor and noble deeds?

At the business session which followed the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer informally presented the report of the Executive Committee which will be found in Appendix. This report, which included the proposed constitution was unanimously adopted and a vote of thanks extended to the committee for its work. The Nominating Committee, of which Professor A. E. Morse was chairman, presented the list of officers for the coming year. Upon motion the report was adopted and the following named declared duly elected:

President:

Charles Theodore Greve, Cincinnati, O., Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

Vice-Presidents:

Arthur William Dunn, Indianapolis, Ind. Indiana Historical Society.
W. J. Holland, Pittsburgh, Pa., Director Carnegie Institute.
Virgil A. Lewis, Charleston, W. Va. State Archivist and Historian.
Woodford W. Longmoor, Frankfort, Ky. Kentucky State Historical Society.

Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer:

Isaac Joslin Cox, Cincinnati, O. University of Cincinnati.

Recording Secretary and Curator:

Archer Butler Hulbert, Marietta, O., Marietta College.

Additional Members of Executive Committee:

E. O. Randall, Columbus, O. (Ex-Officio). Secretary of Ohio Archæological and Historical Society.

Frank Parker Goodwin, Cincinnati, O. Cincinnati History Teachers' Association.

Harry Brent Mackoy, Covington, Ky. Hereditary Patriotic Societies.

Henry William Elson, Athens, O. Ohio University.

Harlow Lindley, Richmond, Ind. Earlham College.

Upon motion the question of a meeting place for the year 1909 was referred to the Executive Committee. To this committee was also referred the question of the time when the meeting should be held. Invitations to meet at Frankfort, Kentucky, and at Point Pleasant, West Virginia, were then extended to the organization through the Executive Committee, for which invitations the members expressed a vote of thanks.

It was then moved and carried that the president appoint a committee of five to undertake the task of locating and preserving historical manuscript collections in the Ohio Valley, and also a committee of three to promote the study of local history in the schools of this section. President Randall later announced the following appointments:

Committee on Historical Manuscripts:

Harry Brent Mackoy, Covington, Ky.
Isaac Joslin Cox, Cincinnati, O.
Virgil A. Lewis, Charleston, W. Va.
Henry W. Temple, Washington, Pa.
Harlow Lindley, Richmond, Ind.

Committee on Local History in the Public Schools:

Arthur William Dunn, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, Ind.
Frank Parker Goodwin, Woodward High School, Cincinnati, Ohio.
W. H. Bartholomew, Girls' High School, Louisville, Ky.

Upon suggestion from the Executive Committee Article 4, of the proposed constitution was amended to permit the selection of *four* instead of two vice presidents, thus increasing the Executive Committee to eleven members; and Article 6 was amended to make the regular annual dues of each organization *five* instead of ten dollars. For the constitution as thus amended and adopted the reader is referred to Appendix A.

FIFTH SESSION.

At the Saturday afternoon session, under the direction of Professor A. E. Morse, of Marietta College, the following papers were read and at the conclusion the members of the Association extended a most hearty vote of thanks to the President and officers of instruction of Marietta College, where the meetings were held, and to the people of the city of Marietta, whose thoughtful care and attention had resulted in so successful a gathering and had secured for them the opportunity to enjoy the many spots of historic interest in this famous communited.

BRADDOCK'S ROAD.

HENRY TEMPLE,

Washington, Pennsylvania

The purpose of this paper is to give some account of Braddock's road before General Braddock's expedition passed over it and to add a few notes on the traces that still mark the route which he followed.[1] The interest attracted by the highway cross the Alleghenies which long bore the unfortunate general's name is of various kinds. Like other pioneer roads it was first an Indian trail and a traders' path. It was the earliest road laid out and opened west of the mountains by the English in conscious rivalry with the French for commercial and military control of the great west. When the country was opened to settlement,

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1. That portion of the following paper which contains a brief description of General Braddock's route and of the traces of the road that remain to the present time is taken from notes made along the line of the road in August. 1908, when, in company with seven others, the writer tramped over all but a few miles of it from Cumberland to the battlefield. The expedition was proposed and managed by Mr. John Kennedy Lacock, formerly of Washington, Pa., now of Harvard. The remaining members of the party were: Professor Clarence S. Larzelere of Mount Pleasant, Michigan; Mr. C. F. Abbott of Somerville, Massachusetts; Mr. Em. K. Weller, photographer for the expedition; Messrs. Edgar B. Murdoch, John H. Murdoch, Jr., John Parr Temple and myself. The five last named members of the party are all of Washington, Pennsylvania.

For a more detailed description of the route than I intend to give in this paper those interested must be referred to the article which Mr. Lacock is preparing, and which, he informs me, will be published in an early number of the "American Historical Review."

after the French and Indian war was ended and Pontiac's conspiracy was crushed, this road was the great immigrant route to the Ohio Valley. Barges built at Brownsville on the Monongahela, or at points on the Youghiogheny, received the immigrants after their difficult land journey over the mountains and floated them down these rivers and the Ohio to their future homes on either of its banks.

Very interesting, too, it is to note that the existence of this road between the waters of the Potomac and those of the Ohio had some influence in determining a matter of importance to the whole country. Thomas Scott of Washington, Pennsylvania, a member of the First Congress of the United States, introduced in the first session of that Congress (August 27, 1789) the earliest resolution looking toward the choice of a location for the National Capital. That resolution declared that "a permanent residence ought to be fixed for the General Government of the United States at some convenient place as near the center of wealth, population and extent of territory as may be consistent with convenience to the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean and having due regard to the particular situation of the Western Country."[2] Richard Henry Lee soon afterward introduced a modification of this resolution which called for a location as nearly central "as communication with the Atlantic and easy access to the Western country will permit."[3]

This demand that the "particular situation of the Western Country" should have an influence in fixing the site of the National Capital, and even that the location should be only as nearly central as the navigation of the Atlantic and easy access to the West would permit astonished certain members from New England. They perceived that a choice governed by these considerations would fix the capital on one of the rivers rising in the "Western Country." Fisher Ames protested that "west of the Ohio is an almost unmeasurable wilderness; when it will be settled or how it will be possible to govern it is past calculation. . . . . Probably it will be near a century before these people will be considerable."[4]

The debate thus precipitated lasted in one House or the other until July, 1790, and the proposals were of various sorts. Ease of access to the western country was claimed for the rival sites. The chief struggle was between the advocates of a location on the Susquehanna and those who preferred the banks of the Potomac. Mr. Vining, of Delaware said: "I declare that I look on the Western Territory in an awful and striking point of view. To that region the unpolished sons of earth are flowing from all quarters, men to whom the protection of the laws and the controlling force of government are alike necessary. From this great con-

2. Annals of Congress, First Congress; vol. I., 786.
3. Same vol. page 836.
4. Same vol. page 869.

sideration I conclude that the banks of the Potomac are the proper station."[5]

Mr. Scott, the mover of the original motion, spoke again. He said: "The Potomac offers itself under the following coircumstances: From the falls up the main river to Wills Creek, it is about 200 miles; From thence is a portage to the Youghioheny, down which you descend to the Monongahela which meets the Allegheny at Fort Pitt and forms the great river Ohio. This is a direct communication between the Atlantic and the Western Country."[6]

The portage between Wills Creek and the Youghiogheny was made by way of the Braddock road which passed near Mr. Scott's early home in Fayette county, Pennsylvania. This congressman at first voted for a site on the banks of the Susquehanna, though he frankly said that the interests of his constituents would be better served if the site on the Potomac were chosen. This being his belief, his vote was one which Alexander Hamilton had little difficulty in delivering to Jefferson for the Potomac in return for votes influenced by Jefferson in favor of Hamilton's project for the national assumption of the State debts. The dust of this almost forgotten man lies in a neglected grave in the Franklin Street graveyard in Washington, Pennsylvania, his former home.

The Braddock road is of interest therefore as a relic of Indian days; because of its association with the military struggle between France and England for colonial empire; as a reminder of the influence of the Ohio country on the location of the National Capital, and as the route afterward followed by the nation's great work of internal improvement, the National Pike.

As "Braddock's Road," however, its chief interest is that of Braddock's expedition and the smaller military movements which preceded his and determined the route by which he marched.

The Ohio Company of Virginia was organized in 1748. Early in the following year it presented a petition to the King in Council, setting forth "the vast advantage it would be to Britain and the Colonies to anticipate the French by taking possession of that Country Southward of the Lakes, to which the French had no Right, nor had then taken possession, except a small Block house Fort among the six Nations below the Falls of Niagara."[7] In the Mercer Papers, which belonged to the Ohio Company, it is declared that the company opened a road from Wills Creek to Turkey Foot in 1751,[8] though the minutes of the company for April 28, 1752, show that the members had some doubt whether "the road from Wills Creek to the Fork of Mohongaly" had yet been properly opened

5. Same vol. page 848.
6. Annals of Congress, vol. II, page 860.
7. Quoted in the Ohio Company's second petition. Darlington's Gist's Journals, pages 226-230.
8. Gist's Journals, page 225.

according to the instruction previously given to Colonel Cresap.[9] However, the company's second petition to the King in Council asserts that the petitioners had "laid out and opened a wagon road thirty feet wide from their Store house at Wills Creek to the three branches of the Ganyangaine, computed to be near eighty miles."[10]

This assertion is so startling that it is well to inquire into it a little. The date of the document containing it is not given in the copy referred to, but it may be fixed approximately from the known dates of certain things referred to in the paper itself. The petition contains a statement that "the fort on Chartiers Creek" is "now building." Now the building of this fort was authorized at a meeting of the committee of the Ohio Company held at Stratford, Westmoreland County, Virginia, July 25, 1753.[11] The fort was not built that year, however, for Washington records in his journal, January 6, 1754, on that day, as he was returning from his mission to the French forts, he "met seventeen horses loaded with material and stores for the fort."[12] In February, Governor Dinwiddie sent a company of troops to aid the men of the Ohio Company in the erection of the Fort.[13] Work had not been begun on the fort on January 6, 1754, when Washington, having recently stood on the spot "where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort," now met the expedition going out for that purpose. By May 4th, it was known in the Virginia capital that the French had driven the troops and the Ohio Company's people away from the unfinished fort,[14] which had been placed not on Chartiers Creek but some distance above at the point between the Allegheny and the Monongahela. The document which asserts that the fort is "now building" must therefore have been written in 1754, between January 6th and May 4th. It is the same document which declares that a wagon road thirty feet wide had already been "laid out and opened" between Wills Creek and the Youghiogheny. That some kind of a road had been opened by the company in 1753 "at considerable expense" is asserted by Washington[15] in a letter in which he also says that in 1754 the troops which he commanded had greatly repaired it as far as Gist's plantation, but that a wagon road thirty feet wide had been completed for any considerable portion of that distance is highly improbable. Washington reported to Governor Dinwiddie[16] in 1754 that the work required to "amend and alter" the first twenty miles of the road, from the mouth of Wills Creek to Little

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9. Gist's Journals, page 237.
10. "The Turkey Foot Forks" of the Youghiogheny.
11. Extracts from minutes of Ohio Company, Darlington's Gist, appendix, page 236.
12. Sparks, "Writings of Washington," II, 446.
13. Dinwiddie Papers, I, 136. Dinwiddie to the Earl of Halifax.
14. Dinwiddie Papers, I, 148.
15. Sparks, Writings of Washington, II, 302. Washington to Bouquet.

Meadows, had occupied a detachment of sixty men from April 25th to May 1st, after which date the main body, 160 effective men, continued the work until May 9th. An analysis of these figures will show that it took, on an average, eighty-seven men to "amend and alter" one mile of road in a day. John Armstrong's experience a year later in building the road through Pennsylvania to intersect Braddock's road near the Turkey Foot fork showed, according to Armstrong's report to Governor Morris,[17] that sixty men could make one mile of entirely new road in one day through the mountain wilderness. The suspicion seems to be justified that the assertion contained in the Ohio Company's second petition that the company had "laid out and opened a wagon road thirty feet wide" from their storehouse at Wills Creek eighty miles to the three forks was an overstatement of the improvements they had made, possibly intended to influence the King in Council to grant the requests made in this petition.

In a letter quoted above[18] Washington reports to Governor Dinwiddie that his men have spent two days making a bridge at Little Meadows. This evidently does not mean a bridge over Castleman River, the only nearby stream that would require two days to bridge, but to a bridge of corduroy across the swamp — a portion of the road which Captain Orme, who accompanied Braddock's army a year later, says has been "very well repaired by Sir John St. Clair's advance party."[19] If the word "repaired" is to be taken in its ordinary meaning it is probably a reference to the work formerly done by Washington at this place.

By May 18th, 1754, Washington's little army had reached the Great Crossings, now Somerfield, Pennsylvania, and from that place he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie: "The road to this place is made as good as it can be, having spent much time and great labor upon it. I believe wagons may now travel with 15 or 1800 w't in them by doubling at one or two pinches only".[20]

Not to prolong further this part of the paper, suffice it to say that Washington opened the road as far as Christopher Gist's plantation, about twenty-three miles beyond the Great Crossings. He withdrew afterwards about twelve miles to Fort Necessity, advanced again about six miles to attack Jumonville, and a few weeks later surrendered to 900 French and Indians who permitted him to march his defeated troops to Wills Creek.

The following summer Braddock's forces were assembled at Wills Creek, or Fort Cumberland as the place was now called, and by May 30th the expedition for the recovery of the Ohio country was ready to start. On that day a detachment of 600 men under Major Chapman set

17. Penna. Colonial Records, VI, 401 Armstrong to Gov. Morris.
18. Dinwiddie Papers, I, 151.
19. Captain Orme's journal, entry for June 16, 1755.
20. Dinwiddie Papers, I, 170.

out, following Washington's road over Wills Mountain. The road, which Washington had said a year earlier might be traversed by wagons carrying 15 or 18 hundredweight, proved too steep for the heavy and clumsy army wagons, or king's wagons, as Captain Orme's journal calls them. Three of these were destroyed and other were shattered on the mountainside. All the heavy wagons were sent back to the fort ten days later from Little Meadows, country wagons being substituted for them.[21]

After Major Chapman's experience of the difficulties of the way over Wills Mountain, Lieutenant Spendelow, of the detachment of seamen from Commodore Keppel's fleet, found a way to avoid the mountain by following the old road less than a mile from the fort, then swinging to the right to Wills Creek and following up that stream to the mouth of a rivulet still known as Braddock's Run, thence up the run, joining Major Chapman's route at the western foot of Wills Mountain about five miles from the fort. In Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" there is a reduced copy of a map which shows the road leading from the fort and separating into two branches, one leading to Wills Creek and the other towards the mountain. The original has on the back an endorsement in Washington's handwriting: "Sketch of the situation of Fort Cumberland".[22] This sketch shows the road crossing to the left bank of Wills Creek.

Major Chapman's advance party had marched on to Little Meadows while the main body of the army waited at the fort for the opening of the new road. The army moved in three columns from the fort on June 7th, 8th and 10th, but was reunited and encamped together on the night of June 10th at the point where the new route joined the old.[23]

The National Pike now follows Wills Creek and Braddock's Run, as did the Spendelow route, but the original line of the pike, like the pioneer road which was the main highway to the waters of the Ohio before the pike was built, took the way over Wills Mountain. It is now impossible to find on the ground any certain trace of the Spendelow loop. Perhaps an old packtrail still distinguishable on the hillside along Braddock's Run followed the old line of march. Over the mountain, however, the old route followed by Major Chapman's advance party, and afterwards by the pioneer road, is still marked by a well defined scar to where it joins the old route of the National Pike in Sandy Gap. It must be remembered, however, here and elsewhere in this paper identified with the route of General Braddock's army is a mark left by many years' travel on the pioneer road long called by Braddock's name. That it followed everywhere exactly upon Braddock's trace cannot be ascertained. Yet it is not a wholly unwarranted assumption that the early

21. Captain Orme's Journal, entry for June 10, 1755.
22. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, vol. V, 577.
23. Braddock's Orderly Book, page LIII.

travelers would in general follow that trace rather than cut a new way through the forest.

Descending from Sandy Gap the old road leads to the grove now occupied by the summer cottages and auditorium of the Alleghany Camp Ground. Near this place was General Braddock's first camp, which in his orderly book is called "the camp in the grove," but in Captain Orme's journal it is called "Spendelow Camp." The old road crosses the run at a ford and proceeds westerly three and a half miles to Clarysville, lying most of the way north of the pike and distant from it sometimes only a few yards. At Clarysville the two roads separate and do not touch again for nearly ten miles, the Braddock road passing through a gap at the Hoffman mines, sometimes coinciding with the modern public road and sometimes showing a plain scar through the fields. It passes through the southern outskirts of Frostburg, Maryland. It was in this neighborhood that General Braddock made his second camp, at a place called in Captain Orme's journal "Martin's Plantations." Martin's place is shown in Shippen's draft, of 1759, reproduced in Hulbert's "Historic Highways." [24]

Just beyond Frostburg the steep ascent of Big Savage mountain begins. Here as elsewhere the road climbs squarely up the grade. Though there is an ascent of 1,000 feet in about two miles, some portions of which are remarkably steep, there is no movement along the mountainside to make the slope more gradual. Fronting the ascent squarely the wagons would be higher, of course, in front than at the rear, but one side of the wagon would be no higher than the other and the danger of overturning would be reduced to a minimum. The army had no time to make a "side hill cut" over every steep mountain it must cross.

About four miles west of the top of Big Savage mountain the old road crosses to the north of the present National Pike, and from that point leads westerly, the old trace following more nearly in a straight line than the modern road but never distant from it more than from a half to three-quarters of a mile. Before reaching Little Meadows the road crosses Red Ridge, Meadow Mountain and Chestnut Ridge. A short distance west of Little Meadows the trace passes again to the south of the pike and crosses Castleman River. About two miles west of Grantsville, Maryland, it crosses again to the north of the pike on the steep side of Negro Mountain. Two miles farther west both turn southward, but as the old trace turns more sharply it crosses once more to the south of the pike and follows on that side until both roads have left the soil of Maryland. A few hundred yards north of the Maryland-Pennsylvania line, on Winding Ridge, the trace crosses to the north of the pike. Just south of the boundary line is the site of Braddock's sixth camp, called in Captain Orme's journal, and in many accounts written

24. Hulbert, Historic Highways, vol. V, 28.

by early travelers, "Bear Camp".[25] The trace again crosses to the south of the pike before reaching Somerfield, and fords the Youghiogheny (Great Crossings) near the mouth of Braddock's Run, about a mile above Somerfield. Keeping still to the south of the pike, but never more than one mile from it, the road leads westward over Briery Mountain, or Woodcock Hill, and at a distance of about twelve miles from Great Crossings comes to Fort Necessity, where it is within sight of the pike. Two miles farther west, at Braddock's grave, it crosses once more to the north and the two roads never touch again. The pike leads northwest to Uniontown, thence to Brownsville where it crosses the Monongahela, thence through Washington, Pennsylvania, and Wheeling, West Virginia, to the West. The Braddock trace also leads to the northwest from the Old Orchard Camp near Braddock's grave to the Rock Fort where was the Half King's camp when he led Washington's little force along the mountain path to attack Jumonville in his hiding place. From the Rock Fort the trace leads almost due north seven miles to Christopher Gist's plantation, then inclining a little to the northeast to Stewart's Crossing of the Youghiogheny, just below Connellsville. Thence passing along "the narrows" between Mounts Creek and the Youghiogheny, the old road passed through Prittstown, across Jacobs Creek to the town of Mount Pleasant and to Jacobs Cabins, about two and a half miles farther north. This point is mentioned and called Jacobs Cabins in the journals of Christopher Gist[26] and others before Captain Orme mentions it as the site of Braddock's fifteenth camp.

From Jacobs Cabins the route of Braddock's army inclined a little more to the northwest. Crossing Sewickley Creek, five miles, little Sewickley, nine miles, the army came to the precipitous bluff on Brush Creek, a branch of Turtle Creek, fifteen miles from Jacobs Creek and about one mile west of Larimer. Unable to pass farther in the desired direction, the army turned almost at a right angle toward the southwest into the valley of Long Run, and on reaching the stream turned again to the right. The route followed Long Run to its junction with Jacks Run, thence passed over White Oak Level to the site within the present city of McKeesport where the army encamped on the night of July 8th. On the morning of the 9th the army moved down the steep hill into the valley of Crooked Run and followed that stream to the Monongahela. Just below the bridge which now connects McKeesport with Duquesne the army forded the river and marched down on the Duquesne flats to avoid the narrow pass on the right bank where the

25. Atkinson says (Olden Time II, 543 that he had not been able to identify Bear Camp. The map in Sargent's "Braddock's Expedition" is manifestly wrong in this as in other particulars. It locates Bear Camp at the Great Crossings, while Orme's Journal says that the army marched six miles from Bear Camp to reach Great Crossings. See the journal, entry for June 23, 1755.

26. Gist's Journal, entry for November 19, 1753.

bluff crowds close to the river. Shortly after the army had passed over General Braddock received a message from Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, the commander of the advance party, saying he had passed the second ford and was safe on the right bank of the river once more. While the choppers, covered by a strong guard, were opening the road beyond the second ford Braddock's army marched down the left bank, posted strong guards on both sides of the ford and passed over.

Some knowledge of the last section of the road may be had from maps or sketches drawn by contemporaries and participants in the battle. Among these the most valuable are the two furnished by Patrick Mackellar, chief engineer of the expedition, who was with Gage in the advance column when the fight began.[27] They were drawn by Mackellar at the request of Governor Shirley who sent them to the War Office with a letter dated November 5th, 1755. Others are Captain Orme's plan of the battle, accompanying his journal,[28] a plan in the Harvard library, reproduced in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History,"[29] and an unpublished plan in the Library of Congress. Each of the two last mentioned has a scale of distances. Though the two plans seem to be sketches, and not maps accurately drawn to scale, and the distances are estimated and not measured, they are of value in interpreting all the others, since all agree in the essential topographical features of the ground and in the position of the marching column when the French and Indians were first seen coming down the trail from Fort Duquesne. All these sketches show the vanguard of the advance party of Braddock's army just passing the head of a small stream which flows into into the Monongahela. This may doubtless be identified with the stream mentioned by Colonel Burd in a letter of July 25th to Governor Morris. He says: "On Wednesday the 9th current there was a small body of French and Indians (about five hundred, and never was any more on the ground) discovered by the guides at a small run called Frazer's Run, about seven miles on this side of the French Fort."[30]

It is still possible to identify Frazer's Run within the limits of the town of Braddock. Its location and surroundings correspond with the distance from the ford and the topographical features indicated in the sketch-maps mentioned above, and it is now possible to say that the vanguard of General Braddock's advance party had reached a point about a mile and a quarter from the ford when it was attacked by the French and Indians. The advance party was driven back about a quarter of a mile to a point near the Pennsylvania Railroad station in Braddock, to which the main body had advanced on hearing the firing in front.

27. Parkman. Montcalm and Wolfe, library edition, 1897, vol. I, page 229, note. See Mackellar's maps in the same volume.
28. See Sargent's "Braddock's Expedition."
29. Winsor. Narrative and Critical History, V. 499.
30. James Burd to Governor Morris, July 25, 1755. Penna. Col. Rec. vol. VI, page 501.

Here they held their ground for about two hours, until the General was wounded, when they retreated in disorder, pursued by a small number of Indians as far as the ford. While the main body was engaged near the site of the present railroad station the guard of several hundred men left with the baggage was also engaged with Indians who had crept around both flanks after the advance guard had been driven back and the flanking groups which General Braddock had thrown out to some distance on both sides of the army had run in to join the main body.[31] This baggage guard action was at a point considerably more than half a mile from the main fight and a little more than a quarter of a mile from the ford.

Three of the above mentioned plans of the battle were drawn by men who were present and participated in the fighting. The advanced party had been several hours on the ground before the battle began and had covered the choppers while they opened a mile and a quarter of road through the precise territory on which the fighting took place. Patrick Mackellar was with this advanced party.[32] Being the chief engineer of the expedition, he may be presumed to have observed the ground with some care. His sketch maps of the field should be considered trustworthy in all essential features, and particularly in indicating the road. The plan given by Captain Orme agrees with those of Mackellar. None of them can be reconciled with the map given by Sparks in his account of the battle.[33] The Sparks map shows the road lying between two ravines, crossing neither but roughly parallel with both, and shows the French and Indians posted in the ravines. Mackellar's sketches show the road crossing these ravines almost at right angles, and his explanatory notes say that the Indians "did most of the execution" not from ravines but from a hill on the right of the army. Captain Orme also mentions a "rising ground" on the right, to face which Colonel Burton was forming his command.

The belief sprang up early and has persisted long that Braddock had fallen into an ambuscade and that the French and Indians had fought either from intrenchments thrown up beforehand or from ravines which concealed them. There was no ambuscade. According to the report of the French officer who commanded during most of the battle, the attack was made by the French troops when they were not yet in order of battle, and they fired the first volley when they were not yet within range.[34]

31. "The advanced flank parties which were left for the security of the baggage, all but one, ran in. The baggage was then warmly attacked." Captain Orme's Journal, entry for July 9th.

32. Parkman. "Montcalm and Wolfe." I., 229, note.

33. Sparks. "The Writings of Washington." II., 90.

34. "Il attaqua avec beaucoup d'audace mais sans nulle disposition; notre première décharge fut faite hors de portèe." Dumas au Ministre, 25 Juillet, 1756. Parkman. "Montcalm and Wolfe." II., 440. Appendix.

General Braddock did not live to realize all the evil consequences which his defeat brought upon the frontiers. The road which he had opened from the Potomac to within seven miles of Fort Duquesne became again an Indian warpath. In the three years following this battle it was used by a few small parties of French and many bands of Indians as an open road to the Potomac, whence they ravaged the English settlements in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. General Braddock's expedition was a failure. The road which he left through the wilderness proved throughout the war a benefit to the enemy and an injury to his own countrymen; but in later years as a route for immigrants coming to settle in the Upper Ohio Valley and afterwards as a communication between the Potomac and the Monongahela, it proved to be this unfortunate man's most useful and most lasting work.

Professor C. L. Martzolff, of Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, gave a most interesting account of the History of "Zane's Trace." As Mr. Martzolff gave his address without manuscript we are unable to reproduce it here, but for the benefit of our readers, we refer them to the article on this subject by Professor Martzolff published in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Publications Vol. XIII, pgs 287-331.

THE OLD MAYSVILLE ROAD.

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In this paper we shall deal exclusively with that part of the extension of Zane's Trace which is known in history, as it is commonly known to this day, as the Maysville Road or Maysville Pike.

In its main outlines the story of the old Maysville Road has been frequently told, and the present writer, with somewhat limited time for investigation, can hardly hope to do more than embellish with a few matters of detail the somewhat scanty record.

This Kentucky division of the Maysville and Zanesville turnpike, leading from Maysville on the Ohio River through Washington, Paris and Lexington, became famous in that it was made a test case to determine whether or not the government had the right to assist in the building of purely state and local roads by taking shares of stock in local turnpike companies. Congress, in 1830, passed an Act authorizing a subscription to its capital stock, but President Jackson promptly vetoed the

measure. This veto put an end to all thought of national aid in the promotion of this desired improvement, and its completion was left to private enterprise, and to State and County aid alone.

The opening of Zane's Trace from Wheeling, in Western Virginia, through Southeastern Ohio to Limestone or Maysville on the Kentucky shore of the Ohio, was expressly authorized by an Act of Congress which became a law on the 17th of May, 1796. Its route lay through Zanesville, Lancaster, Chillicothe, and Aberdeen, Ohio, while its termini were Wheeling in Virginia and Limestone in Kentucky. Besides furnishing better and more dependable facilities for the transmission of the mails, Zane's trace was designed primarily to afford a landward route of travel from Kentucky to Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the other middle and north Atlantic States. Prior to the construction of this pioneer pathway, the principal avenue for travel to and from Kentucky was Boone's Blazed Trail through Cumberland Gap, later known as the Wilderness Road, and still later as the Wilderness Turnpike Road, while the water route by way of the Ohio, with the cessation of Indian warfare, was daily growing in importance. Added to the dangers from attacks of hostile Indians, there was throughout much of the year an embarrassing uncertainty in the stage of the water in the Ohio, the upstream journey was a serious undertaking at best, and then as now the travel up and down the river was seriously impeded by protracted drouths in the summer time, which made navigation difficult and sometimes impossible.

The pioneer road which connected Maysville and Lexington followed in a general sort of way the old buffalo trail which led into the interior from or near the mouth of Limestone Creek on the Ohio River, across the Licking, at or near the Lower Blue Licks, and thence crossing North Elkhorn Creek at a point afterwards known as Bryan's Station, on through Lexington, to the Kentucky River and beyond. Maysville, although incorporated as a town by that name in 1787, was, until after 1800, generally known as "Limestone", and in the region immediately around the town, was often called "The Point". The old wagon road, which followed more or less closely the buffalo trail above mentioned from Limestone to Lexington, was frequently spoken of in 1784-1785, as "Smith's Wagon Road" because in the summer of 1783 and earlier, one Smith of Lexington was the first that traveled it with a wagon. There can be little doubt that the Indians and their British-Canadian allies and leaders, who attacked the Fort at Boonesboro and laid siege to Bryan Station and triumphed in the bloody disaster at the Blue Licks, followed, to some extent, at least, this primitive roadway.

Collins informs us that Simon Kenton, together with Edward Waller, John Waller and George Lewis, erected a block house at Limestone (now Maysville), in February, 1784, and that the road from this place, by way of the Lower Blue Licks, to Lexington became the favorite avenue for immigration.

The attention of Kentucky, after becoming a State, was first directed toward the care and improvement of the Wilderness Road, which gave access to Kentucky through Cumberland Gap, and until well into the nineteenth century was the route most commonly traveled by immigrants to Kentucky, and for that reason was best known to the first settlers of the State. The first general Act passed by the Kentucky Legislature concerning public roads was approved February 25, 1797. In his prelection to this Act, William Littell, who compiled a valuable collection of the early statute laws of Kentucky, explains that this general law was "little more than a transcript of an Act of Virginia of 1785; that an antecedent Act of 1748 (which was not repealed by the Act of 1785) required that all roads passing to or from the Court-house of every County, and all public mills and ferries then made or thereafter to be made, should, at all times, be kept well cleared from woods, bushes and other obstructions, and *all roots well grubbed up* thirty feet wide."

This Act of February, 1797, provided for the opening of new roads and the alteration of former roads under surveyors appointed by the County Courts. By it, all male laboring persons, sixteen years old or more, were required to work the roads except those who were masters of two or more male slaves over said age, or, failing to do so, to pay a fine of seven shillings, sixpence, equivalent to $1.25 of United States currency. A curious provision of the law required mill dams to be built, where there were no bridges, at least twelve feet wide for the passage of public roads, with bridges over the pier head and flood gates.

The Fayette County Court, by an order entered April 12, 1803, established "the Limestone Road from Lexington to the Bourbon line forty feet wide," to pass over "the same ground where they run at present." The same Court, by an order entered July 10, 1809, directed certain persons, appointed Commisisoners, to "contract with some fit person to causeway with stone across David's Fork on the Limestone Road to be paid for out of the next County levy." An order of the same Court, under date of August 14, 1809, calls the road the "Limestone or Bourbon Road."

Littell's Laws give an Act approved Jan. 31, 1811, "authorizing a Lottery to improve the Limestone Road from Maysville to the south end of Washington in Mason County." It was provided that the "drawing of said Lottery shall be done at the town of Washington in the County of Mason." A sum not exceeding five thousand dollars was, by the provisions of the Act, to be raised and applied to the improvement of the road leading from Limestone, in Mason County, through the town of Washington, as followeth, to-wit: One-half of the profits of said Lottery to be applied exclusively to the improvement of that part of the road which lies between Maysville and the top of Limestone hill; and the other half of said profits to be applied to the improvement of such part

of said road from the top of the Limestone Hill to the south end of the town of Washington, and in such manner as to the said managers, or a majority, shall seem most expedient.

Littell's Laws again give an Act approved February 4, 1817, "to incorporate the Lexington and Louisville Turnpike Road Company, and to incorporate the Lexington and Maysville Turnpike Road Company." The preamble to this act recites — "Whereas, in all countries the fostering care of government has been extended to the internal improvement thereof, and particularly to their public roads; and in no country is that particular part of internal improvement more desirable than in a country where the government is of the people; the Legislature of Kentucky being impressed with the public utility as well as the private advantage to the citizens of this Commonwealth from the formation of artificial roads, and being willing to aid all in their power to effect so great and desirable an object; and whereas this legislature, with anxious anticipation, looks forward to the time when the great national turnpike road from the east of the general government will reach the boundaries of Kentucky, and that she may be ready to meet this great national improvement; therefore

"*Be it enacted,* etc. (Sec. 31) That a company shall be formed under the name, style and title to the 'Maysville and Lexington Turnpike Road Company,' for the purpose of forming an artificial road from Maysville through Washington and Paris, and thence to Lexington. The Capital Stock of said Company shall be three hundred and fifty thousand ($350,000) dollars, divided into three thousand five hundred (3,500) shares of $100.00 each," etc., of which (it was further provided) five hundred (500) shares shall be reserved for the use and on behalf of the State. This capital might be increased "to such an extent as shall be deemed sufficient to accomplish the work," should it be found on trial that the amount provided was insufficient to complete the road according to the intent of the Act.

Books for subscriptions to stock were to be opened at Maysville, Washington, Mayslick, Carlisle, Millersburg, Paris and Lexington.

The old road seems to have passed through, or very near, each of these points, with the exception of Carlisle, which did not come directly into the main line of travel until the Maysville Turnpike Road was finally built.

Although no lasting organization was affected, and no work appears to have been done in pursuance of this Act, its provisions are interesting as shedding some light on the conditions of travel, and the stage to which the science and art of road-building had advanced. It was proposed to construct "*an artificial road by the best and nearest route* from Maysville, through Washington and Paris to Lexington," and the Commissioners designated in the Act were enjoined to "combine shortness of distance with the most practicable ground." The use of the word "artificial" in

this connection is not without significance. It implies that theretofore dependence had been placed rather largely on the "natural" ways, the sometimes aimless, ready-made ways of the Indian and the Buffalo, and other denizens of the forest. These first pathways, whether trace or trail, generally followed the line of least resistance, while holding loosely to the objective points sighted by instinct, or the bearings of the crude compasses provided by nature in the appearance and movement of the heavenly bodies, the growth of the forest vegetation, the trend of mountain and stream, and the other more prominent features of the landscape.

Such a crude and primitive affair had been the "Old Limestone Road" in its beginnings, though there is evidence that wagons passed over it as early as 1783.

The officers and managers of the Company were authorized and directed to employ such number of surveyors, engineers, "artists" and chain-bearers as might be necessary to make surveys, etc. They were also empowered to condemn quarries, to erect permanent bridges wherever necessary over the creeks and waters crossed by the new "route or track," to build a road fifty feet in width by said route from the town of Maysville to the town of Lexington, and of said fifty feet to make "an artificial road at least twenty feet in width, of firm, compact and substantial materials, composed of gravel, pounded stone or other small, hard substances, in such manner as to secure a good foundation and an even surface, so far as the nature of the country and the materials will admit, in the whole extent of the said road, whenever it shall be necessary and the natural surface require it, so as to fulfill the duties of the said Company toward the public, and shall forever maintain and keep the same in good repair." It was further provided that "the ground, over which the contemplated road passes, shall be so dug down and leveled, that when completed the elevation thereof shall not exceed five degrees."

On completing as much as ten miles of the way, and for every five miles additional, the company was to be empowered, by license from the Governor, to erect gates or turnpikes, at which tolls might be collected from persons using the road.

We get some idea of the varied assortment of quaint vehicles then in use from the references, in prescribing the rates of toll, to sulkies, chairs, coaches, chaises, phaetons, stages, carts, wagons, coachees or light wagons, sleighs, sleds, or "other carriage of burthen or pleasure, under whatever name it may go." "And when any such carriage as aforesaid," says the Act, "shall be drawn by oxen or mules, in whole or in part, two oxen shall be estimated as equal to one horse, and every mule as equal to one horse, in charging the aforesaid tolls."

With reference to mile-posts or milestones, and the tariffs on travel, the Act provided that "the said Company shall cause posts to be erected at the intersection of every road falling into and leading out of the

said turnpike road, with boards and an index hand pointing to the direction of such road, on both sides whereof shall be inscribed, in legible characters, the name of the town or place to which such road leads, and the distance thereof in measured or computed miles; and shall also cause milestones to be placed on the side of the said turnpike road, to designate the distances to and from the principal places thereof; and also shall cause to be affixed on the gates to be erected, for the information of travelers and others using said road, a printed list of the rates of toll, which, from time to time, may be lawfully demanded."

Other details of construction, maintenance and management were carefully set out, but enough has been given to show the comprehensive nature of the charter. In their leading features, all the subsequent Acts of the Kentucky Legislature incorporating turnpike road companies are modeled after this initial Act of February, 1817.

The powers conferred by this original charter having lapsed for the want of compliance with its terms, ten years later, by an Act approved January 22, 1827, the Maysville and Lexington Turnpike Road Company was reincorporated, with a capital stock of three hundred and twenty thousand ($320,000.00) dollars, of which, at any time within three years after complete organization, the United States government was authorized to subscribe one hundred thousand ($100,000.00) dollars and the State of Kentucky a like sum.

Collins, to whom we are largely indebted for items of information embodied in this paper, tells us that General Thomas Metcalfe, afterwards Governor of Kentucky, then a Representative in Congress from the Maysville District, brought before Congress the subject of an appropriation for the proposed turnpike, but too late in the winter session of 1826-27 for immediate success. This action was doubtless prompted by a resolution addressed to Congress and adopted by the Kentucky Legislature on the 25th day of January, 1827, in which the co-operation and assistance of the general government were earnestly solicited. An Act passed on the same date, supplemental to the original Act incorporating the Maysville and Lexington Turnpike Road Company, required the proposed turnpike to pass through Paris, Millersburg, Carlisle, Lower Blue Licks, Mayslick and Washington, provided, however, that it should not run through the town of Carlisle, unless a majority of the Commissioners, having the matter in charge, should deem it expedient.

General Metcalfe's labors were not entirely in vain, for he succeeded in inducing the Secretary of War to order a survey for the location of a great leading mail road from Zanesville, in Ohio, through Maysville and Lexington, in Kentucky, and Nashville, Tennessee, on to Florence, Alabama, and thence to New Orleans. On May 12, 1827, pursuant to this order, Col. Long, and Lieut. Trimble, of the United States Engineering Department, began the survey at Maysville.

In the meantime, if we may take the records of the Fayette County Court as a sample, the Courts of the several counties through which it passed were having constant trouble with the old Limestone Road. One of the main obstructions to travel on this road, in Fayette County, was a body of water known as "Wright's Pond." On July 9, 1827, the Fayette County Court ordered that "William Burkley and William Smith be summoned to appear here at next Court to show cause, if any they can, why the Limestone Road shall not be altered so as to pass around Wright's Pond and over their land, said pond being *impassable*, and said road having to pass through it."

Again on January 16, 1828, the Order Book of the Court recites that "it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that the bridge now building across Wright's Pond on the Limestone Road will not, as now let by the Commissioners, be as high as high water mark, it is therefore ordered that Clifton Thompson, Will Pollock and James Rogers be appointed Commissioners to let out to the lowest bidder the raising of said bridge twelve inches higher than it is now contracted for, if they think it necessary."

On June 9, 1828, the following interesting item appears on the Fayette County records. We give this instance as illustrative of the work that was doubtless done from time to time all along the route in all the counties through which this historic highway passed.

The record reads: "The report of the Commissioners appointed to review the pond on the Limestone road known by the name of Wright's pond, was this day returned to Court and on examining of the same, it is ordered that the same be received and concurred in; Whereupon it is ordered that Clifton Thomson, James Rogers and Beverly A. Hicks be and they are hereby appointed Commissioners to let the building of the bridge agreeable to said report, and that they, in letting said bridge, do not exceed the sum of five hundred dollars, including the appropriations already made for said bridge and that said Commissioners be authorized to draw upon the Sheriff for the appropriation or appropriations already made. The said Commissioners are directed to have the bridge built as follows, viz: with two stone walls built on a good foundation two and a half feet or more thick, raised above high water mark, at least twenty-one feet apart from side to side, and said walls to be filled up with earth within one foot of the top of said walls, and one foot to be filled up with stone hammered fine, with all necessary timbers to make a safe passway for travelers, with hand rails, the timbers of black locust or good white oak, the stone and timbers of the old bridge to be used for the benefit of the undertaker of the proposed bridge; also with an arch in the walls to admit the water to pass through, and that said Commissioners take from the contractor a contract or bond with sufficient penalty and good security for the performance of his or their contract."

This bridge was built by Samuel Patterson according to specifications, and was duly accepted on October 31, 1829.

A permanent bridge over David's Fork of North Elkhorn, at the point where crossed by the Limestone Road, was also contemplated at the same time. This bridge, as later records show, was erected by Robert Wickliffe, who, for a number of years, maintained a mill at the same point.

That the situation of this road as a public highway was growing somewhat desperate may be inferred from the fact that the Legislature of Kentucky, by resolution adopted on February 13, 1828, seconding the initiative taken by General Metcalfe, recommended Congress to extend a branch of the National Road from Zanesville, Ohio, to Maysville, Kentucky, and thence through the State of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi, to New Orleans, and instructed the Kentucky Senators and requested the Kentucky Representatives in Congress to use their utmost exertions to effect this object. A bill with an appropriation for this very purpose, we are told, passed the United State House of Representatives, but its effect was defeated in the United States Senate by the vote of one of the Senators from Kentucky, the Hon. John Rowan. Its passage at that time, in the spring of 1828, when President John Quincy Adams was ready and willing to approve the bill, would almost certainly have secured the prompt completion of the road by national and state aid.

That for several years prior to this application to Congress there had existed a great central thoroughfare leading southward from Ohio to New Orleans is apparent from the language of an Act of the Kentucky Legislature approved December 21, 1821, providing for the improvement of "the road leading from Lexington to Nashville, in Tennessee," etc. The preamble and first section of this act read as follows:—

"Whereas it is represented to the present General Assembly that *the great highway leading from the northwest of the Ohio and upper settlements of this state,* to the states of Tennessee, Alabama and Orleans country, is much out of repair, and particularly at Muldrough's Hill, near the Rolling Fork; and that owing to the quantity of labor requisite to put the said road in repair, and the thinness of the population in the neighborhood, the said road cannot be put in repair with the ordinary labor of the overseers and hands allotted to work on the said road: Therefore,

"Sec. 1, Be it Enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That the sum of one thousand dollars be, and the same is, hereby appropriated for the purpose of opening and improving the said road, across the said hill," etc.

This great interstate highway did not await the introduction of macadam or the helping hand of the national government to come into

existence and use. What Kentucky sought so persistently was aid in improving and extending the rough rudimentary road already established and long the most eligible avenue of approach to the inviting regions of the South and Southwest.

While action by the federal government was thus delayed, those interested in the enlargement and improvement of the road were not idle. By an Act of the Legislature, approved January 24, 1829, "for widening the road from Lexington to Maysville," the County Courts of Fayette, Bourbon, Nicholas, Fleming and Mason, were required to appoint Commissioners, together with a surveyor duly qualified, to examine *"the great road* leading from Lexington through Paris, Millersburg, Lower Blue Licks, Mayslick and Washington to Maysville," and to lay off a strip or strips of ground, "through its whole length," sufficient to increase its width to sixty feet, "and they shall report to the County Court of their several Counties, as soon as may be, a plat and proper description of the addition thus made * * * and it shall be the duty of the said several county courts to cause to be recorded by their Clerk a plat and description of so much of said road as is within their respective counties, as the same shall be enlarged and established under the provisions of this Act." Pursuant to this Act, on March 9, 1829, the Fayette County Court appointed Commissioners to widen and straighten the Limestone Road from Lexington to the Bourbon County line. These Commissioners proceeded to execute their duties promptly and faithfully, and made a very full and comprehensive report to the Court on November 9, 1829, said report being forthwith approved and recorded.

Some idea of the importance of maintaining taverns along the route for the accommodation of travelers may be gathered from the fact that the Act carefully provides "that no such new way shall be established, if it shall pass over a different side of, or at a greater distance than the present road does, *from any house now occupied as a tavern on the present road,* unless with the concurrence of two-thirds of the justices present in Court, or with the consent of the proprietor of such house."

After being established and opened in accordance with the directions of the Act, it was made the duty of the several surveyors of the road, "to keep it open, smooth and in good repair." With this improvement completed we, doubtless, see the old "Limestone Road" at its very best. Gradually thenceforward, the Maysville Turnpike was to supersede the famous route, growing more and more important as the importance of the earlier road dwindled. Strong proof of the importance of the old Limestone Road is to be found in the tenacity with which those living along the route and at its termini, Maysville and Lexington, clung to the old name. In Fayette, and doubtless in the other counties through which it passed, not only did the old road retain its name and continue to do service as a public road, but the new macadamized thoroughfare constructed by the "Maysville and Lexington Turnpike Road Company,"

and properly known as the Maysville Road or Maysville Pike was, until quite recent times, frequently spoken of by persons of the older generation, as the "Limestone Road", though, in strictness, the Limestone Road throughout nearly its entire length must have followed an entirely different route, at no great distance, however, from the more modern road and substantially parallelling its course.

Five days after the passage of the last mentioned Act "for widening the road from Lexington to Maysville," by the same Legislature the "Maysville and Washington Turnpike Road Company" was incorporated for the purpose of forming an "artificial road" from Maysville to the south end of Washington, in Mason County. This road was required to be located on as direct a line as the toilsome grade would admit, and from the north end of the main street of Washington to the top of Limestone Hill. But it was to be "so leveled and graded that when completed the elevation thereof shall not exceed four degrees and a half."

This Act is illustrative of the notable public spirit which at that time animated the little town of Maysville, which could only boast of a population of less than two thousand. The capital stock of twenty thousand ($20,000) dollars was subscribed by local friends of the enterprise by April 18, 1829, and the first shovel of dirt was thrown on July 4, 1829, and this short stretch of "*high*-way"—for a *high*-way it literally was,—was completed in November, 1830. This four miles of roadway was the first macadamized road ever built in the State of Kentucky, although the introduction of McAdam's invention was the signal for immediate and widespread interest in the subject of so improving the public roads of the State.

From an enginering standpoint this part of the route offered by far the most difficult problem to be solved. The accomplished litterateur Dr. Thomas E. Pickett, has kindly furnished the writer of this paper a very striking picture of Maysville as viewed from the top of the overhanging Limestone hill. This picture brings out with great effect the beautiful and artistic construction of the winding roadway which leads from the valley below to the crest of the frowning hill. Dr. Pickett accompanied this picture with the following observations —

"In your first letter you asked me to give you a helping hand at this end of the line. It occurred to me that nothing could give you more help at the outset than a picture of the 'Maysville End,' showing the great river with which the old commercial entrepot connects, and giving some conception of the prodigious 'lift' required to reach the fertile, far-reaching plateau. As it was with St. Denis, so it was with us; — so it was the first step that cost."

"The moving spirit in the enterprise was John Armstrong, one of our early commercial pioneers, and a man of wonderful energy, sagacity and tact, who had the full confidence of the community and means of finding helpful associates in the work. The picture shows you that

the work was well done. Years afterwards, when his son, an eminent banker of Paris, familiarly known to this day as 'Baron Armstrong', was toiling up the broad macadamized road that rises from the city of Fontainebleau to the Forest at the summit, he is said to have remarked —'Well, Father made a better grade than this for the Maysville Hill.'" Think of a road that, rising from the humble conditions of 'Smith's Wagon Road" (1783) to the dignity and importance of a thoroughfare that 'fills a nation with its renown,' has been traveled by princes, warriors, statesmen, pleasure seekers, 'night riders', patrollers and mounted police, and carried for many years in its great white 'waggons' the commerce of many states! What a theme! How I envy you the privilege and opportunity of exploiting it. Do not stop with a single 'paper'. Write a book!"

By an Act of the Kentucky Legislature approved January 22, 1830, the Act of January 29, 1829, creating the Maysville and Washington Turnpike Road Company was amended so that the name of the Company was changed to "Maysville, Washington, Paris and Lexington Turnpike Road Company," and it was authorized to extend its road to Lexington. The capital stock was increased $300,000.00 in addition to that previously authorized, and by the terms of this Act the elevation was not to exceed four degrees, and its width was not to exceed sixty (60) feet. This Act, like its forerunner of January 22, 1827, made a direct appeal to the general government for a subscription to its capital stock, fifteen hundred shares of the par value of $150,000.00 being the amount which the general government was desired to subscribe and pay for. Immediately following the passage of this act, and in order to aid the enterprise which it contemplated, the State of Kentucky, on January 29, 1830, authorized its first appropriation to an "artificial or macadamized road, this appropriation, however, of $25,000.00 to stock in the company, being conditioned upon the subscription and payment by other stockholders of at least three times the amount so subscribed. While this beginning of great things in the future was thus vigorously inaugurated, the cause of internal improvement, especially as it affected the State of Kentucky, was being earnestly pressed before Congress. In that body a bill passed the House of Representatives, April 29, 1830, by one hundred and two yeas to eighty-four nays, "authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to subscribe, in the name and for the use of the United States, for fifteen hundred (1,500) shares of the capital stock of the Maysville, Washington, Paris and Lexington Turnpike Road Company," to be paid for in the same installments as by the stockholders generally except that not more than one-third should be demanded during the year 1830. This Bill passed the United States Senate, May 15, 1830, by a vote of twenty-four to eighteen, George M. Bibb, of Kentucky voting against it, and his colleague, John Rowan, of Kentucky, voting for it only under the compulsion of "instructions."

"But President Andrew Jackson," says Collins, "dashed forever the hopes of national aid to works of internal improvement in Kentucky by vetoing the bill twelve days after its passage on May 27, 1830." This extraordinary action of the President (which by many was ascribed to his intense antipathy to Henry Clay, an able and indefatigable advocate of all measures having to do with the internal improvements of a state or national character,) gave to the road a fame as broad as the Union, but of no avail towards its completion, unless it may have stimulated somewhat or aroused afresh the enthusiasm excited the year before by the spirited and independent course of the brave little city of Maysville, by whose name the road has always since been best known.

The lively interest taken by Henry Clay in the matter is apparent from his correspondence. Writing from Ashland, on May 9th, 1830, Mr. Clay said:

> "I am rejoiced at the passage, in the House of Representatives, of the bill for the Maysville road. I sincerely hope you are correct in your anticipation of the concurrence of the Senate. The South will, of course, be opposed to it. * * * The road, considered as a section of one extending from the Muskingum or Scioto, through Kentucky and Tennessee, to the Gulf of Mexico, is really of national importance."

Writing, a month later, from the same place, to Adam Beatty, of Maysville, he said:

> "We are all shocked and mortified by the rejection of the Maysville road and other events occurring at the close of the late session. Meetings of the people are contemplated in several counties in this quarter, to give expression to public sentiment and feelings. At those meetings it has been suggested that the public sentiment may be expressed in terms of strong disapprobation of the act of the President. * * * Will you have a meeting in Mason? If you do, it will have beneficial consequences that there should be as many meetings as practicable in adjoining counties."

The nature of the proceedings proposed to be had at these indignation meetings is further outlined in a letter of Mr. Clay's, dated at Ashland, June 16, 1830, in which he says:

> "Great sensation has been produced in this quarter about the President's course relative to Internal Improvements. Public meetings of the people, in various places, are about to be had, at which spirited resolves, etc., will be passed. They mean to attack the Veto, by proposing an amendment of the Constitution, requiring only a majority of all elected to each branch of Congress, instead of two-thirds of a house, to pass a returned bill."

But all of these protests and appeals and others of similar import fell upon deaf ears and obdurate hearts and were utterly unavailing.

"Old Hickory," in spite of bitter opposition and plenty of severe abuse, not all of which was wholly undeserved, continued for the time to have his own unrestrained, autocratic way in the matter of the Bank of the United States and in the matter of Internal Improvements.

In addition to the state aid referred to above, during the month of April, 1830, $30,500.00 was subscribed at Paris, $13,000.00 at Lexington, $5,200.00 at Millersburg, $8,000.00 in Nicholas County, $10,300.00 at Maysville, in addition to what the last named town had already done in building the road from the river as far as Washington. Other efforts, soon afterwards, increased the subscription, and thirty-one miles of the road were promptly put under contract. The Legislature, by an Act approved January 15, 1831, authorized the Governor, on behalf of the Commonwealth, to subscribe $50,000.00 for five hundred additional shares of stock in the company, and during the next five years made other appropriations in behalf of the road until the whole amount of State aid and stock was $213,200.00, or exactly one-half of the entire cost of the road. The turnpike road appears to have been completed throughout its entire length of sixty-four miles from Maysville to Lexington by the year 1835. Its total cost was $426,400.00, including thirteen toll houses and six covered bridges. The cost per mile, including the toll houses and bridges, was $6,662.50 or nearly one-third the cost of building a first-class railroad. Not only was the Maysville Road the first macadamized road in the State, but because of its importance, it was made one of the best roads ever built in the State. It is said that Mr. Lewis V. Wernwag built the bridges, which were single-span arches of wood, braced by a trussed frame, and they were good bridges for many years. On the Lexington and Danville Turnpike, which was but a link in the extension of the "Old Maysville Road," he built a bridge over the Kentucky River about 220 feet long, with a double track. This bridge, built in 1838, is still there — seventy years after — in good shape. This is a long life for any ordinary wooden bridge. This same capable bridge builder (it may be added, in passing,) afterwards built the Schuylkill Bridge at Philadelphia, three hundred and forty (340) feet long, which was for a long time the longest wooden bridge in the world.

Referring again to the records of the Fayette County Court, a few stray items relating to the road may be considered worthy of mention. On October 13, 1834, a levy was authorized to raise $150.00 to pay the interest on the installment for stock due the Maysville and Lexington Turnpike Road Company in 1835. The payments on the stock in the company subscribed for by Fayette County appear to have been anticipated, for under date of December 8, 1834, the last installment of $2,650.00 was directed to be paid and a certificate for stock due the county to be obtained therefor. Following this entry on December 14, 1835, the records show that Oliver Keen, late Presiding Justice of the Court, returned to the Court the certificate of stock in the Maysville,

Washington, Paris and Lexington Turnpike Road Company, for 100 shares, numbers 1525-1624 inclusive, dated December 14, 1834, signed by John Armstrong, President, and William Huston, Treasurer. The jealousy with which the County Courts looked upon any interference with their authority over the county roads is most emphatically shown in two entries, one under date of August 12, 1834, and the other under date of September 8, 1834. By these orders, the Acts of the Kentucky Legislature of the 22nd and 30th of January, 1830, seeking to deprive the County Courts of their jurisdiction over the public roads, and to confer such jurisdiction on special Road Commissioners, were boldly declared unconstitutional and void, and the Court announced that it would not regard them, but "will continue to act under the road laws as if said above recited Acts had never passed." The first mention we find of any dividend paid to the County on its stock appears during the years 1838 and 1839.

Supplanted as it was by the more modern Maysville Turnpike Road, the old original road is now frequently spoken of in the records as "the Old Limestone Road," still in use, it is true, but eclipsed by the splendor and superiority of the macadamized turnpike road. It remained a County Road under the name of the Limestone Road until near the beginning of the Civil War. This old Limestone Road, in Fayette County, pursued an entirely different route from that adopted by its successor, the Maysville and Lexington Turnpike Road, though the general direction of the two was the same.

The condition of the parent road, throughout much of its history until macadamized but especially during the years of its infancy, and under the stress of inclement weather, was simply atrocious. The records of that day but echo the execrations of the toil-worn travelers and the letters which have survived are filled at times with complaints about its dreadful condition and with warnings to those about to visit the West not to venture on so treacherous and forbidding a route. It was a Kentuckian, I believe, who said he did not mind walking when he had paid to ride in the stage, but he did not like to walk and "pack" a rail to help pry the stage coach out of the mudholes which frequently punctuated the customary line of travel. This was true, however, not only of the Maysville Road but of Zane's Trace and of the Cumberland Road as well. There were frequent changes and alterations in the roadway, generally to avoid a troublesome hill or to skirt standing water or miry ground, and owing to these numerous and irregular changes, the way became devious as well as difficult. The orders of the County Court of Fayette, during the first half-century of the road's existence, are taken up with the establishment of road precincts and the appointment of overseers and *surveyors,* as the road superintendents were then called. In this we have striking evidence of the constant and increasing attention demanded by the unsatisfactory condition of the road. At certain sea-

sons, however, the Maysville Road and its connecting routes to the East were not only endurable but offered the only sure passage to and from the sea-board. This is made plain in another letter of Henry Clay's, written from Washington on February 10, 1837, where he says:

> "In the month of March, the Cumberland route offers advantages so superior to any other, that I must follow it to Kentucky."

Elsewhere he expresses the same opinion in these words —

> "At the season of the year when we shall return to Kentucky, that is, about the 10th of March, we have no alternative but to proceed to Wheeling or Pittsburg. The roads on every other route will then be almost impassable."

A passage in the Autobiography of Judge Robertson shows that, when a member of Congress in 1817-1819, he traveled over this road in journeying to and from Washington, and at least two of his colleagues, Col. Richard M. Johnson and Hon. John J. Crittenden, did the same, Col. Johnson in a Jersey wagon and the others on horseback. We give the account of his first trip in his own words.

> "When I received the certificate of my election," says Judge Robertson, "I was not twenty-six years old; but I did not take my seat until I was about ten days over twenty-seven. The best mode of traveling then was on horseback; and I thus went to Washington in November, 1817, and also in 1818, and consumed nineteen days in the first, and seventeen days in the latter trip. Members of Congress then earned their allowance of three dollars for every twenty miles of travel, which was comparatively tedious, toilsome and expensive. And I will here mention an incident in my first trip to Washington, which may be as useful as it is incredible: I bought a blooded three-year old horse for my first journey to the National Capital. He had never been shod. An old friend in Garrard (Elijah Hyatt), who was famous for both skill and care in the management of horses, took my young horse and prepared him for the work before him. The day before I started for my destination, he selected the iron and the shoes, saw the shoes put on and every nail made and driven; and when he brought the horse to me, he said, 'Now, George, *all's right;* your horse will carry you over the long and rocky road to Washington without breaking a shoe or loosening a nail.' And so it turned out. Several gentlemen who accompanied me frequently had their horses' shoes removed or repaired, and mine reached Washington with his shoes apparently as sound and firm as when I started. I sent him to the country to be kept during the session, which continued about seven months. He was brought in to me the day I left for home, and the keeper told me he had used him as his saddle horse, and never had touched his shoes, which appeared as good as ever. Being impa-

tient to start, I did not have them examined, but rode him as he was to Wheeling, brought him to Maysville on a flatboat or ark, and rode him thence to Lancaster; and when I reached home his hoofs and shoes seemed to be in good condition!"

Henry Clay was familiar with the entire length of the road, of which (as we have seen) he was always a staunch friend and champion, and frequent allusions to it may be found in his speeches and correspondence. Writing to his wife from Maysville, on November 19, 1835, while *en route* to Washington City, he gives this glimpse of the hospitable home of another distinguished Kentucky statesman, whose services and whose name are closely associated with the history of the Maysville Road. Says Mr. Clay—

> "I got to Governor Metcalfe's last night in good time, and reached here today at two o'clock. The weather has been very fine, and my ride was a very good one. They tell me that a steamboat will be here this evening, in which, when it arrives, I shall embark. I have directed Aaron to go to Governor Metcalfe's tomorrow night, and the next day home."

This home of Governor Thomas Metcalfe's, known as "Forest Retreat," was in Nicholas County, of which for many years he was the most prominent citizen. An interesting picture of the residence, which was a landmark on the old Maysville Road, is given by Collins (Hist. Ky., Vol. II., p. 653,) as it appeared in 1846, and of the eminent man himself, who was strong enough in a close race to beat the gifted William Taylor Barry for the governorship of Kentucky, the historian says—"He was an eloquent man, social, hospitable, fond to the last of song, frolic and fun."

Doubtless a search of the papers and writings of our other early statesmen would disclose a like intimate acquaintance and similar interesting associations with this well-traveled highway.

Luckily our researches have unearthed an early map of the "Road from Limestone to Frankfort in Kentucky," which was published in the year 1826. It will be found in a collection of maps and drawings made by a Frenchman, Victor Collot (Georges Henri Victor Collot), printed in Paris as an Atlas in 1826. The title of the book, which may be seen in the Map Department of the Congressional Library at Washington, is "Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, feu par le General Collot, Ex-Gouverneur de la Guadeloupe, Atlas, Paris, Arthur Bertrand, Libraire, 1826." The Map of the Maysville Road (designated as the "Road from Limestone to Frankfort in the State of Kentucky") is drawn to a scale of about four miles to the inch and is Plate 22 in the collection. The places named on the map are as follows "Limestone, Washington, (Road to Bracken" leading thence to the West,) Northern branch of the Licking, Lee's Cr., *Mazeleak* (Mayslick), Johnston-Fork, Blue Licks and Salt Works, Licking R., Barren Rocks, Farm road, Millerburgh, *Hugs-*

ton (Hinkston) Cr., Bourbon ou Paris, Southern Branch of the Licking, Huston Cr., Mills, Lexington, ("Road to Georgetown" leading away Northwest,) —Hunter's hut, Old Fort (some dist. N. of road on 'Elk. Riv.' i. e. *Elkhorn Creek.*) Tavern, Frankfort, Kentucky River." It will be seen that this list includes many names that are not only familiar but are in actual use to this day. The drawing of the road itself is exceedingly well done and is highly interesting. The fact that this adventurous foreigner thought it worth while to make and publish a map of the Old Limestone Road in his ambitious collection speaks volumes for the relative importance of the route among the historic highways of that early time. The place-names here given are copied just as they appear on the map.

A contemporary of the amiable Frenchman, whose name has also some connection with the Limestone Road and with Lexington, its Southern terminus, was "Dominie" Samuel Wilson, who, in all probability, owed his life and learning to the rugged heath of Bonnie Scotland. The identity of names must not lead anyone to infer a relationship between the worthy 'Dominie' and the author of this paper. While we should be most happy to claim such a relationship, there is no reason to suppose that it exists. In the Legislative Acts of 1826-'27, at page 165, Chapter 142, is an Act, approved January 25, 1827, which bears the title—"An Act for the benefit of Nicholas Seminary, and to establish Wilson Seminary, at the Lower Blue Licks." This act recites—

> "WHEREAS, Samuel Wilson, A. M., a gentleman of learning and extensive literary attainments, whose whole life has been devoted to the instruction of youth, the promotion of science, and the cause of education, and the advancement of useful knowledge among the people, proposes to found a seminary of learning at the Lower Blue Licks, in Nicholas County, therefore,
>
> "Sec. 3. *Be it further enacted,* That a seminary of learning be and the same is hereby established at the Lower Blue Licks, in said county, to be called and know by the name of 'Wilson Seminary'; and that Ariss Throckmorton, Jonathan W. Tanner, Daniel Ballingal, Sen., Thomas Throckmorton, and Solomon Bedlinger, be and they are hereby, appointed trustees of said seminary, and are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, and to be known by the name and style of 'the Trustees of Wilson Seminary'; and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and a common seal;" etc., etc.

While designed, as the Act recites, to have "perpetual succession", Wilson Seminary, painful to relate, has disappeared along with its book-loving founder, the scholarly Scotsman, and has left "not a wrack behind." But as if to vindicate his learning and his unselfish devotion to the cause of culture, in the Boston Public Library may be found a curious little tome of 23 pages, bearing this quaint title in more or less classical Latin

—"Chelys Hesperia, carmina quaedam anniversaria, et alia, numeris Latinis Sapphicis modulata, continens, cum notis aliquot adjectis", "by Samuel Wilson, of Kentucky, Lexingtonia, typis T. Smith, 1825." Rendering this composite Anglo-Latin title into "more or less classical" English, we make out that this frail octavo, with its twenty-three pages of Latin verses, is described by the genial poet as *"The Western Harp,* containing certain poems, composed for anniversary and other occasions, in Latin Sapphic verse, together with some added notes, by Samuel Wilson, of Kentucky; printed at Lexington, by T. Smith, 1825. The tuneful harp is silent, the poet's voice is mute, but in token of our respect for the aspiring pioneer schoolmaster and his noble work, we breathe this passing word of tribute to his memory, and wonder if it can be possible that the Ohio Valley Historical Association or any of its members can boast a copy of this rare volume among their treasures!

In the Journal of the Kentucky Senate for the years 1841-42, there is a table showing the weight carried by four and six-horse teams from Maysville to Lexington, the number of days it took to perform the trip, and the price per hundred pounds, from March 19th to September 1830. This table also shows that the construction of the macadamized turnpike road occupied the years 1831, 1832, 1833 and 1834. In the years 1835 to 1836, from six to seven thousand pounds was the usual load throughout the year for a six-horse team, and four thousand pounds for a four-horse team.

In 1835, the year the turnpike was finished, the time to make the trip from Maysville to Lexington was four days, and this time was allowed the teamsters in their settlements, but after the road was completed, three and a half days was the usual allowance; the price for hauling, from 1835 to the present time, has generally been 62½ cents per hundred-weight for dry goods, and 50 cents per hundred-weight for heavier articles, such as salt, iron, nails, groceries, etc. The time allowed to make the trip to Lexington and back in the winter and spring months, previous to the construction of the turnpike road, was from fourteen to fifteen days, including the days consumed in loading and unloading. In the summer and fall it generally took ten days to make the trip. After the turnpike road was completed, nine to ten days were considered a sufficient allowance to make the trip from Maysville to Lexington and back the year 'round, including the time required for loading and unloading.

Shortly after the reconstruction of the road with macadam became an accomplished fact, it was brought once more into prominence through a sharp controversy between the corporate managers of the Road and the local contractor for transporting the mails between Maysville and Lexington. The dispute involved a federal question almost as far-reaching in its consequences as that which underlay the agitation over Internal Improvements. The case is reported in 7 Dana 113, under the style of Dickey *versus* The Maysville, Washington, Paris and Lexington

Turnpike Road Company, and the opinion, delivered on June 22, 1838, and covering some twenty-six pages of closely printed matter, is one of the ablest of the earlier opinions handed down by Chief Justice Robertson for the Court of Appeals. Speaking for the Court, Judge Robertson summed up the case and the final conclusion of the Court in these concise words:

> "The only question presented for consideration in this case is whether Milus W. Dickey, as the contractor for carrying the United States Mail from Maysville to Lexington, in this State, has the right, in execution of his engagement, to transport the mail in stage coaches on the turnpike road between those *termini,* without paying, to the use of the Turnpike Company, the rate of tollage exacted by it, under the authority of its charter, from other persons for the transit of their horses and carriages.
>
> "Can the carrier of the United States mail have a right, either legal or moral, to use the bridge of a private person, or of an incorporated company, without paying pontage, or the ferry of a grantee of such franchise without paying ferriage? That he would have no such right is, in our judgment, indisputable."
>
> "We, therefore, conclude * * * that, even if the Lexington and Maysville turnpike should be deemed a public State road in all respects, and if Dickey, as mail contractor, has a right to transport the mail on any public road he may prefer or choose to adopt between Lexington and Maysville, he cannot do so, nor had Congress power to authorize him to do so, without paying for the use, if demanded, a just compensation, and that is — *prima facie,* at least, — what other persons are required to pay for a similar use of it.
>
> "After refusing, as it did, by the President's *veto* to contribute anything to the construction of the Maysville and Lexington turnpike, the general government could not, with any semblance of consistency, justice, or grace, claim the right to use and impair it, by carrying the mail upon it, in coaches, without paying to those who did make it with their own private means, as much for the use and dilapidation of it as they have a legal right to exact and do receive, without objection, from all others who enjoy the use of it, by traveling upon it in carriages.
>
> "Wherefore, as in every view we have taken of this case, no power of the general government has been either exercised, or resisted, or defied — it is clearly our opinion that Dickey, as mail contractor, can, as a matter of right, use the Lexington and Maysville turnpike road only as others have a right to use it; and that, therefore, he may be, justly and constitutionally, compelled to pay the prescribed toll for such use as he shall elect to make of it for his own advantage and convenience."

One notable thing about this interesting road, so far as it relates to Kentucky, is the fact that it was built entirely by State and private aid, and had no aid whatever from the national government. The same thing is said to have been true of the national road in Maryland, which, though treated and used as an integral part of the National or Cumberland Road, was built entirely by State and local aid, and without any contributions whatever from the general government. Lines applied to the latter road by one who lamented its fading glories may be appropriately recalled here —

"We hear no more the clanging hoof,
And the stage coach, rattling by;
For the Steam King rules the traveled world,
And the 'Old Pike' 's left to die!"

A few of the old tavern-keepers or "Lords of the Road," whose names have been preserved, are as follows: William Bickley, Corbin Gallegher, Amos Butter, George Harrington, at Washington; George Payne at Fairview; Landlord Holliday and "Doggetts" at the Blue Licks; "Governor" Herndon at Mayslick; Talbott at Paris, and Rankin's, Throckmorton's and Edward Martin's hospitable houses of entertainment, which helped to enliven the tedium of travel and to mitigate the hardships of the way. If we could have a full and graphic description of these old taverns in the early and middle years of the last century, it would certainly give us a lively conception of the social life of the road at that period, and, as Dr. Pickett has suggested, "If one, for example, might, by great good luck, recover the details of the interview between that gentle Boniface, John Throckmorton, and General Santa Anna, *en route*, what a find it would be!"

About 1854-55, what was known as the Bryan Station Turnpike Road Company was incorporated, and inasmuch as the Old Limestone Road ran from Lexington directly by the historic spot known as Bryan Station, with its rugged hill-sides resting on the low receding banks of North Elkhorn Creek, and watered at the base by the cool out-pourings of the memorable Spring, and as the bed of that old road was adopted as the road along which the Bryan Station Turnpike Company was to construct its macadamized road, as soon as the old roadway had been macadamized, the old name, still redolent with historic suggestion and endeared by many associations and many cherished memories, finally disappeared, and thenceforward down to the present time, the Old Limestone Road in Fayette County has been known as the Bryan Station Turnpike. But the name "Limestone," still clings, like a vanishing echo, to that street by which the old road entered the city of Lexington. The records show that five continuous miles of the Bryan Station Turnpike Road were completed and a toll-gate authorized to be erected in consequence on February 6, 1860. Some years after the war a subsidiary company

was incorporated for the purpose of extending the Bryan Station Turnpike about two miles further from its original terminus near Bryan Station. This work in time was duly completed.

A detailed account of the later history of the Maysville Road will have to be reserved for a future paper. In its later years, before this road, in common with nearly all the other macadamized turnpike roads in Kentucky, was made free and thrown open to the public, Col. W. W. Baldwin, of Maysville, was long the Superintendent and owner of a controlling interest in the road. He was widely known in Kentucky and elsewhere as the "Turnpike King," and we understand that, at his request, some one conversant with the facts prepared, a number of years ago, an interesting sketch of the road, with special reference to its history as a macadamized road, but a thorough search has failed to reveal the existence or whereabouts of this paper. It may yet be found, as we hope, in some fugitive issue of the Maysville "Eagle." With the aid of such a paper, it would have been possible for us to furnish a much more extended and, we doubt not, a far more interesting, account of the road than has been presented here.

About the year 1875, the owners of the road became involved in litigation, and for a time its management and direction were in the hands of a receiver. This litigation, as we are informed, eventuated favorably to the Company, and has left no blot on the fair name and fame of the old road.

Before closing this paper, just a word about the steam railroads which succeeded the macadamized turnpike roads, just as the macadamized turnpike roads had followed the old dirt roads, and these in turn had followed the traces and trails of the Indians and buffalo.

In 1830, Joseph Brunn, a public-spirited business man of Lexington, exhibited at Frankfort, a locomotive and train of cars of his own invention, and between 1830 and 1850, while Kentucky was very active in building turnpikes and improving its rivers by locks and dams, the Lexington and Frankfort Railroad was the only railroad in the State, and, for a long time, the only one west of the Alleghany mountains. The line from Louisville to Frankfort was completed in 1851. Following this came a period of railroad building, in the course of which the Kentucky Central Railroad was built from Covington to Lexington, the Lexington and Danville Railroad from Lexington to Nicholasville, and the Louisville and Nashville, and its Memphis branch and the Lebanon branch running out from Louisville as far as Lebanon, Kentucky.

The railroad from Lexington to Covington, as originally designed, was intended to run from Lexington to Maysville, *via* Paris. It was built, however, only as far as Paris, and then the construction work stopped. The route was then diverted to Covington. The work on this road was completed before the Civil War, and the extension of the road to Maysville, in conformity to the original design, was not completed

until along in the eighties. This was made possible, just as the completion of the turnpike roads had been rendered possible, by means of county subscriptions, and for a long time the railroad was operated in the interest of the counties through which it passed and which had contributed to its construction.

A new chapter in the development of transportation and intercourse between the two towns which have so long stood as terminal stations of the "Old Maysville Road," has been opened within our State, as elsewhere, by the construction and operation for several years past of the electric car-line service between Lexington and Paris. If the use of air-ships and aeroplanes does not outrun the growth of the trolley-car, it is only a question of a short time until Maysville and Lexington, ever reaching out for each other's friendly hand-clasp and ever cultivating closer relations, shall be bound into a more perfect and a happier union by an electric railway system extending on a virtual air-line from town to town.

In conclusion, we may say of the "Old Maysville Road" and its predecessor, the "Old Limestone Road," what Dr. Archer Butler Hulbert, in one of his interesting volumes on "Historic Highways of America," has said of Zane's Trace:

> "The little road here under consideration is unique among American highways in its origin and in its history. It was demanded not by war, but by civilization; not by exploration and settlement, but by settlements that were already made and in need of communion and commerce. * * * And finally it was on the subject of the Maysville Turnpike that the question of internal improvement by the national government was at last decided when, in 1830, President Jackson signed that veto which made the name of Maysville a household word throughout the United States."

CONSTITUTION OF THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

1. The name of this organization shall be THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

2. Its object shall be to promote the general historical interests of the Ohio Valley and especially to encourage the study and teaching of its local history.

3. Membership in the Association shall consist of the following classes: (1) Individual members; (2) Organizations interested in its objects, such organizations shall be represented by not less than two nor more than seven of their members, but other members of said organization are eligible to become individual members of the Association; (3)

Honorary members — persons of note in the local historical field; (4) Corresponding members — persons not residing in the Ohio Valley, but interested in the work of this Association. All members, including societies, shall be elected at the regular meeting of the Association upon recommendations of the Executive Committee.

4. The officers of the Association shall consist of a president, four Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary and Curator, a Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, and an Executive Committee consisting of the foregoing officers, the ex-Presidents of the Association, and four other members elected by the Association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Association, and shall have charge of its general interests with power to appoint all necessary sub-committees.

5. One regular meeting of the Association shall be held each year at a time and place to be determined by the Executive Committee. This Committee shall likewise determine the character of said meeting.

6. The annual dues of the Association shall be one dollar for each individual member, and five dollars for each of the affiliated organizations, which sum shall entitle it to two representatives. A society may increase its representation to seven by paying one dollar for each additional representative. Honorary and Corresponding members pay no dues. In addition to the annual dues the Executive Committee may authorize the raising of such additional funds as may be required.

7. The Executive Committee shall adopt such rules and by-laws for its own conduct as are not inconsistent with this Constitution.

8. This Constitution may be amended by any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Committee.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

American Archaeological Institute, Ohio Chapter, Cincinnati, O.
American Book Company, Cincinnati, O.
Ames, F. P., Rockland, O.
Avery, Elroy M., 2831 Woodhill Road, S. E., Cleveland, O.
Baird, Chambers, Ripley, O.
Baird, Lucy (Miss), 927 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky.
*Baker, Mrs. Charles W., Reading Road, Cincinnati, O.
Baker, Phoebe S. (Miss), 1887 Madison Road, Cincinnati, O.
Bettinger, Albert, Atlas Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, O.

* Deceased.

Black, L. C., Union Trust Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Bradford, J. E., Miami University, Oxford, O.
Breed, W. J., Hotel Alms, Cincinnati, O.
Burton, S. R., First National Bank Bldg,, Cincinnati, O.
Chamberlain, H. G. (Mrs.), Marietta, O.
Chatfield, A. H., Cincinnati, O.
Cincinnati History Teachers' Association, Cincinnati, O.
Coleman, C. B., Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.
Colonial Dames, Society of in the State of Ohio, Cincinnati, O.
Colonial Wars, Society of, in the State of Ohio, Cincinnati, O.
Cole, Frank T., University School, Columbus, O.
Columbus Public Library.
Cox, Isaac Joslin, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
Crowther, Elizabeth, Western College for Women, Oxford, O.
Culkins, W. C., Care of Columbia Life Insurance Co., Cincinnati, O.
Dale, T. D. (Mrs.), Belpre, O.
Dickinson, C. E. (Rev.), Belpre, O.
Dickoré, Marie (Miss), 2530 Beechmont Ave., Cincinnati, O.
Dilworth, James F., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
Dunn, Arthur W., Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, Ind.
Durrett, Reuben T. (Col.), 202 East Chestnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Dyar, Charles P. (Mrs.), Pollard Place, Marietta, O.
Ellis, Frank R. (Mrs.), 969 Marion Ave., Cincinnati, O.
Elson, Henry W., Ohio University, Athens, O.
Emerson, Dudley, College Hill, O.
Emery, T. J. (Mrs.), Edgecliff Road, Cincinnati, O.
Evans, N. W., 301-304 Masonic Temple, Portsmouth, O.
Fay & Egan Co., John and Front Sts., Cincinnati, O.
Foster, T. C., 4th and Broadway, Cincinnati, O.
Friedlander, A. A., Manual Training High School, Louisville, Ky.
Galbreath, C. B., State Library, Columbus, O.
Gilchrist, C. W., 554 Frick Building Annex, Pittsburg, Pa.
Goodwin, F. P., 3435 Observatory Place, Cincinnati, O.
Greve, Charles Theodore, Carlisle Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Harris, G. W., 606 Mound St., Cincinnati, O.
Heer, F. J., Columbus, O.
Hinkle, Frederick W.,' 1311 Union Trust Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, O.
Holland, W. J., Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Hulbert, Archer B., Marietta College, Marietta, O.
Hurd, E. O., Third and Main Sts., Cincinnati, O.
Hutchinson, Jennie D. (Miss), 514 Fifth St., Marietta, O.
Ingalls, M. E., 143 Ingalls Bldg., Cincinnati. O.
Jones, William Harvey, Board of Trade, Columbus, O.

Katzenberger, George A., Greenville, O.
Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Ky.
Knight, Alfred, 419 Plum St., Cincinnati, O.
Levy, H. M., 309 Traction Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Lewis, Virgil A., State Archivist and Historian, Charleston, W. Va.
Lindley, Harlow, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Livingood, Charles J., Baker Place, Cincinnati, O.
Lloyd, John Uri, Clifton and Lafayette Aves., Cincinnati, O.
Longmoor, W. W., Frankfort, Ky.
Lowe, May (Miss), Circleville, O.
Lucas, Helen M. (Mrs.), Marietta, O.
McClintock, M. Petria (Miss), 45 W. Fifth St., Chillicothe, O.
McCulloch, Delia A. (Mrs.), Point Pleasant, W. Va.
Mackoy, Harry Brent, Covington, Ky.
Marietta College, Marietta, O.
Martzolff, C. L., Ohio University, Athens, O.
Merrick, C. D. (Mrs.), Parkersburg, W. Va.
Middleswart, Belle Otis (Mrs.), 527 Third St., Marietta, O.
Miller, John H., 514 Johnson Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Mills, William W., Marietta, O.
Mitchell, P. R., 3859 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, O.
Morse, A. E., Marietta College, Marietta, O.
Myers, Irene T., Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky.
Nye, Minna Tupper (Miss), 82 Beaver St., New York City.
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, O.
Orr, Minnie M. (Miss), Marietta College, Marietta, O.
Perry, A. T., Marietta College, Marietta, O.
Poffenbarger, Livia S. (Mrs.), Point Pleasant, W. Va.
Pugh, A. H., Pugh Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Randall, E. O., Supreme Court Bldg., Columbus, O.
Rashig, H. H., 618 Prospect Place, Cincinnati, O.
Revolution, Daughters of the American, Cincinnati Chapter, Cincinnati, O.
Revolution, Sons of, in the State of Ohio, Cincinnati, O.
Short, Charles W., 1444 E. McMillen St., Cincinnati, O.
Slocum, Charles E., Defiance, Ohio.
Spencer, Henry R., Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
Stubbs, Adeline A. (Miss), Woodward High School, Cincinnati, O.
Sturges, Susan M. (Miss), 100 W. Park Ave., Mansfield, O.
Sweney, E. C., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
Temple, Henry W., Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.
Todd, Joe E., Christmas Knoll, Wooster, O.
Thruston, R. C. Ballard, Care of Ballard & Ballard Co., Louisville, Ky.
Van Nes, H., Glendale, O.
Vincent, Boyd (Rt. Rev.), 663 Forest Ave., Cincinnati, O.
Washington & Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.

West Virginia State Department of Archives and History, Charleston, W. Va.
Whitcomb, Merrick, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
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Williams, Henry G., Athens, O.
Wilson, Bettie (Miss), 3000 Vine St., Cincinnati, O.
Wilson, O. J., 378 Lafayette Ave., Cincinnati, O.
Wilson, Samuel M., Trust Co. Bldg., Lexington, Ky.
Winslow, Horace, 519 First Nat'l Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, O.
Wright, C. B., Cincinnati, O.
Wright, Paul H., Powhatan Point, O.

SUMMARY OF MEMBERSHIP.

Contributing Societies and Institutions of Learning	14
Public Libraries	1
Individual Members	92
Total	107

JUDGE JAMES HALL,
A Literary Pioneer of the Middle West.

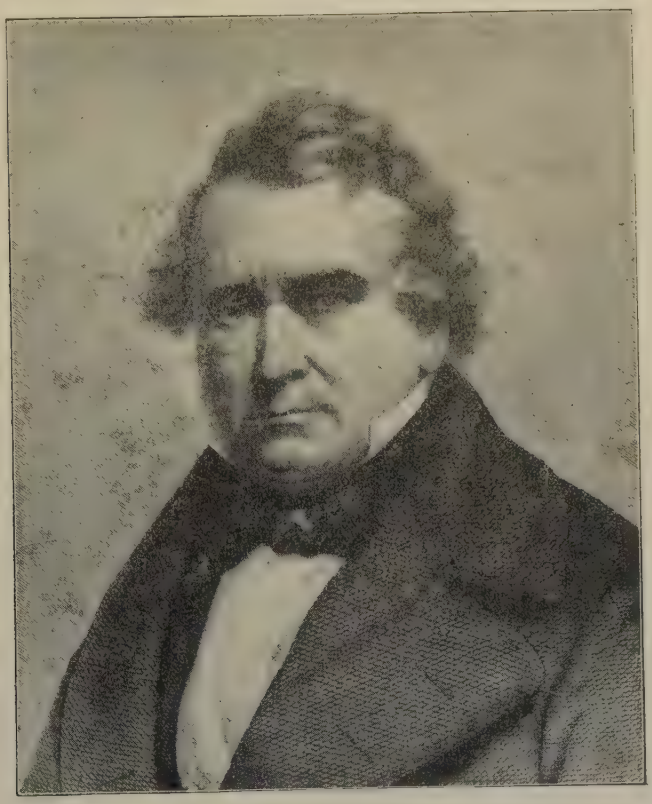
DAVIS L. JAMES.

In the preparation of this sketch, acknowledgment should be made of the writer's indebtedness to the "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley" by our fellow member Dr. W. H. Venable. This volume published in 1891 is of the greatest importance and value to the student of early literary history and an indispensable book of reference. It is a matter for much regret that it is out of print, and only to be found with difficulty. The materials for a revised edition are in the author's hands, and it is hoped that he may feel justified in giving it to the public ere long.

The Golden Age of Cincinnati was the decade of 1830-1840. Her fame as a growing town was spread over the civilized world by visitors from abroad. The beauty of her site, was the theme of traveller and poet. The satire and ill-natured gossip of the tribe of Trollope and Hall, failed to lessen the good name which sympathetic and appreciative writers freely accorded to her buildings, her regular streets, her enterprise, her society and her literature. Her people were industrious, "They seem," says Chevalier "to have adopted Poor Richard's maxims as a Fifth Gospel." "Her business," writes the same acute observer "was founded on sharp-sighted, wakeful and untiring industry. The only patrimony which was inherited from their New England fathers." Her position in relation to literature is evidenced by the publication of several magazines, literary journals and many books; by the extensive, for those days, enterprises in publishing and in bookselling, and in a host of literary men making for Western Literature, who had chosen Cincinnati as their home. But one city west of the Alleghanies, that near the mouth of the Mississippi, exceeded her in population. Nearly one hundred steamboats belonged to the district controlled by the port of Cincinnati in 1840. Her skies were clear, her atmosphere undefiled by the smoke of many railways, and factories, her streets beautiful with rows of trees; her hillsides still clothed with the primitive vegetation.

All these things made the fifth decade of the history of our city, one to permit calling it "The Golden Age of Cincinnati."

Into this community in the first half of the period, a man, now in middle life, came to take his place. The forty years of his career had seen him successively, a soldier in the army of



JUDGE JAMES HALL.

the United States, who had done active service in the war of 1812; an officer in the regular army; a lawyer; an active practitioner; a prosecuting attorney; a judge; treasurer of the State of Illinois; an editor of several newspapers and magazines, a prolific writer and a correspondent for Eastern journals; the

author of several volumes, one of which was published in London. After twelve years' residence in Illinois, he turned his face toward the Central City of the west, and Judge James Hall became one of her most active and useful citizens.

His work deserves more than a passing notice, and I have thought a brief account of his varied career would be worthy a paper for publication in the *Quarterly*.

James Hall was born in Philadelphia in 1793. His education and culture were entirely of environment. He had but little scholastic instruction. His health was bad and his hatred of teachers and curricula was as great a deterrent as his physical weakness. He learned but little in the schools. Like many other men of affairs and successful lives, he owed his literary taste and culture to the society into which he was born, where learning was in the air and where conversation is the great teacher. Such a society may not give the breadth of view to be obtained in Academic Halls, but it gives a depth and strength of mind and of culture which no school or college alone can impart.

Mrs. Sarah Ewing Hall was the daughter of the Rev. John Ewing, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Her education, like that of her son, came solely through contact with the social circle in her father's home. She learned Greek and Latin, from hearing her brothers' recite their lessons in the pastor's study. She read everything that came in her way. Her marriage to Mr. John Hall, a revolutionary soldier and a son of a Maryland planter, with the sequence of varied domestic responsibilities did not prevent a continuance of her study and writing. Her conversation was brilliant and always tended toward some end. She wrote for the Portfolio, long the best known American periodical, and at fifty published a volume, "Conversations on the Bible," which passed through several editions and enjoyed the distinction of being reprinted in England.

Such was the mother of the subject of our sketch. She sympathized with her son's dislike of teachers and schools. She took upon herself his training, and allowed his extravagant fondness for reading to have free rein in the home library, where like Bridget Elia, he was "tumbled early by design into a spacious

closet of good old English reading * * * and browsed at will upon that fair and wholesome pasturage."

The family met with financial misfortune early in Hall's life, and he was placed in a counting house in Philadelphia for two years. He studied law during this time and then left business to finish his course. But the war spirit was strong, and in 1812 the Washington Guards enrolled him as a member. After some camp service he was commissioned lieutenant, in the regular army, under Col. Winfield Scott. A brief period of coast duty was followed by orders to join the western army and Capt. Hall fought bravely under Gen. Brown at the battles of Chippewa, Niagara Falls and Lundy's Lane. He remained in commission at the close of the war, and was sent to the Mediterranean with Commodore Decatur. After this brief campaign he returned home, and performed garrison duty in Rhode Island. He was ordered to Pittsburg on ordnance service, and while here he resumed the study of law, resigned his commission and was admitted to the bar in 1818.

He wrote for the Portfolio, now under the editorial charge of his brother and assisted Morgan Neville in work on the Pittsburg Intelligencer.

In 1820 he left Pittsburg to find new fields of adventure and experience in Illinois. The story of his journey down the Ohio on a flat boat is told in "Letters from the West" which originally appeared in the Portfolio. These articles were collected and sent to London to find a publisher. Bentley finally accepted them and the volume appeared as "Letters from the West, by the Honorable Judge Hall." The original title which read, "By a Young Gentleman from the West," was changed by some friend, who thought the revised title would give dignity and importance to the work. Quite the contrary was the effect, for the subject matter of the book, full of witty and amusing anecdotes, with many trenchant criticisms upon travelers' tales of the New Country, seemed out of keeping with the "dignity of the bench." "This," says Capt. Meline, "made the book the subject of ridicule by the Quarterly. Judge Hall was so mortified by the circumstance that the book was never reprinted."

The letters vary much in interest and value, but much of Judge Hall's later work may be found in embryo in these chatty records. He tells of the life on the flat boat, and describes the beauties of the Great River. He gives an account of the settlements in Illinois and describes the manners and life in the backwoods, from personal observation and contact. He writes interestingly of the Regulators and the lawless people of that early day in Illinois, and some of his sketches are both interesting and thrilling. The story of the "Harpes" a family of reckless and infamous robbers and murderers, who lived in Kentucky, is told circumstantially. This was made the subject of a long story published later in a book called "The Harpe's Head." His criticisms of English travelers are very severe. His feeling was that the people of the west were made of such sturdy stuff and were cast in such different moulds from their critics, that the average traveler could not understand them. He foresaw a new civilization coming rapidly out of the crude lives of these hardy pioneers of the wilderness.

His note on Cincinnati (1820) is very brief. He says, "We arrived at Cincinnati in the morning, but when I inform you that we remained here only a few hours, and that the greater part of this time was spent with a friend and that friend a lovely female, a companion of my dancing days, you will not be surprised if I add, that I have nothing to relate concerning this town." That he failed to record material for future generations, he apologizes for, saying in the "language of a merry neighbor of mine Hang posterity! What did posterity do for me. So I shall write when I please and court the girls when I can."

The scenery of the river was impressive and he has left us a picture of pristine beauty nearly one hundred years ago. The spring was coming and the May of 1820, and notwithstanding the cry of a change in climate, was not very different from that of our day.

"As the season advances," he writes, "the forest is seen rapidly discarding the dark and dusky habiliments of winter, and, assuming its vernal robes, it blooms forth with renovated life and lustre. The gum tree is clad in the richest green; the dogwood and redbud are laden with flowers of the purest white and

deepest scarlet; the locust bends with the exuberance of its odorous blossoms. On the southern sides of the hills the little flowers are peeping forth, while winter barely retains a semblance of her recent dominions over the northern exposures. The oak, the elm, the walnut, the sycamore, the beech, the aspen, the hickory, and the maple, which here tower to an incredible height, have yielded to the sunbeams, and display their bursting buds and expanding leaves. The tulip-tree waves her long branches, and her yellow flowers high in the air. The wild rose, the sweet-briar and the vine, are shooting into verdure; and, clinging to their sturdy neighbors, modestly prefer their claims to admiration, while they give early promise of fruit and fragrance * * * Blame me not for yielding, amid such scenes, to the influence of feeling, and giving up my whole soul to wild, and warm, and visionary fancies * * * I would rather glide silently along the smooth current of the Ohio, lie extended upon the deck at eve, gazing at the last rays of the sun, dimly discovered on the tops of the tallest trees, or behold the morning beams of the great luminary sparkling among the dew-drops, than sit upon a throne and be debarred of such exquisite enjoyments!"

While unwilling to acknowledge the extreme unhealthiness of Shawneetown and southern Illinois, he is quite free to admit that the mosquitoes "are quite as numerous as the worst enemies of repose and pleasant dreams could desire; as large and vigorous and as musical as any other mosquitoes, grow where they may." He facetiously quotes a traveler who "tells of an audacious mosquito who bit General Washington through the sole of his boot," and of a host of the same ravenous prowlers who ate a canoe down to the water's edge in search of the "blood of an Englishman sweating under a load of blankets within the narrow vessel."

In Shawneetown he began the practice of the law, and edited the Illinois Gazette. As an attorney he traveled incessantly through nine or ten county circuits, "in search of adventure," he writes in later years, "rather than actions at law." "The Legends of the West * * * were more alluring than imaginary clients or prospective fees." He thus amassed much material from original sources of which he made good use in after years, and which makes his writings of value to the historian of the West.

He was active in the prosecution and suppression of the bands of outlaws which infested the country, and showed the courage of a soldier in meeting unflinchingly the perils of a prosecutor of lawless and reckless men. Venable recites several incidents which prove his coolness and indifference to danger when engaged in this perilous work.

"For four years," says Col. Meline, "he fought for the dignity of the law against the regulators, who would take the punishment of the lawless into their own hands, and the criminals themselves who often had the sympathy of neighbors as bad as themselves."

He served for three years as Circuit Judge, making his way around on horseback carrying "slender wardrobes, and slenderer libraries packed in saddlebags."

When the legislature legislated him out of office he was elected by that body treasurer of the state, and he moved to Vandalia, then the State Capital, to administer his office. Here he started the Illinois Monthly Magazine, a journal devoted to Western History and Literature, and edited a local newspaper, "The Illinois Intelligencer."

The early decades of the nineteenth century were prolific in a species of literary output, among which The Atlantic Souvenir, The Token, The Pearl, Friendship's Offering, were conspicuous. They were much sought for as holiday gifts and Christmas remembrances. The reading matter consisted of poems, stories and essays and in their pages may be found the first works of many of the literary lights of the later years of the century. They were "embellished" with fine engravings, after pictures by the best artists, and bound in choicest morocco or finest silk with burnished gold edges, they ornamented every parlor and lady's boudoir.

As to whether the enterprise of Nathan Guilford, or the enthusiasm of James Hall is responsible for the Western Souvenir, history is silent. It is certain that Hall was keenly alive to every means of bringing forward the West and Western Writers, and to give both the place they deserved in the estimation of the Literary east. But *however* it was, the Western Souvenir, a little book of $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches was launched in 1829. It is a rarity

in Western Bibliography. It was bound in silk, with gilt edges all round and illustrated by, or embellished with, six plates and an engraved title page. The drawings were by Cincinnati artists, and engraved by artisans of the City. A veritable Western product. The contributors were all western men, and the editor was responsible for the greater part of the contents. He was assisted by Timothy Flint, Benj. Drake, Otway Curry, Nathan Guilford (a literary bookseller and publisher of the book), Morgan Neville, whose contribution on "Mike Fink the last of the boatmen" is called by Mr. Venable the "gem of the collection," and has been quoted or used by all later writers on that remarkable character.

Venable says the volume was not a financial success and its promised continuance failed for want of patronage. It is very interesting as a first and last venture in the west of a literary annual.

"The New Souvenir" is thus prefaced in verse, by the editor, with no thanks to the author of Waverly:

"Oh! a new Souvenir is come out of the west,
Through all the wide borders it flies with a zest;
For save this fair volume, we Souvenir had none—
It comes unpreceded, it comes all alone;
So glossy in silk, and so neat in brevier,
There never was book like our new Souvenir!

It stays not for critic, and stops not for puff,
Nor dreads that reviewers may call it 'poor stuff!'
For ere the dull proser can rail, or can rate,
The ladies have smiled, and the critic comes late,
And the poets who laugh, and the authors who sneer,
Would be glad of a place in our new Souvenir.

So boldly it enters each parlour and hall,
'Mong Keepsakes, Atlantics, Memorials, and all,
That authors start up, each with hand on his pen,
To demand whence it comes, with the wherefore, and when;—
'Oh come ye in peace, or in war come ye here,
Or what is the aim of your new Souvenir!'

We've long seen your volumes o'erspreading the land.
While the west country people strolled rifle in hand;

And now we have come, with these hard palms of ours,
To rival your poets in parlours and bowers.
There are maids in the West, Bright, Witty, and fair.
Who will gladly accept of our new Souvenir.

One hand to the paper, one touch to the pen,
We have rallied around us the best of our men:—
Away with the moccasin, rifle, and brand!
We have song, picture, silk, and gold-leaf at command—
Tis done!—Here we go with the fleet foot of deer—
They'll have keen pens that battle our new Souvenir."

The periodical literature of the Central West began with the publication of Wm. Gibbs Hunt's "Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine" in Lexington, "the Athens of the West," in 1819. A few unimportant ventures preceded it, interesting only to the Bibliographer. Next to this in interest came the Western Quarterly Review, changed after its second number to the "Western Monthly Review," published in Cincinnati, 1827-29, and edited by the Rev. Timothy Flint, whose name is written large upon the roll of Pioneers of Western Literature.

Third among the more important magazines of the early days was the Illinois Monthly Magazine, edited by James Hall. Two volumes covering two years were issued bearing the imprints of Vandalia and Cincinnati. The files of this journal are very scarce, and no copy of the second volume is to be found in the down-town libraries. The Historical Society has a copy and I believe there is a set in the Robert Clarke collection of Americana in the Van Wormer Library. It contains much of value and interest to the historian and antiquary. The editor stood manfully for Western writers, encouraging them by using their effusions, both in prose and verse, and adding not a little to the value of the Monthly by contributions from his own store of facts, gathered during his circuits in the state.

At the same time Judge Hall was editing a weekly paper in Vandalia, and getting out the Monthly often under discouraging conditions of publication. Paper and type were hard to get, supplies from Cincinnati were uncertain and slow in arriving. In the March number, 1831, we find apology for delay in publication now two months late. "The paper for the present number,"

writes the editor, "was shipped from Cincinnati December last, and did not reach us until April, having been frozen up or otherwise delayed for nearly three months." A printer will detect a deplorable lack of "sorts" in the capital letters scattered through the pages. These mechanical defects do not detract from the interest and value of the articles, which include not only essays upon general topics, but valuable sketches of early history gleaned from original sources and often from the lips of living witnesses of the events recorded. Reviews of Western books and writers, articles upon local history, and upon the geology of the state, all add to the value of the volumes.

In the midst of this activity came the political shift which threw Judge Hall out of office, and he turned to Cincinnati as a haven of rest, and here he spent the rest of his days.

The Directory of 1834 records the name of "James Hall, Attorney-at-Law, boards Pearl Street House," a later one names him as editor of the Western Monthly Magazine. This journal the successor of the Illinois Monthly Magazine was ushered into existence in January, 1833, very soon after its editor came to the city. It was an immediate success, not such as would command advertising at $2000 a page, but a success, independent of the advertisements. A note to subscribers April, 1833, reads, "Nos. 1 and 2 have been exhausted owing to the *large demand.* The editor thought 700 copies a liberal provision, a second edition is promised soon."

Time does not permit extended mention of this interesting periodical, which remained the popular Western magazine for about four years. Contributions were received from many writers; James H. Perkins, Morgan Neville, Benjamin Drake, W. D. Gallagher, Rev. J. M. Peck, John H. James, were prominent among them. All Western States were represented, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, Michigan, Mississippi, Ohio, furnished material for the pages of the new venture. Six ladies were among the writers for "The Magazine." "And it is due to them to say, (writes the gallant editor) that some of the most vigorous and popular articles which have adorned our periodical have been the production of highly gifted females."

Reference is here made to Hannah F. Gould, the poetess, Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, whose stories were very popular, sixty or seventy years since, and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, a name quite familiar to our generation.

The editor and publisher seem not to have pulled well together; misunderstanding between the financial backers was the rule, and in 1836, the magazine passed entirely from the control of Judge Hall. It continued one year longer under the editorship of Joseph Reese Fry and with a circulation fallen to 1000 was sold to the Literary Journal and Review of Louisville and so passed off the field.

The retirement of Judge Hall was precipitated by his independent stand upon the Catholic question, brought out by a review of Lyman Beecher's "Plea for the West"; the popular prejudice against the Roman Church could not abide a defender, and subscribers withdrew so rapidly and so generally that a subscription list of 3000 dropped to under a thousand.

The year 1833 was a most fertile one in books published by Judge Hall, "The Legends of the West," "The Harpe's Head," "The Soldier's Bride," "The Tales of the Border," "The Selections from the Writings of Mrs. Sarah Hall," all were issued from Philadelphia presses, one bearing the imprint of his brother Harrison Hall.

In the same year, a unique publication, to be placed beside the Western Souvenir, as a Western Enterprise, appeared. Its title page read: "The Western Reader; a series of useful lessons, designed to succeed Corey & Fairbank's Elementary Reader, selected and arranged by James Hall" Cincinnati, 1833.

The preface apologizes for a new reading book. Changes and improvements in our educational system demanding that "books shall be remodeled to keep alive the interest of the young." No sentiment is admitted which would be pernicious to the young mind. About one quarter of the 106 selections are by Western writers. The preface further states, "The work is of Western origin, and manufacture; having been prepared in this city expressly for the use in our schools, and published here by means of our own workmanship and materials." It was a veritable Cincinnati product and is now a rarity sought for by collectors.

"Sketches of History, Life and Manners of the West," in two volumes, was published by the author's brother, Harrison Hall in 1835. It is one of the most important of Hall's writings, and of much interest and value to the historian. It contains a fund of information relating to the early settlements, and many scattered records of the generation of pioneers then passing. He states that in these volumes "nothing farther is attempted, than a collection of facts—some of which are the result of the writer's own observation." He disavows any intention of writing a connected history, but he has nevertheless left us a quite complete account of the settlements and Indian Wars of the region embraced in the Northwest Territory and Kentucky. The book was severely criticised by the North American Review, and the author charged with gross inaccuracy. He was prompt to reply to his critics, and in the preface to "Statistics of the West, at the close of the year 1837," he defends himself both vigorously and effectively.

The last named volume is really a supplement to the "Sketches," and contains a description of the physical conditions of the country and a full account of its commerce and navigation. A list of the early steamboats found in the end of the volume is very interesting. The volume first issued as the "Statistics of the West," was twice reprinted, with additions. In 1838 as "Notes on the Western States, containing descriptive sketches of their climate, soil, resources and scenery" and again in 1848, bearing the title of "The West; its commerce and navigation."

The "Sketches" and "The Legends of the West," as his collection of Western stories was called, were both reprinted in the 50's. The former as the "Romance of Western History" in 1857, and the latter under the same title, appeared in several editions in New York and in Cincinnati. Venable remarks that these two books contain "the salt and substance of Judge Hall's work."

But in making this statement, I think he overlooked one of Hall's valued writings—namely, the literary and historical part of McKenney & Hall's "History of the Indian Tribes of North America." This great work, said by the North American Review to be second to Audubon's Birds for completeness and value, was projected and carried on by Thomas L. McKenney, the superin-

tendent of Indian affairs in Washington. About 1824 Col. McKenney began a collection of portraits of noted Indians who came to Washington on affairs relating to treaties and other business with the government. An artist of some repute named King was engaged for the work and his portraits were thought to be faithful and lifelike.

The reproduction of these portraits by lithography was begun in 1836 or '37, and Judge Hall was to write the historical sketches and biographies. The engraving was done in Philadelphia, and the plates colored by hand. The first volume issued in parts was completed in 1838, and the third bringing the number of plates up to 120 was not finished till 1844. The whole forming three large folio volumes.

The difficulties in getting the matter for the historical sketches, were much greater than had been anticipated, for when the work was begun, it was thought that the records of the War Department would furnish ready to hand all that would be needed. This expectation was not fulfilled, and Judge Hall undertook to gather the necessary information from original sources. The work contains a vast amount of anecdote, and numerous sketches of Indian character, making it a valuable and original contribution to the history of the American Indian.

The expense of the enterprise, notwithstanding the price was $120 was so great that several publishers failed in the endeavor to get the work out, and when it finally was finished there was nothing left for the authors but glory, their share of the profits being absolutely nothing.

It is not necessary to more than mention a campaign life of General Harrison which came out in 1836, during first candidacy of "Old Tippecanoe," an interesting monograph made up of material gathered when the Sketches of the West was written.

The writing of the Indian Biographies consumed nearly eight years of leisure and with the completion of the work, Judge Hall's original literary labors came to an end, though the new editions of the Sketches and Legends contain interesting autobiographical material. A notable address on "The Dignity of Commerce" delivered before the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association in 1846, also deserves mention.

This address is a forceful defense of the commercial spirit and its influence in the conquest of the Great West. In it he gives a history of the development of the country through the energy and enterprise of men engaged in commerce and finance.

"The Pioneers led the way to the Wilderness. They bore back the savage and possessed the country. Their lives were full of peril and romance. The farmers subdued the soil and have won the fruitful fields which they possess through toils and dangers." But what would the country have been without commerce. "Commerce has supplied the money to build mills, make roads, canals and steamboats. It brought the market to the farmer. Agricultural products without means of marketing them are not worth the labor of production. They are now sources of wealth."

In 1835 Judge Hall became the cashier of the Commercial Bank, a corporation with a million dollars capital, and continued with the reorganized institution in 1843, acting in the same capacity till 1853, when he became its president, and filled this position till his death. His career as a banker was a successful one. He left the Commercial Bank with profitable business, and a credit which seemed as solid as the eternal hills.

During his banking career he published but little, and did little original work. His ideas as to the function of the banker and merchant were expressed in the address quoted above. "The acquisition of wealth" he writes, "does not necessarily blunt the sensibilities or destroy the manliness of a generous character Money sought by honorable means and with moderation affords an exercise to the higher and nobler powers of the mind and heart." "Money should be regarded as the agent and representation of the good it may be made to perform * * * in affording the means to promote the public good."

Judge Hall was twice married. His first wife Mary Harrison Posey, was the daughter of Capt. John Posey, and a granddaughter of Gen. Thomas Posey, a revolutionary officer whose life was written by Hall, and published in the second series of Spark's American Biography. She died in 1832 leaving five children, none of whom are now living.

In 1839 he married Mrs. Mary Louisa Alexander, a sister of the late Governor Charles Anderson and Larz Anderson of this city. He took up his residence on Symmes street, now East Third street, and his house still stands, facing the new Lytle Park.

He was in bad health for several years before his death, and to get away from the distractions of city life he bought a country home on one of the hills overlooking the Little Miami river about a mile east of Loveland. The spot is well known to the older citizens of Cincinnati. It overlooks the valley, and its beautiful vistas and broadly extended prospects will live always in the memories of those whose good fortune it has been to know it. Here he lived in comparative retirement till he died July 5, 1868. His funeral services were held in Christ Church on the 8th and he now rests in Spring Grove, where a simple monument without commemorative inscription marks his grave. Four children of the second marriage survived him, three of whom still live. His eldest son was a member of the Cincinnati Literary Club, and contributed to its list of papers. Under the pen name of "Timothy Timid" he wrote many letters, but ill health and failing eyesight have compelled him to give up both business and literature.

In person Judge Hall was short and stout. His manners courtly, his habits studious and retiring. A good likeness of him is to be found in the late edition of Romance of Western History. He was intensely religious, and found in the Bible and other devotional books the consolation and strength, which enabled him to bear patiently the many years of ill health which came to him in later life.

By permission of one of the family I am able to quote from a brief sketch written by one of his daughters, this note on his character:

"He was a man who could always, and under all circumstances be relied upon. He was the very coolest man in time of danger or in an emergency I have ever seen.

"He had naturally a quick temper, and a warm heart, and he advocated enthusiastically any cause he espoused; but his enthusiasm was always tempered by good taste, and the quick tem-

per was held in check by the coolness of his judgment and by principle.

"A beautiful trait in his character was his love for children and his kindness to them and his patience with them at all times. I never knew him to be so busy, no matter what his occupation, and no matter how hurried he might be, as not to turn to one of his own children, kindly, patiently and courteously to answer any of their questions, if they were ever so foreign to the subject of his thought.

"He never could have accomplished the amazing amount of work that he did and of so many different sorts, if he had not possessed the energy, the courage, perseverance, industry and the rich fund of humor that carried him through and raised him above all difficulties. And the dear good heart full of love to God and man that made a perpetual sun shine within and around him."

It is perhaps too much to say that Judge Hall's work as litterateur makes him a candidate for place in America's Hall of Fame, but as a pioneer, as a consistent, and persistent, champion of the West in letters, in commerce, and in civilization and as a herald of the great development which has in all things, perhaps except in literature, fulfilled his prophecy, he deserves honor and regard. He contributed largely to the work which Dr. Daniel Drake enjoined upon his contemporaries, of transmitting "to posterity a graphic description of the Great Valley as it appeared in primitive loveliness to the eyes of the pioneers," before civilization transformed it. He added to this natural picture a faithful portrait of the life of the early settlers in their homes and families, a portrait which enables us to account for the wonderful changes wrought by their successors in the work of making a garden out of a wilderness.

Thomson in enumerating the long catalogue of his writings says, "The West owes him a monument and should do justice in his memory," and Dr. Allibone adds to a sketch of his career "That few have done so much for the cause of western civilization and intellectual improvement of the country at large. Such men should be counted worthy of all honor."

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 12, 1909.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIAMI COUNTRY.

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The Treaty of Greenville by a lasting peace with the Indians, in so far as the eastern part of the Northwest Territory was concerned, removed that influence which for six years had prevented the development of the colony planted in the Miami Country and for the first time since the beginning of the movement started in 1788, was it possible to extend settlements uninterrupted into that region. At the time of the treaty there were gathered under the protection of Fort Washington and close to the stockades of Columbia, North Bend, and the dozen or more stations of the Miami Country, several hundred anxious settlers who hailed that event as the beginning of an era of peace and security and an opportunity for better times. "The return of peace gave them new ambitions and new hopes." They removed from their forts into the adjacent country, selected farms, built cabins, and began to subdue the forests.[1]

So sudden was this movement that, for a time, we have the curious phenomenon of settlements like Cincinnati, North Bend and Columbia in a new and growing country actually losing a large part of their population. In evidence of this, Judge Symmes wrote to Jonathan Dayton, August 6th, 1795, that North Bend was reduced more than one-half in its number of inhabitants since he had left to go to New Jersey in February, 1893; that the people had spread themselves into all parts of the purchase below the military range since the Indian defeat on the 20th of August; and that the cabins were deserted by dozens in a street.[2] What had in some measure contributed to this exodus was the demand that he had made on all volunteer settlers to go out and

[1] Cincinnati Directory 1819, page 29.
[2] Miller; Cincinnati's Beginnings, page 219.

improve on their forfeitures in the course of the year, as the truce with the Indians afforded a very favorable opportunity for the purpose.

News of the treaty also accelerated the westward movement and deflected to the Northwest Territory, many of those who otherwise probably would have gone into Kentucky. Besides, many people who had settled in Kentucky during the Indian wars crossed the Ohio and founded new homes in the Northwest Territory.[3] Four important centers of settlement within the present limits of Ohio received the newcomers; the Western Reserve in the neighborhood of Cleveland, the Marietta district, the Scioto district in the neighborhood of Chillicothe, and the Miami Country.

For a time these settlers were engaged almost exclusively in the primitive occupations of the wilderness. They built their cabins and made for themselves a rude sort of necessary furniture and utensils. A deadening was commenced which later developed into a clearing and a crop of Indian corn was planted to supply the necessities of the family. But in the meantime the pioneer was a hunter as well as a primitive kind of a farmer. For several seasons his time was occupied with clearing the forest, securing a sufficient food supply, and possibly improving his cabin so that it would be more habitable. Under such circumstances his limitations did not permit him to produce a surplus and so he was compelled to buy little or nothing. Store goods being thus denied him, he and his family were compelled to be manufacturers of a primitive sort. They dressed in clothing made of skins or flax raised and spun and woven at home; and an important step in advance was made when a few sheep were secured and linsey woolsey was substituted for cloth of pure flax. Perhaps the pioneer was a squatter, or may be he had enough money to make the first payment on his land and thus held the title.

From the very beginning of this great rush of individual settlers "men of capital and enterprise in the older settlements

[3] The writer has a personal acquaintance with families in southwestern Ohio whose ancestors came from the Middle States via Kentucky. His own maternal ancestors were among the number.

became interested in securing claims and titles to extensive bodies of land and in leading forth colonies for their occupation."[4] Seventeen days after the conclusion of the treaty of Greenville, one of these companies composed of a number of gentlemen prominent in the affairs of the Northwest Territory made a joint purchase of land from John Cleves Symmes and laid out the town of Dayton at the junction of the Great Miami and Mad Rivers. Those interested were Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory; General James Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton, one of the original owners of the Miami Purchase, and Israel Ludlow. Ludlow had already identified himself with the early history of Cincinnati by surveying the original town plat and establishing Ludlow's Station, now Cumminsville. In December, 1794, he had laid out the town of Hamilton, under the protection of Fort Hamilton on the Great Miami, and now he was called upon to lay out what was to become the second city of importance in the Miami Country.

Judge Turner, however, seems to have anticipated the founders of Dayton, for on the day before they had completed their purchase from Symmes the *Centienel of the Northwest Territory* published an advertisement, saying that, "Encouragement will be given to the first ten families who will go and form a station or a township of land lying with a front of several miles upon the eastern bank of Mad River."[5] In the following March, Robert Benham, who appears to have been agent for Turner, advertised the sale of lots in the town of Turnerville on Mad or Chillekothi River.[6]

An editorial in a frontier newspaper at the time was an unusual occurrence, but the rush of population to the Mad River country following Wayne's Treaty was of such importance as to induce Editor Maxwell, of the *Centienel,* to produce the following: "It is with great satisfaction that we can announce to our readers the rapid strides of population and improvement on the frontiers of this country. The banks of the Mad (or as called

[4] Monette; History of the Mississippi Valley, II., p. Ibid. II., p. 312.
[5] Centienel of the Northwest Territory, Sept. 5, 1795.
[6] Centienel of the Northwest Territory, March 28, 1796.

by the Indians) Chillekothi River, display at this moment hopeful appearances. But yesterday that country was a waste, the range of savages and prowling beasts; today we see stations formed, towns building, and the population spreading. At the mouth of the river on the eastern side now stands the town of Dayton, in which are already upwards of forty cabins and houses, with the certain prospect of many more. Three and twenty miles above this in the forks of the river, a town called Turnerville will shortly be laid out on an admired plan, and from whose situation many advantages may be expected, as roads to the lakes and Pittsburg intersect at this point. Stations in the neighborhood are already in forwardness, and a mill will shortly be built on a fine never failing seat within a mile or two from town. Two stores of goods will be opened there in the course of the spring. * * * Thus we have a certain prospect of a flourishing frontier, that in the case of a renewal of Indian hostilities, will be a shield to the older and more popular settlements within the Miami Purchase."[7]

Two years later the town of Waynesville was located in the wilderness on the banks of the Little Miami, and individual settlers were then pushing on up the valley of that river. In the opening year of the new century we find Judge Symmes again interested in a personal endeavor to extend the frontier. The Western Spy of March 26th, 1800, contains a communication from him calling a meeting at John Lyons' tavern on Millcreek of those gentlemen who intended to become adventurers on "Scioto and Whetstone waters" to enter into articles of regulation, elect a foreman and inform each other who will furnish wagons, oxen or horses, for the purpose of transporting utensils of husbandry and provisions to the new settlement. In one week after the meeting the party was to march in a body to the place of settlement with their wagons, pack horses, cattle, sheep and hogs.[8]

But these ambitious town builders were compelled to wait for a further agricultural development before their dreams could

[7] Ibid. April 2, 1796.

[8] Western Spy, March 26, 1800.

be realized. At first the best that they could hope for was a limited population of the squatter class and possibly an occasional farmer, who settled at or near one of these proposed towns in hopes of a larger social intercourse than could be secured on a wilderness farm.

Notwithstanding the great movement of population to the Northwest Territory, the area of unoccupied land was so great that for many years after the treaty of Greenville most of the country was sparsely settled and large areas of native forest remained untouched. A traveler passing in a northwesterly direction from Manchester to the Little Miami River in 1797, found but one cabin on the trace between those points. That was built by Mr. Van Metre, about seven miles from where Newmarket, Highland County, now is. On the Little Miami a man by the name of Wood had built a mill and there were several cabins in that vicinity. On the return trip he passed but two homes between Cincinnati and Chillicothe.[9] A traveler who passed down the Ohio in 1797 remarked that "this tract of country lying between the two Miamis is the only properly settled country on the north side of the Ohio; for though there are a few scattered plantations along the banks of the Ohio, and on some of the rivers which run into it, yet they are too widely diffused to assume any corporate form."[10] Yet at this time the whole southern bank of the Ohio from Limestone to Louisville had begun to assume a civilized appearance.[11]

During the first five years following the treaty of Greenville about 30,000 settlers found their way into Ohio and thus raised the population from about 15,000 in 1795 to about 45,000 in 1800, a gain of two hundred per cent. Of this number 14,629 were living in Hamilton County. It must be remembered, however, that at that time Hamilton County practically included the Miami Country. Its eastern boundary was identical with the present eastern boundary of Clermont County to the northeast corner of that county, and from there it extended north to the

[9] American Pioneer, Vol. I., pp. 156-158.
[10] Baily; Journal of a Tour, p. 210.
[11] Ibid. p. 194.

Indian treaty line. The treaty line formed its northern and western boundaries and Hamilton County thus included a small part of what is now southeastern Indiana. This gave Hamilton County at that time an area of about 4,000 square miles and a population of a little over three and a half persons per square mile. Those parts of the Miami Country west of the Great Miami and north of the latitude of Dayton were almost entirely unoccupied.

The land law of 1800 did much to accelerate the movement of population into the Miami Country; and that speculation in land became a flourishing business is indicated by the numerous newspaper advertisements of the time. For the next few years almost every edition of the Cincinnati papers contained numerous advertisements of land for sale. Many of them were for tracts of from 500 to 2,000 acres, although smaller tracts were sometimes offered. Proximity to a mill site or a navigable stream, or on a road recently laid out, or near a community already somewhat settled added much to the value of the land. Although a large area had been opened to settlement by the land law of 1800 and the minimum price had been fixed at two dollars per acre, the price continued to advance, especially near the few towns that were beginning to become local centers of trade and industry.[12] In 1805 good land near the mouth of the Great Miami was offered at $6.50 per acre, but as late as 1809 uncleared land could be purchased as low as $5.00 per acre.[13]

By 1805 immigration to Ohio and the Miami Country was truly astonishing. "New settlement and improvements were springing up along the banks of the Ohio; and the busy hum of civilization was heard where silence had reigned for ages except when broken by the scream of the panther, the howl of the wolf or the yell of the savage."[14] In the distance between Cincinnati and Limestone there were no less than twelve towns, some of which were of considerable importance. A traveler

[12] Western Spy and Miami Gazette, Nov. 1815.
[13] Melish; Travels in the United States, II., p. 129.
[14] American Pioneer I., p. 98.

estimated that from 20,000 to 30,000 immigrants had come into Ohio within that year. Many of them who settled in southern Ohio came from the Southern States, from whence they had emigrated to escape the environment of slavery.[15] One ferry at Cincinnati within eight months of 1805 transported 2,629 immigrants from the Southern States. Of that number North Carolina furnished 463, South Carolina 669, Kentucky 568, Tennessee 200, Virginia 465 and Georgia 264.[16] It is difficult to say what proportion of this population from the South settled in the Miami Country, but it must have been small in comparison with the number of settlers arriving from the free Middle States. In 1825 the immigrants from the Southern States and their descendants then living in Cincinnati formed but fourteen per cent. of the population.[17] In Clermont County, adjoining Hamilton County on the east and comprising a part of the Virginia Military District, the South furnished twenty-five per cent. of the population that settled there before 1816.[18] The eastern part of the Virginia Military District probably received a greater proportion of settlers from the South.

At this time Dayton and Lebanon were the most important centers of population in the interior. In 1806 Dayton contained about forty houses, was situated in the midst of a prosperous farming community and an excellent beaten public road, the borders of which were sprinkled with settlements, and neat and improved farms connected that settlement with Hamilton. Lebanon with a church and school house and a population of about 200 inhabitants, living in neat log and frame houses, was situated in the midst of a fine agricultural region that had been settled within five years.[19] Settlement was not so rapid toward the Indian line and not until 1806 was Eaton, the first town west of the Great Miami, laid out. As usual, the proprietor, William Bruce, was offering free lots to actual settlers who would build

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[15] Espy; Memorandum of a Tour, p. 22.
[16] Western Spy and Miami Gazette, Jan. 8, 1806.
[17] Cincinnati Directory, 1825.
[18] Rocky and Bancroft, History of Clermont County.
[19] Ash; Travels in the United States II., p. 252.

a cabin 16 by 18 within six months.[20] Other towns not heretofore mentioned that were marked on Rufus Putnam's map published in 1804, were Newtown, Williamsburg and Deerfield. This map prepared by the Surveyor General of the United States near the beginning of the century, located in all but ten towns in the Miami Country and none of them, except Cincinati, were much more than collections of log cabins.

This great increase in population in the Miami Country between 1795 and 1805 must have meant considerable agricultural development and the production of a surplus that the farmer would desire to exchange for commodities that he could not produce. This called for a trade center wherein the produce of the region might be brought for export and which also could be used as a point of distribution for imported goods. As the location of Fort Washington at Cincinnati had given that place an advantage over other points in the Symmes Purchase during the Indian Wars, and as the location in relation to the rest of the Miami Country was the most accessible point on the Ohio to the largest area of that region, Cincinnati from the beginning was the metropolis of the Miami Country.

For the first ten years following the treaty of Greenville the growth of Cincinnati was slower than for any succeeding period of its early development, nor did it in any way keep up with the development of the Miami Country. In 1795 the population was about 500. By 1805 it had increased to about 960. This was an average increase of 46 persons, or less than ten per cent. per year. In all it amounted to 90.2 per cent. in ten years, whereas the increase of the Miami Country for the same period was about 480 per cent. This relatively slow increase may be easily understood when we remember that in 1795 the Miami Country outside of the few settlements on or near the Ohio was an uninhabited region and could supply nothing that could furnish the basis of commercial life. Before there could be any considerable growth in the chief town or in any other town of the region, there first must be developed the agricultural basis. Cincinnati in a great measure seemed to have been playing a

[20] Western Spy and Miami Gazette, March 25, 1806.

waiting game while this preliminary house-raising, and clearing and planting was going on. She could do nothing else. She received great numbers of immigrants and retained but a few of them.

A few incomplete pictures have been left that may in some degree assist us in an appreciation of the growth of Cincinnati during the first decade following the treaty. In 1795 the 500 inhabitants were housed in 94 log cabins and 10 frame houses and the public improvements besides Fort Washington consisted of an unfinished frame school-house, a strong log building occupied as a jail and a Presbyterian church. The jail was ornamented with a pillory, stocks, and whipping post. The church was a building 40 by 30, enclosed with clap-boards, neither lathed, plastered nor ceiled. The floor was of boat plank laid loosely on sleepers and the seats were of the same material supported by blocks of wood.[21]

By 1805 the log cabins of Cincinnati had decreased to 53 and the frame buildings then numbered 109. There were also six brick and four stone houses. The town boasted of two churches, a court house and a prison. Large warehouses had arisen near the water for the storing of groceries and merchandize, brought up in barges and keel boats from New Orleans.[22]

Probably the most significant change to be noticed, however, was the abandonment of Fort Washington, which occurred in 1803. Like all other frontier forts of its kind, the time had come, when no longer needed, it was falling into decay. In 1808 the government sold the property and the land was soon afterward divided into city lots. "The enlivening notes of the fife and drum at reveille were no longer heard, and the loud booming of the morning gun as it rolled its echoes along the hills and the winding shores along the river had ceased to awaken the inhabitants from their slumbers. * * * The enlivening hum of commerce was now beginning to be heard on the landings, while the bustle and hurry of hundreds of immigrants thronged the streets

[21] Cincinnati Directory 1819, p. 29. Burnet; Notes on the Settlement of the Northwest Territory, pp. 34 and 35.

[22] American Pioneer, Vol. I., p. 98.

as they took their departure for the rich valleys on the banks of the Miamis.[23]

The streets, however, were yet in a state of nature and the roads consisted of traces of narrow pathways, almost impassable on account of mud, stumps and roots. In what is now the very heart of the city many of the forest trees were still standing and the trunks of others which had been cut down encumbered the ground for several years afterwards.[24] Such in brief, was the metropolis of the Miami Country ten years after the treaty of Greenville.

We have seen that the decade between 1795 and 1805 was a period of locating first settlements and clearing new farms. A few towns were located and the more important roads were marked out. The production of a surplus was begun, a commercial system had been organized and the manufacture of a few articles had commenced on a small scale. Yet the entire region retained its former character and the development of the Miami Country was only begun.

By 1805 all of those western influences that affected immigration were in full force. The first break into the wilderness had been made, it was seen that the land would produce abundantly, favorable land laws had been passed, Ohio had become a state, and the annexation of Louisiana had given us the free navigation of the Mississippi River. These influences, combined with the decline of commerce and the hard times that followed as a result of the Embargo of 1807, sent an increasing number of settlers into the West, and no section profited by this more than did the Miami Country.

Between 1800 and 1810 Hamilton County had been subdivided by the admission of Ohio and by the formation of new counties. Eight of these new counties lie entirely within the original boundaries of Hamilton County and in 1810 returned a population of 75,349, or more than one-third of the population of the entire state. This was an average of a little more than twenty-one persons per square mile, whereas the average of the

[23] Mansfield; Memoirs of Dr. Daniel Drake, p. 48. American Pioneer, Vol. I., p. 98.

[24] Cincinnati Directory, 1819, p. 29.

entire state was 5 8/10 per square mile. Hamilton County showed a density of 38 persons per square mile, Butler County 36, Clemont County 24.5, Warren 23, Greene 17, Montgomery 15, Miami 9.9, Preble 8.2. Within the present boundaries of Hamilton County alone there were living 629 more people than occupied the whole Miami Country a decade before. The War of 1812, however, seems to have retarded immigration to some extent, as an estimate made in 1815 gave these counties an increase of but 12,109, and the average density of population was increased but two per square mile.[25]

Generally speaking, the growth of the towns was hardly keeping pace with the development of the country, although a few of them were growing rapidly. In Dayton the number of houses had been doubled within three years, and in 1809 it contained a brick court house and four other brick buildings. South of Third Street was called Cabin-town, while on Main Street were located 13 log cabins, two frame and two small brick houses, a tavern and a court house.[26] Within the same period the number of houses in Lebanon had increased from about forty to about one hundred; Xenia, in the midst of a good wheat region, boasted of fifty; Springfield and Williamsburg had about the same number; while Franklin and Urbana had about sixty houses each and were rapidly increasing. Columbia and Hamilton both seemed to suffer by the influence of more favorably situated Cincinnati. Columbus, although established more than twenty years, contained but forty houses, and Hamilton, the first town to be laid out in the interior of the Miami Country after Wayne's victory, had ten or fifteen.[27]

By 1815 there were about ten towns in the Miami Country that contained forty or more houses, but not more than four of them, except Cincinnati, contained as many as 100.[28] Greenville, Troy and Wilmington were as yet only villages of a few cabins.[29]

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[25] E. Dana, Geographical Sketches of the Western Country, pp. 72 and 73.

[26] Memoirs of Thomas Morrison, Unpublished Ms.

[27] Cutler, Description of Ohio, pp. 41-46.

[28] Killbourn, Ohio Gazeteer.

[29] Drake, Cincinnati, 1815.

The general advance of the section is probably well indicated in the rise in value of real estate. The following estimate was made by Dr. Drake in 1815: Within three miles of Cincinnati the price of good unimproved land was between $50 and $150 per acre. From this limit to the extent of twelve miles from the city land ranged in value from $10 to $30 per acre. Near the principal villages of the Miami County the price was from $20 to $40 per acre, and in more remote sections from $4 to $8. An average for the settled portions of the Miami Country for fertile and uncultivated land, may be stated at $8.00 per acre, and if cultivated at $12.00 per acre.

This rapid development of the Miami Country soon brought about the production of an ever increasing surplus that furnished the basis of a commerce that was to build up Cincinnati at the metropolis of the Miami Country. The very slow growth of that city during the first decade following the treaty of Greenville has already been noted, but by 1805 products were flowing in that direction for export in such quantity as greatly to increase the commerce, and accelerate the growth of population. The census of 1810 returned a population of 2,320, which showed a gain of 201 per cent, within five years; while within the preceding decade the gain had been but 90 per cent. The War of 1812, however, seems to have retarded slightly the growth of population in the metropolis, as well as in the contributing region. But regardless of that the population had grown to about 6,000 by 1815. This was a gain of 158 per cent. or about 43 per cent. less than for the preceding five years.

In 1808 a traveler described Cincinnati as covering more ground and seeming to contain nearly as many houses as Lexington. Many of the houses were of brick, generally well built, and had an air of neatness about them that was characteristic of Connecticut and New Jersey, from which many of the settlers came. Some of the new brick houses were three stories high, with flat roofs, and one four stories high was then building. The Burnet residence, at Third and Vine, and the Suydam residence, where Sedamsville is now located, were the most imposing.[30]

[30] Cuming's Tour, Thwaite's Travels, Vol. IV., pp. 256 and 257.

In 1810 the residents of Cincinnati were domiciled in 360 dwelling houses, chiefly of brick and wood; about two-thirds of them were in the bottom; the rest were "on the hill." Main Street, the principal street, was well built up to Sixth or Seventh, but as yet all of the streets were unimproved. The town contained a court house, three market houses, two printing offices, a bank of issue and about thirty mercantile stores.[31]

For a knowledge of Cincinnati immediately before and after the War of 1812, we are largely indebted to Dr. Daniel Drake, one of the most honored citizens of early Cincinnati. As a boy he settled there when it was a small village composed largely of log cabins. He continued to reside in Cincinnati with the exception of a brief interval until the time of his death sometime in the fifties; and in his time no man surpassed Dr. Drake in promoting the economic and intellectual welfare of the community of his adoption. In 1810 he published *Notices Concerning Cincinnati*, the first of a long line of books, describing the Queen City of the West. This little book gives but a brief glimpse of our frontier metropolis, as the most of it is taken up with topographical and other physical conditions, of the Miami Country. Five years later, Dr. Drake published *A Natural and Statistical View of Cincinnati*, which gives a good picture of this youthful western city. It was written for the purpose of encouraging immigration, but its evident honesty and sincerity is in strange contrast with pamphlets that have been issued by some boom towns of a more recent period. To it we must turn for the chief facts about the subject of our study at the close of the War of 1812.

By this time the population of Cincinnati was not far from that of Pittsburg, and by 1820 it exceeded that of Pittsburg by 2,359. It extended a half mile back from the river and occupied nearly a mile of the river front. Of its 1,100 houses, twenty were stone, 250 brick and 800 wood. There were four places

[31] Drake, Notices concerning Cincinnati, p. 29. Melish, Travels in the United States II., p. 126. Cutler, Description of Ohio, pp. 43, 44. Cramer, The Navigator for 1811, pp. 111, 113. The Cincinnati Pioneer for April, 1874, p. 11.

of public worship and the Cincinnati Lancaster Seminary was housed in a commodious building that would accommodate 900 students.[32]

For some years after the war there was a regular influx of immigrants to Cincinnati. For a period of five years the increase in population was more than 700 annually. A visitor has left us the following flattering description of conditions in 1817. "Cincinnati * * * a most thriving place, backed as it is already by a great population and a most fruitful country, bids fair to be one of the first cities of the West. We are told and we cannot doubt the fact, that the chief of what we see is the work of four years. The hundreds of commodious, well finished brick houses, the spacious and busy markets, the substantial public buildings, the thousands of prosperous well dressed, industrious habits, the numerous wagons and drays, the gay carriages and elegant females, * * * the shoals of craft on the river, the busy stir prevailing everywhere, houses building, boat building, paving and leveling streets, the numbers of country people, constantly coming and going, with the spacious taverns, crowded with travelers from a distance."

Another said that the "general appearance is clean and handsome, indeed elegant and astonishing when we reflect that less than forty years ago it was the resort of Indians and the whole surrounding country a wilderness full of wild beasts and savages."

This westward movement had been continuous but not regular. We have seen that it was for a time checked by the War of 1812, but by 1813 the hard times in the seaboard states was so severe as to accelerate the great exodus to the West that was to continue for the next six years, cause the admission of six new states and bring about a contest over the extension of slavery into Missouri.[33]

Between 1815 and 1820 immigration to the Miami Country was so rapid that by the latter date it contained nearly 200,000 people; and it was stated that the growth of population in the

[32] Drake, Cincinnati 1815, p. 136.

[33] McMaster, History of the People, Vol. IV., pp. 382, 383.

Miami Country had been so rapid that many good towns and villages had risen on different streams, but a few miles distant from each other, between which there was hardly any road or communication.[34]

The same author in describing the road leading from Cincinnati to Lebanon said, "We pass through a thickly, but lately settled country, frame and log houses, and cabins, and fine farms of corn, wheat, rye and oats; * * * the smoke of the fire made in burning the trees and underwood rising around us, and large fields of naked trunks and branches of the girdled trees, meet the eye at every turn of the road."

Lebanon seems to have been a particularly attractive place for settlers and travelers alike. Birkbeck, who visited it in 1817, describes it as one of those wonders which are the natural growth of the back woods. In fourteen years it had grown from two or three cabins of half savage hunters, to be the residence of a thousand persons, with habits and looks in no way differing from their brethren from the East.[35] At this time Lebanon contained a court house, a jail, two churches, a school, a postoffice, a printing office, a public library and a bank with a capital of $250,000. Franklin with 55 families and Waynesville were the other towns of importance in Warren County.[36]

Dayton claimed 130 dwellings and contained a court house, two churches and an academy, a library, a postoffice, a printing office and several grist and saw mills were located near the town.[37] Hamilton had become a place of 75 buildings and the other chief towns of Butler County were Rossville, Oxford and Middletown.[38] Williamsburg and Milford were the only important places in Clermont County,[39] while Greenville in Darke County, was only a village of a few cabins.[40] Wilmington, in Clinton County, contained something more than forty houses, and was

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[34] Palmer, Journal of Travels in the United States, p. 90.
[35] Birkbeck Travels, p. 80.
[36] Brown, Western Gazeteer, p. 291.
[37] Ibid, p. 290.
[38] Ibid, p. 283.
[39] Ibid, p. 293.
[40] Ibid, p. 294.

the only town in the county worth mentioning. Eaton, in Preble County, had increased to only about 35 houses within the eleven years of its existence.[41] Besides Cincinnati, the chief towns in Hamilton County were, Columbia, Newtown, Reading, Montgomery, Springfield, Colerain, Harrison, Crosby and Cleves.[42]

Probably no section of the country grew more rapidly than that part of southeastern Indiana immediately contiguous to Cincinnati. Rising Sun was laid out in 1814 and contained forty or fifty houses in 1816.[43] By 1819 it contained more than 100 houses, and afforded employment for several traders and a number of mechanics.[44] Brookville did not contain more than twenty houses in 1815, but by 1819 it had increased to more than 100 and had two grist mills, two saw mills, three fulling mills and three carding machines.[45] Lawrenceburg had doubled its population within thirty months and contained a population of 700 inhabitants in 1819.[46] By 1817 the whole country along the Ohio River between Madison and Cincinnati was appropriated and such was the influx of strangers into that part of Indiana that the industry of the settlers was severely taxed to provide food for themselves and the newcomers.[47]

That section of country bordering on the Ohio River for twenty-five miles on either side of Cincinnati and extending back about one hundred miles (the Miami Country) was described as being an excellent body of land, well settled, though but small improvements had been made except in a few places near the towns. The price of land varied much according to situation. Farms which were called improved could be bought at from $8 to $30 per acre. The improvements, however, often consisted of rough log buildings and from 12 to 20 acres under middling cultivation. A better class of farms had from twenty to fifty

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[41] Brown, Western Gazeteer, p. 284.
[42] Ibid, p. 275.
[43] Thomas, Travels through the Western Country, p. 111.
[44] E. Dana, Geographical Sketches, p. 117.
[45] E. Dana, Geographical Sketches, p.
[46] Dana, Geographical Sketches, p. 114.
[47] Birkbeck, Travels, pp. 90, 91.

acres under cultivation. Grazing was still the chief occupation on the prairies near the headwaters of the Miamis.[48]

Along with this economic advance there was an evolution in social and intellectual conditions. The manners that had been acquired and the ignorance that had been induced while settlers were living in forts and getting their bread and meat at the peril of their lives, and even later when almost all of the people were battling with the wilderness, were fast disappearing. As cultivated farms took the place of forests and towns sprung up, schools and even libraries were established, and a limited education and some culture took the place of the ignorance and rude life of the frontier.[49]

In the interior, however, there continued to be found the various types of settlers characteristic of the frontier. Travelers have generally divided them into three classes: "First, the squatter, or man who 'sets himself down,' upon land which is not his own, and for which he pays nothing; cultivates a sufficient extent to supply himself and family with the necessaries of life; remains until he is dissatisfied with his choice;—had realized a sufficiency to become a land-owner;—or is expelled by the real proprietor. Second, the small farmer who has recently emigrated, had barely sufficient to pay the first instalment for his 80 or 160 acres of two dollar land; cultivates, or what he calls improves, ten to thirty acres; raises a sufficient 'feed' for his family; has the females of it employed in making or patching the wretched clothing of the whole domestic circle; is in a condition which, if compelled by legislative acts, or by external force to endure, would be considered truly wretched; but from being his own master, having made his own choice, from the having 'no one to make him afraid,' joined with the consciousness that, though slowly, he is regularly advancing towards wealth; the breath of complaint is seldom heard to escape from his lips. Third, the wealthy or 'strong-handed' farmer, who owns from five to twelve hundred acres, has one-fourth to one-third under cultivation, of a kind much superior to the former; raises

[48] Fearson, Sketches of America, pp. 218, 219.
[49] Western Spy, Nov. 28th, 1817.

live stock for the home, and Atlantic city markets; sends beef, pork, cheese, lard, and butter to New Orleans; is perhaps a legislator, at any rate a squire (magistrate); is always a man of plain business-like sense, though not in possession, nor desirous of a very cultivated intellect; understands his own interest, and that of his country; lives in sufficient affluence, and is possessed of comfort; but, in conclusion, and a most important conclusion it is, the majority of this class of men were, ten or fifteen years ago, inhabitants of the western states, and not worth, upon their arrival in Ohio, twenty dollars."

Another characteristic of western development, especially between 1814 and 1820, was the platting of new towns. More than thirty towns were laid out within that time in the territory immediately contiguous to Cincinnati. Some of them still exist as prosperous towns or villages, while others have long since been forgotten. Among the towns established within that period that are still thriving communities are Rising sun, Carthage, New Richmond, Batavia.

An enterprising proprietor of a tract of land that was situated in a region already somewhat settled and favorably located on a navigable stream, near a mill site, or on an established highway, would see a chance for increasing his wealth by the rise in value of real estate. He would employ a surveyor and have a portion of his land laid out in town lots, then advertise in a Cincinnati newspaper, setting forth the advantages of the proposed town and announcing that on a certain date lots would be sold at auction on the premises, usually on a credit of six months or a year. The following announcement of the founding of Batavia in Clermont County is a fair illustration: "The town of Batavia is situated on the east fork of the Little Miami River, in Clermont County, State of Ohio, on the farm of George Ely. The situation of this place is probably the most eligible for a town of any in this county, being in the center of a very prosperous neighborhood, which abounds in wealth and affluence; and a more moral and agreeable neighborhood is not to be found in the western country. It is situated in a place remarkable for health, on a high and level bottom, on the bank of a stream directly straight the whole length of the town, sufficient for carry-

ing mills and machinery of every description, with eight or ten springs that never fail within the limits of said town, * * * It is within a mile of a merchant mill that grinds the whole year and two saw mills are within that distance. * * * The post road from Cincinnati to Chillicothe will run through the place."[50]

Some of these land owners dreamed of towns on a magnificent scale that were never realized. One James Allison, of Cincinnati, owned a tract of land near the upper course of the East Fork of the Little Miami. On November 15, 1814, he advertised the platting of the new town of Allisonia on a most liberal plan. Central to the town was to be a spacious square 660 feet each way, to be kept open forever and communicating with twelve streets which enter at the angles. The narrow street was to be one hundred feet wide, so that there might be on each side room for a single or double row of trees. Two spaces, 120 by 420 feet each, were reserved for markets and lots were also reserved for churches, schools and a jail and court house. Several courts and open spaces, all intended as well to suit the inclination of residents as to diversity, ventilate and embellish the place, were reserved for public use. None of them were ever to be deformed or encumbered with buildings of any description, whether court house, jail, places of worship, butchers shambles, or otherwise.[51] It is needless to say that they were not so encumbered, as it is probable that the oldest inhabitant has no recollection of this magnificent town that existed only in the mind of the ambitious proprietor.

While many of these speculations failed, many prospered and are today the centers of thriving communities. A contemporary has given us a most interesting account of the rise and development of these frontier towns. "a storekeeper builds a little framed store, and sends for a few cases of goods; and then a tavern starts up, which becomes the residence of a doctor and a lawyer, and the boarding-house of the storekeeper, as well as the resort of the weary traveler; soon follow

[50] Liberty Hall, October 25, 1814.
[51] Liberty Hall, Nov. 15, 1814.

a blacksmith and other handicraftsmen in useful succession: a schoolmaster, who is also the minister of religion, becomes an important accession to this rising community. Thus the town proceeds, if it proceeds at all, with accumulating force, until it becomes the metropolis of the neighborhood. * * * Thus trade begins and thrives, as population grows around these lucky spots; imports and exports maintaining their just proportion. * * * The town being fairly established, a cluster of inhabitants, small as it may be, acts as a stimulus on the cultivation of the neighborhood: redundancy of supply is the consequence, and this demands a vent. Water mills, or in defect of water power, steam mills, rise on the nearest navigable stream, and thus an effectual and constant market is secured for the increasing surplus of produce. Such are the elements of that accumulating mass of commerce, in exports, and consequent imports, which will render the Mississippi the greatest thoroughfare in the world."[52]

[52] Birkbeck: Water on a journey in America, p. 104-105.

AUTO TRIP OVER THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD.

ALBERT DOUGLAS,

Member Congress, Trustee Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

When the extra session of the 61st Congress adjourned on the 5th of August, we had bought our railroad tickets, reserved berths in the sleeping car and expected to proceed home to Chillicothe by the conventional railroad train; but when I suggested to my wife that instead of shipping our motor car we should ride home in it over the old National Road she readily agreed.

So the next day at noon, with our driver at the wheel and our light luggage by his side, we started from our Washington abode and took the Seventh street pike right north out of the city for Olney and Ridgeville, Md., where we were to strike the old road.

The old National Pike! To one who knows its history the name is full of romance and woven intimately into the history of the country; especially this middle western country of which it was the principal commercial outlet for more than thirty years. It had its legal history and its constitutional history as well. Jefferson, Madison and Monroe of the old Virginia school of strict constructionists opposed many acts of Congress relating to the road. As it was the first great national highway over the Appalachians so it was indeed the first highway over the unexplored constitutional mountains in its pathway. Said one of these Presidents in a veto message to Congress — "A power to establish turnpikes with gates and tolls, and to enforce the collection of tolls by penalties, implies a power to adopt and execute a complete system of internal improvements." But the power "to establish post offices and post roads" with the powers necessarily incident thereto was invoked then, as some of us are trying to invoke it now to secure help from the National Treasury for our roads over which pass the free rural mail routes, and the people had their way and their highway.

"The Cumberland Road" as it was usually and legally designated, from Cumberland over the ridges of the Alleghanies to the "Big Crossings" of the Youghiogheny, then over the intervening hills and Laurel Mountain, by Uniontown to "Old Red Stone Fort" at the head of navigation on the Monongahela, now Brownsville, and on across the Panhandle of Virginia to the Ohio River near Wheeling, was opened for traffic in the year 1818. It continued to flourish, with its hosts of stage-drivers, wagoners, blacksmiths and hostlers, its six horse teams, Conestoga wagons, Concord coaches and private carriages, its numerous taverns and landlords, its stone paved way, its stone culverts, arches and bridges, its curious triangular stone mile-posts and oddly constructed toll houses, its manners and customs, its usages and traditions and all of its busy traffic, until in the early fifties came the railroads. Over it went Andrew Jackson to be inaugurated President of the Republic, the first "Westerner" to achieve that honor; and snowbound at Tomlinson's tavern, high up among the mountains he is said to have passed the time playing "old sledge" with his retinue. President Monroe made a triumphal progress over the road as far as Uniontown. Henry Clay, the road's best friend in Congress, travelled it habitually to and from his Kentucky home; as did also Polk, Harrison, Benton, Cass, Allen, Crittenden and all of the public men of their generation living west of the mountains.

It should be borne in mind that, while the National Road so-called, extended from Baltimore to the Mississippi, it was only that portion of it from Cumberland to Wheeling that was originally constructed directly by the federal government, out of appropriations made between March 1806 and March 1819, amounting to about a million and a half dollars. Between Cumberland and the City of Baltimore the road was built principally by private capital, and it is older than the Cumberland road proper. West of the Ohio the road was built largely from the proceeds of public lands in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, reserved by Congress for this purpose when these states were admitted into the Union.

A couple of hours brought us to Ridgeville and then, after a good dinner at "The Eagle" a road-house well known to local

tourists, we started over the famous old Pike towards the setting sun. "Betsy," as we familiarly call our little Ford machine, was in good humor, and though the road was hilly and somewhat rough we reached Frederick, fourteen miles away, before four o'clock. Barbara Fritchie's house no longer "stands in Frederick-town," as it had to be pulled down to make way for a viaduct over a stream where this crosses the principal street; but whatever of historical accuracy there may be in the incident, Whittier has certainly forever linked her name with that of this prosperous Maryland town. It was in Frederick, too, that Francis Scott Key, the author of our Star Spangled Banner, was born.

The road from Frederick to Hagerstown, crossing the Catoctin and South mountains, was familiar to us as we had passed over it on former visits to the battlefields of Antietam and Gettysburg; but the road itself is good, the country through which it passes beautiful as well as full of historic interest, and the afternoon ride was most enjoyable. We had expected to spend the night at Hagerstown at a good hotel we knew there, but when we reached the city about six o'clock and made some inquiries we determined to push on. It is this independence and the feeling that you are not imposing upon a good horse as well as the lust for "pushing on" that are elements in the pleasure of travelling by automobile.

From Hagerstown to Cold Springs the road is made of blue limestone, crushed and machine-rolled, so that it is about as smooth and hard as concrete. The evening ride with the great ridges of the Alleghanies before us looming up in the light of the sinking sun was most enjoyable; so that when a half hour's ride brought us to the pretty village of Cold Spring we decided to go on to Hancock. It was after leaving Cold Spring that our real mountain ride began, for we had to climb several long ridges on the "low speed," and it was after eight o'clock when we reached Hancock, the speedometer registering 103.5 miles.

The less said about the Maryland-Inn at Hancock, the better and we were not sorry to leave betimes in the morning. "Betsey" had received a satisfactory breakfast of oil and gasoline and seemed glad to be off. A motor car comes with familiar use to have a sort of personal character and it seems in no-wise

out of place to speak of her "humor," as one would of any human thing. Her temper was sorely tried however before she reached the friendly shelter of the garage at Cumberland shortly before noon, for she had a rough road to travel, and up and down five great ridges of that system of mountains we call Appalachian. Sideling Mountain, one of the longest and one of the roughest of the whole trip, besides Green Ridge, Town Mountain, Polish and Flintstone. It would indeed be interesting to know how and where in the pioneer days of old these great ridges obtained their queer names. Some suggest their origin but others do not, and they probably owe their names differing as they do at different points in their latitude to some early incident or settler.

The machine growled up the long rocky ridges on the "low gear," and sometimes, as we were in no haste to catch a train or "make" any particular point by a fixed hour, she would stop a bit, not to rest but to let the boiling water in her tank cool a little. Then the wife and I would get down and walk on ahead, picking the blackberries ripening on every hand, gathering flowers or drinking from some of the many roadside springs, walled and protected so well by the wagoners in other days that they still furnish cool and attractive places to rest and drink.

High up on the side of Polish Mountain, as we strolled along, I found in the road a dead sora-rail, a bird essentially of the marshes and seashore. It had probably, in its migration the night before, flown against the wires which lined the road, and its soft olive-brown plumage with its pretty markings was hardly ruffled; a somewhat sad commentary on Bryant's:

> "He who from zone to zone
> Guides through the boundless air thy certain flight."

The telephone companies have taken advantage of the direct and convenient route of the National Road to erect their lines, and for the whole way through Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia to Wheeling, three systems of poles and wires follow the pike.

At "Fort" Cumberland we were met by a hospitable friend and after a pleasant visit of two hours including luncheon, he

accompanied us on our way as far as Frostburg, returning by the trolley line. Frostburg, once only a village on the old pike where the stage coaches changed horses and where was located the famous old tavern known as "Highland Hall," is now a prosperous and growing center of a great and populous coal field. In its principal street there still stand, some ten feet high, two of the old square iron posts to which were hung the iron toll gates of the olden time; and many of the queer tower like toll houses of brick or stone are still seen along the road, some occupied and some in ruin. At Frostburg our crossing of the Alleghanies really began only to end at Somerfield at the "Big Crossings," the name given by the wagoners and stagemen to the three sturdy stone arches which form the bridge over the Youghiogheny, and which, completed as its tablet testifies on July 4th, 1818, still stands seemingly as secure as ever.

The intervening ridges of the mountains bear the following quaint names: Big Savage, Little Savage, Red Hill or the Shades-of-Death, Little Meadow, Negro Mountain, Keyser Ridge, and Winding Ridge. Just out of Frostburg we passed one of the finest of the many beautiful springs along the road. The many old taverns or road houses were usually located near a spring and a big log or stone trough brimming with the crystal water was an excuse for the wagoner to stop his team for a drink, and the whiskey within sold at "two for a fip."

We found the road up Big Savage, a grade of about 1,800 feet in two miles, one of the worst on the whole trip, and a disgrace to whomsoever may be responsible for its condition. For this there might be some excuse if it were comparatively unused, but on the contrary we found it on that Saturday afternoon thronged with teams. The stones out of which the old road was constructed, lay loosened amid the sand and dust, and through them "Betsy" had to fairly plow her way. The sun was hot too and that half hour was the only one approaching discomfort on our long ride. But when we came to the summit, and caught the glorious view to the West and Southwest, of meadows, fields, woods, and piled up mountains, our discomfort vanished and there followed a long afternoon of unalloyed pleasure; up hill and down, through the forests and mountain farms,

meadows and pastures, through fields of blooming buckwheat, the prettiest crop the farmer grows, over mountain brooks and streams suggestive of trout, stopping for a glass of fresh buttermilk at an attractive old stone tavern, now a farm house, where a bonnie lassie, from far off Sweden as she told us, was taking the golden butter from her churn; until at five o'clock we reached "The vera tapmost tow'ring height" of Keyser Ridge, the highest point on the old National Road, 2,900 feet above the sea and 2,400 above the Potomac at Cumberland. The air was cool and invigorating and the view both West and East superb.

The road down the West slope of Keyser mountain to the Eastern slope of Winding Ridge was very good and in a few moments we reached the spot, about three miles from the top, where the state line between Maryland and Pennsylvania crosses the Pike. The road here runs in a Northwesterly direction and so is crossed diagonally by this historic line. Surveyed by Mason and Dixon long before the American revolution, it became in popular parlance the dividing line between freedom and slavery, and the surname of Jeremiah Dixon has been conferred by song and story upon the whole south-land: "the land of Dixie." On the Northeastern side of the road the line is marked by an old post much defaced by the rust of many decades, and on the Southwest side by a new square block of limestone. The iron post gives the distance to Wheeling as 96¾ miles, and to Cumberland as 34¼ miles, making the total length of the famous Cumberland Road 131 miles.

Passing the crest of the Winding Ridge we began the long slope down towards the "crossings" of the Youghiogheny. Part of the road here had been newly repaired with crushed and rolled limestone, and we flew over it towards the fast setting sun through pretty, well kept villages filled with summer boarders, past beautiful homes with close clipped lawns, beautiful gardens and handsome buildings and through well cared for meadows and farm lands, until we crossed the river on its historic bridge at Somerfield, called "Smithfield" on the mile-posts. The place looked very attractive and it was the ending of a long day, but we had been told of a pleasant hotel on "Chalk Hill" some miles westward and so we did not stop; but took Beaver Hill on the

high gear, then coasting down it and running up the next ridge, we crossed Mount Washington, near which point Washington built Fort Necessity and had his very first experience of actual war. This part of the road coincided substantially with the old "Braddock Road," the route of that General to his memorable defeat near Fort Duquesne; and the brave old Scotsman, mortally wounded, was carried back this far by the retreating survivors of his little army. Here he died and was buried near this road, in a spot which has recently been identified.

Shortly after sundown we drew up with sounding horn in front of the attractive looking hotel on Chalk Hill, only to find every room taken and nothing to do but to push on to Uniontown some ten miles further. However our lamps were soon lighted, the road was good, the evening fine and by eight o'clock we had passed the Summit House on Laurel Ridge, a favorite resort for the people of Uniontown, down the long four mile grade, past the romantic glen called "Turkey's Nest," and past gleaming rows of coke-ovens on the opposite hillsides, into the city of Uniontown and into the very excellent hotel kept by a Mr. Tetlow and bearing his name. We did full justice to the good supper served us and to the excellent "room with a bath, please" to which we were shown.

We woke to another fine morning, and at nine o'clock bowled out, through the "West End" of Uniontown, with the top of the machine down and the sun once more behind us. Our way this day lay through Brownsville and Washington to Wheeling, and then over the river once more into that part of the "Northwest Territory" allotted by Congress in 1802 to "Ohio."

The country was rolling and beautiful, but we missed the hills and woods and looked back with regret to the misty mountain tops. Brownsville at the head of navigation on the Monongahela was an important place in the palmy days of the old pike. A great part of the West-bound traffic, both freight and passenger, left the road here to embark on the river boats for Pittsburgh and the West, and another good part left it at Wheeling for the boats on the Ohio. The old covered wooden toll bridge over the river at Brownsville, built on stone piers and supported by great arches of hewn oak, is rather archaic, and the same

may be said of the condition of its streets, but much may be forgiven the town that gave James G. Blaine to his country.

At Washington we visited the buildings and campus of the Washington and Jefferson college, gave "Betsy" a drink of gasoline and telephoned ahead to Claysville for luncheon to be ready in an hour. But that lunch had to wait, for by some unaccountable mischance we took the wrong turning somewhere between Washington and Claysville and spent an extra hour finding our way across the country. After all the luncheon was not very good anyhow even if the town was named for "Harry of the West."

Two miles west of Claysville the road ascends one of its longest and steepest hills to West Alexander and from this village to Wheeling the road is fine with a steady descent of about twelve miles. As we passed through the suburban part of Wheeling we were impressed by the many handsome and attractive residences, indicative not only of the wealth but of the taste of their builders. Then we climbed a long, rough hill and came down into the business streets of this old and prosperous city; from which Ebenezer Zane blazed his famous "Trace," to Limestone (Maysville) Kentucky, and "at the crossings of each navigable stream" acquired a large tract of land under his contract, thus fixing the locations of the towns of Zanesville, Lancaster and Chillicothe at the crossings respectively of the Muskingum, Hocking and Scioto Rivers.

As it was just five P. M. when we reached the top of the Alleghanies, so by chance it was exactly twenty-four hours later that we rolled upon the great suspension bridge at Wheeling, paid our two tolls and crossed over Jordan into the promised land.

Motoring on, we passed through the beautiful county seat of Belmont County, concerning which town Jake Pugsley of Hillsboro, in the days of her bitter contest with Bellaire, and using a St. Clairsville weekly for his text, made one of the funniest speeches ever heard in the Ohio Legislature, and quite worthy to rank with Proctor Knott's "zenith city of the unsalted seas."

We passed the night in a little roadside inn at Hendrysburg, near the borders of Guernsey and Belmont, made our

third and last morning's start at seven o'clock, passed Cambridge at nine, and into Zanesville before eleven. After rest and refreshment we left Zanesville and the National Road at one o'clock and travelling over the route of the old "Zanesville and Maysville Turnpike" through Somerset, Rushville, and Lancaster, arrived at Chillicothe at six, without a single serious mishap or detention, and after a most enjoyable and informing journey.

The National Road today as a way of travel may be described by the old phrase, "good, bad and indifferent." In spots it is excellent, and in spots it is execrable. But its most serious defect and discomfort for motoring are the bumps, breakers or "thank-you-marms" on every hill, no matter what the grade. Modern road-making of course knows them not; and in the old specifications of the government engineering department for repairing the road as far back as 1832, I find this language: "At proper intervals on the slopes of hills, drains or catch-waters (they seem to have had the same trouble then as now in giving the things a name) must be made across the road * * * * These catch-waters must be made with a gradual curvature so as to give no jolts to the wheels of carriages passing over them." But the "gradual curvature" is omitted now-a-days and the jolts are there. As the years pass and "horseless carriages" become as common as horses, and pleasant travel by private conveyances increases, we may expect to see the roads repaired by modern methods and "catch-waters" will no more vex and delay the traveller.

With all these changing conditions who can say what the future history of this famous old National Pike may be? Our children may see its glories revive, its way repaved with modern metal, its broken and defaced old mile-posts repaired or replaced, its toll houses rebuilt or re-occupied, its iron gates once more threatening the "joy-rider," its sides lined with colossal advertising signs, "darkening the view," and its old taverns renovated rebuilt, re-established, — but with "soft drinks" perhaps substituted for the "fifteen-cent-a-gallon" of other days. Who can tell! But in any event to fond students of the past, to men who love to revive in imagination the days of the pioneers and to dwell in thought among the days that are no more, the romance of this old pathway of the nation will live forever.

WHITELAW REID IN COLUMBUS.

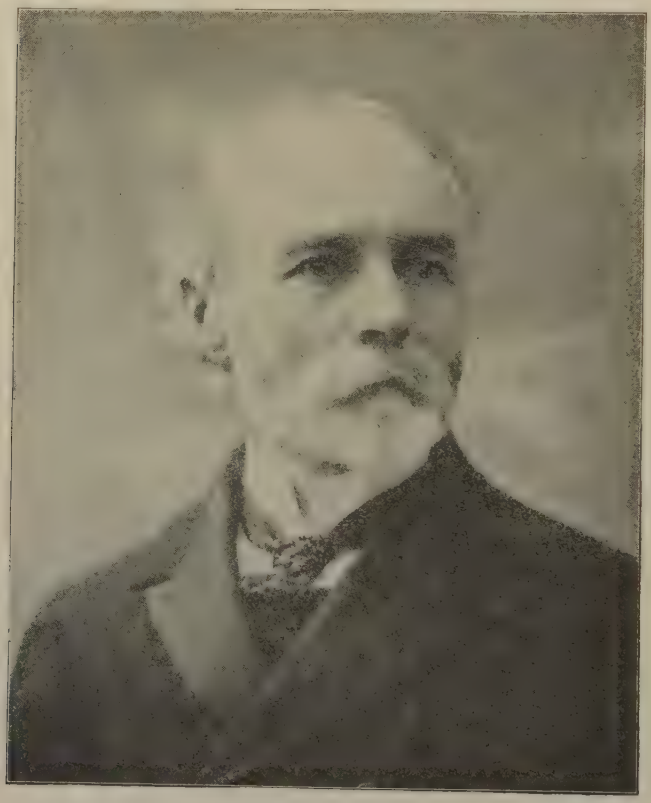
EDWARD L. TAYLOR.

Whitelaw Reid's first experience as a correspondent for a newspaper was in Columbus. It began late in April or in May, 1861. Before that time he had been for a few years the proprietor and editor of the Xenia Torchlight, a paper published weekly at Xenia, Ohio. In the fall or early winter of 1860 his health not being good he disposed of that paper and went to Minnesota, where he spent the winter for his health. It is my recollection that during his stay in Minnesota he occasionally sent communications to the Cincinnati Gazette, but of this I cannot now be certain.

It was about the first of May, 1861, when on High Street in the City of Columbus, my attention was attracted to a gentleman standing just in front of the west entrance to the State House yard, apparently taking observations on the surroundings. I at once recognized him as Whitelaw Reid and immediately went across the street to speak to him. I had not known Mr. Reid in college, as he had graduated in the class of 1856 and I did not enter the university until the next year. It is usual, and perhaps natural, that the under graduates form an estimate of the members of the graduating classes, and in a manner predict something of their future, and I soon found it to be the consensus of opinion that Mr. Reid was one of those of his class confidently expected to make a future for himself.

I did not meet him personally until June 1858 or '59, when he came to Oxford to deliver an address on the invitation of one of the literary societies connected with the university. I heard his address and was impressed with its merits, and then thought, and still think, that it was on a higher plane and better in thought and substance than was usual with addresses on such occasions. At that time I met him and within the next few years saw him frequently, and on one winter night, being

in Xenia with some other college friends, called at his office, where he was at work busily writing for the forthcoming number of his paper. We were received very graciously and spent some little time in conversation, mostly in respect to the University. His office was most sparingly furnished and dingy,

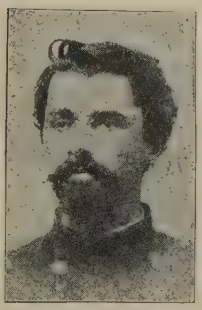


WHITELAW REID.

and lighted by a single lamp and I am sure that if his mind ever reverts to that old office he will smile at the recollection of its simplicity; yet it was there that he laid the foundation of a great editorial career, which has made him known throughout the civilized world and has led on to great and exalted preferments in other fields of honorable endeavor.

Graduating in the same class with Mr. Reid was a young man of noble character of mind and heart and actuated with high purposes—Colonel Minor Millikin, who, like himself, had a marked ambition to become a journalist and who soon after his graduation purchased a weekly paper then published at Hamilton, Ohio, called the "Hamilton Intelligencer," which he soon made a marked influence in that section of the State. Col. Millikin and Mr. Reid were very close friends in college and ever afterwards, and there was a sharp but friendly feeling of rivalry between the two publications. Both were intellectual and ambitious and well equipped for the work they had chosen for themselves, but the coming on of the war changed all their plans and purposes.

No man had more completely the qualities of a soldier or had more patriotism in his being than Minor Millikin, and at the sound of war he disposed of his paper and enlisted in the 1st Ohio Cavalry, in which he soon rose to be the Colonel. He was killed at the bloody battle of Stone River and in his death the country lost one of its gallant defenders and the State one of its most promising young men. It is my recollection that Mr. Reid was himself present at the battle of Stone River, where his friend met his death, and in his history entitled "Ohio in the War," he has recorded a deep and lasting tribute to the high character and qualities of mind and heart of his dead friend. Of all the tributes to the memory of departed heroes of the war, which I have read, I know of none more heartfelt and eloquent than that which Mr. Reid paid to to Col. Millikin.



Minor Millikin.

In the conversation at the State House gate, Mr. Reid disclosed his plans and purposes in coming to Columbus. He said that he had but recently returned from Minnesota and as the war was already on and a great struggle was inevitable he was anxious to render the best service in his power in aid of the preservation and unity of the states, and with that view he had an interview with the managers of the Cincinnati Gazette and

had proposed to them that he would come to Columbus, then the headquarters of military affairs of the State, and report such matters as might be of public interest concerning military and political affairs as they might be developed from day to day, and that the matter of compensation might be left for future arrangement—in fact left entirely to themselves. He expressed confidence that he could be of service to the paper and the public by observing and reporting matters of public import. He said he would write over the name of "AGATE" which, he explained, was a kind of type used in newspaper printing, which I before did not know. He further said that in any matter, which he might deem of special importance, he was authorized to send telegraphic dispatches not to exceed a few lines,—which was singularly in contrast with the instructions to correspondents of the present day, but which was in keeping with those times. He said that he had met Governor Dennison on a former occasion but thought he might not remember him, so I went with him to the Governor's office, where we were very graciously received, and Mr. Reid explained to the Governor his purposes, and received assurances that he should have every opportunity of acquiring information in respect to all matters of public interest which might arise in the office of the Executive of the State.

From there we went to the office of the Adjutant General —General Henry B. Carrington, who frankly gave him the same assurances that had been given by the Governor.

Being thus well established as to the two main offices of the State, which were necessarily the main sources of reliable information as to all war matters of state import, Mr. Reid said that he wanted to secure a good lodging place outside the hotels, as he did not feel justified in incurring much expense as he was only on a venture of his own proposing, which might not prove successful. I assisted him in that behalf and he was soon well quartered in a private boarding house.

While in Columbus he became acquainted with several of the young men of the city, who like himself, were destined to make their mark in the world. Some of them by rendering signal military service to the country and others in lines of lit-

erature and art and divinity. Among them we recall the names of General James M. Comly, General John G. Mitchell and General Wager Swayne, then all young attorneys at the Columbus bar, but who later were to attain marked and deserved military distinction. Then there was William Dean Howells, the distinguished author of many delightful volumes, then associate editor of the Ohio State Journal; and J. Q. A. Howard, the historical and biographical writer; and Thomas Fullerton, already known in literature, who became an eminent divine in the Presbyterian church. J. Q. A. Ward, one of the foremost sculptors which America has produced, was then in Columbus modeling a bust of Governor Dennison, whose acquaintance Mr. Reid made at that time.

With this coterie of young men Mr. Reid had most of his social experience while in Columbus, for at that stage of his life he gave no indication of a liking for general society and I then had the impression, and have it now, that his every energy was bent on making a success of his venture as a collector and reporter of important war and political news, and that his greatest, if not his only ambition, was in the line of newspaper work. It is certain that the singularly dazzling social life which of late years he has been living had not then even entered his most extravagant dreams.

During his stay in Columbus he was most active and diligent in discovering and reporting news of public import, and I have frequently observed him coming from the State House on a half run to the telegraph office to get off a dispatch to his paper to be followed by a letter more fully explaining its importance. In that day there were no stenographers or typewriters, and Mr. Reid was forced to write out his letters in long hand and send them by mail or by special messenger, which last method was often resorted to and he might be seen almost any time of day or night hurrying to the depot, where, for a consideration, he secured a trainman to deliver his letter direct to the Gazette office on the arrival of the train. In this way he managed to get his letters published in the shortest possible time, and so furnish the public the very latest information.

Mr. Reid remained in Columbus for several weeks—just

how long I do not know, but when the troops began to move to the field he went with them and carefully observed and reported what he saw as the great drama of war proceeded and developed. To him war was a most serious matter and he did not fear or hesitate to criticize officers in high command whom he thought frivolous or weak. For this he was once put under military arrest and threatened with a court-martial and the matter became so serious as to greatly alarm his friends. But he did not cease his criticism and was soon vindicated, and it was found that his fearless criticism had a most beneficial effect on the conduct of certain officers who happened in the early stages of the war to have secured high positions of command without possessing real merit.

He continued with the army as it progressed through Kentucky and Tennessee, faithfully reporting every important step of progress or defeat, and the letters of "Agate" came to be greatly read and relied on by the vast reading patriotic public. But it was reserved for him at the battle of Shiloh to show his superb genius as a descriptive writer. His description of that battle as published in the Cincinnati Gazette in advance of all other correspondents, was one of the most brilliant pieces of descriptive writing that appeared during the war. He had procured a horse and was everywhere that he could be on both days of the conflict and saw as much of the whole battle as any one could see, and his brilliant description of it made Agate known in every village and hamlet throughout the North. After that time he was no longer simply a personally unknown war correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette, but a man of national reputation and it then came to be generally known that "Agate" was Whitelaw Reid.

Many other war correspondents have, long after the event took place, elaborated and corrected and put in form to their liking, their original letters, but I doubt if ever a description of a great battle fresh from the field, written almost before the sound of the conflict had ceased and in the midst of the dreadful surroundings which a great battle produced, has ever been surpassed, if indeed equalled.

It is not our purpose to further follow Mr. Reid's remark-

able career. It is known to the world. But no one who might have seen or known him in May, 1861, when he stood in front of the State House gate a young man provincialized in dress and external appearance, without fortune, and possessed only of such small means as he might have saved in the few years after he left the University, would have predicted for him anything like what has been his subsequent career. But beneath the slouch hat which he then wore there was a strong Scotch intellect, fitted for work and high endeavor, which has led on to great and singular results, all of which have been crowned by his being made American Embassador to the Court of St. James, where he is now living in the great Norchester mansion—the greatest house in London—where he entertains kings and queens and the greatest of English titled nobility in a style of magnificence which is said to "rival royalty and dazzle London," and to "excite the envy and jealousy of the highest English aristocracy."

THE SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS.

EARL A. SALIERS,

Ohio State University.

The War of 1812 furnishes perhaps a fewer number of notable achievements accomplished on land than any other of our wars. The lack of a regular army, and the consequent dependence upon militia would have made it difficult for an efficient general to execute a prolonged campaign, while the position which a section of the country took against the war rendered success still more difficult.

Despite ill preparation and sectional opposition, there were a few events signally successful in result, if not unusually brilliant in execution. The conquest of the Northwest was only accomplished with the assistance of Perry's squadron on Lake Erie, yet the protection of the frontier and the supply posts was equally important and essential to final victory.

General Hull had marched from Dayton to Detroit, where he issued a proclamation promising protection to the Canadians; shortly after he surrendered Detroit and the Michigan territory —an episode familiar to all readers of history. Several months later, General Winchester encamped in the snow at Frenchtown, hoping soon to win a brilliant victory. Instead, he met with a crushing defeat, a large part of his men were massacred, and he made a prisoner. This made further offensive operations impossible and caused General Harrison to take a course almost entirely defensive.

When General Winchester's defeat became known to Harrison, he determined to succor the American prisoners at Malden, many of whom were wounded. Hither he dispatched a physician named Samuel McKeehan, attended by a Frenchman and a militiaman. Holding a letter of explanation from General Harrison to any British officer whom he might meet, McKeehan sallied forth in his cariole on his errand of mercy. Starting from

the Portage river he traversed the desolate country for a day, uninterrupted by Englishman or Indian. He and his two companions halted at the rapids of the Maumee to spend the night, and as a temporary dormitory, they appropriated an old cabin, standing upon the northern bank of the river. They drew up their carriage before the cabin door and attached to it a flag of truce, thinking thus to secure their safety. But in the darkness they were set upon by a party of Indians under British instructions; one was killed, and the remaining two were hurried to Malden. Philanthropic Doctor McKeehan was cast into a dungeon and secured with chains.

It was now the first of February, 1813. Harrison chose the rapids of the Maumee as his advance post, and ordered E. D. Wood, of the engineering corps, to erect fortifications; then he commanded all troops in the rear to join him. He desired to retrieve some of the whilom losses of the American standard, and thought to do so by investing Malden about the middle of the month.

On the ninth, word came to camp that six hundred Indians were encamped near the bay shore, twenty miles down the river. Leaving fourteen hundred men at Fort Meigs, Harrison made a night sortie down the river on the ice, and found fires blazing upon the northern bank. But the Indians had fled. Here the detachment hesitated a few minutes in the intense cold and were joined by a party of five hundred men from the fort; their combined numbers now amounted to eleven hundred. Then they went in quest of the vanished enemy. Fatigue had disabled some and they were ordered to follow next day. The advancing body soon met with an interruption, however; for their only cannon went through the ice, with horses attached, after going but two miles. It was but two hours until morning and the moon was sinking behind the western horizon; so the main body continued the march, leaving Lieutenant Larwill with sufficient men to extricate the cannon. This was finally accomplished at daybreak, after Larwill and two of his men narrowly escaped drowning. Leaving the men who had succumbed to the cold, the wet, and the discouragements of the situation, Larwill overtook the advancing army about sunrise, near the mouth of the

bay. Information had been brought by spies, that the Indians had gone to Malden; so the force returned to Fort Meigs. They arrived just as the evening gun sent its salute echoing through the coming darkness. They had marched forty-five miles in fewer than twenty-four hours.

For a fortnight nothing of importance occurred at Fort Meigs. But one day, near the close of February, General Harrison addressed the volunteer corps, informing them that they had been chosen to perform a hazardous undertaking, the charter of which would not be unveiled to them until they had gone a certain distance from the fort. Then, said he, all who desired, might abandon the project, but not afterwards. He apprised them that the expedition would be full of peril, danger, and suffering; he also assured them that for their gallantry they would be duly honored; for their labor, duly rewarded.

So they marched from Fort Meigs uninitiated into the purpose of their departure. They first came to Lower Sandusky, the site of Fort Stephenson, where there was a blockhouse garrisoned by two companies of militiamen. They soon left, provisioned for six days. A half mile from the fort Captain Langham, the commander of the expedition, addressed his men, who numbered in all two hundred and forty-two. Having gone down the Sandusky to Lake Erie, and crossed over on the ice to Malden, in darkness they were to set on fire the British fleet and British stores upon shore. Retreating to Maumee bay on sleds, they would there receive the protection of a large force under Harrison himself. Then the men weighed for themselves the *pros* and *cons*, the advantages and disadvantages, the prospects of glory and the probabilities of defeat, of this undertaking. Twenty militiamen and six or seven Indians voted nay, turned tail and forsook the party.

Disencumbered of its unwilling members, the party went down the Sandusky in sleighs, cut short across the peninsula west of Sandusky bay, and ere long spied before them the beautiful islands that lie like gems upon the lake's bosom, in summer with forests clad in deepest green, but now browned by autumn frosts and winter's blasts, and bound around with a great ice sheet. What some of the men thought to be a column of

marching men far away upon the glassy surface proved to be the reflection of the sunlight from a ridge of ice thrown up by nature's hand.

Without tents, the party encamped beside the lake and received a drenching from the snow and rain. In the night a careless soldier discharged his gun and came near paying for his folly with his life; but Langham decided to let him go unpunished.

The Fort Meigs Monument. 86 feet high.

Next morning they set out for Middle Bass Island, seventeen miles distant. Before starting they were deserted by thirteen militiamen, an ensign, several Indians, and an Indian chief. Despite snow and wind they came to the northwest side of the island before noon. The weather now became fairer, but a discouraging discovery was made after noon. Sled tracks going in the direction of Malden were noticed; and it was suspicioned that they had been made by two Frenchmen who had left Sandusky the day previous to the departure of Langham's party, although they had maintained that they were going to Huron

river. Had they not gone to Malden to apprise the British of the approach of Langham? Such the officers thought to be a likelihood. Moreover, northward from the island the ice appeared weak and badly broken. The guides now gave it as their opinion that to reach Malden was impossible: — The Detroit river as well as the lake beyond was, they maintained, broken up; and although there was some chance of reaching Middle Sister Island, yet eighteen miles spanned the distance from that place to Detroit river, to be traversed by night; and as the weather was warm, should a south wind come up, they would find themselves entrapped in the lake or upon one of its small islands. Captain Langham had been ordered to advance no farther than was deemed safe by the guides. In two successive councils the officers maintained the folly of continuing; although the soldiers promised to do anything deemed proper by their superiors. So, having accomplished nothing, they returned to Fort Meigs. As they passed up the Maumee they met Harrison at Presque Isle with a body of troops.

Harrison's desire to regain Detroit was great; but the failure of Langham's undertaking, the inclemency of the weather destroying the facility of the motion of the troops, and the withdrawal of some of his men whose time of service had expired, all aided in making his operations defensive in character. He even felt grave apprehension of a descent of the British and Indians from Malden as soon as the spring sunshine should break up the ice in the lake. March the ninth, a party of his men were fired upon by a party of Indians; one man was struck by a bullet which lodged in a hymn book carried in his pocket; less fortunate, Lieutenant Walker,[1] while hunting wild fowl, had been killed. Word had come that Proctor had ordered a general massing of troops at Sandwich for the purpose of laying siege to Fort Meigs.[2] Aroused for the safety of his stronghold, Harrison left for the interior in March to obtain troops. April eighth Colonel Ball arrived with two hundred dragoons. On the twelfth Harrison arrived with an additional reinforce-

[1] Lieutenant Walker's grave may still be seen within the limits of Fort Meigs.

[2] Benjamin Drake's *Life of Tecumseh.*

ment of three hundred men, and the task of completing the defenses began immediately.[3]

It will be to advantage, at this point in our narrative, to attempt a description of Fort Meigs and its environment. The Maumee[4] flows in a northeasterly direction from the western boundary of the State of Ohio and empties into Maumee bay at the western extremity of Lake Erie. About twenty miles intervene between Maumee bay and the rapids of that river at the foot of which the fort was situated for strategic purposes. It consisted of an inclosure octagonal in form, with eight blockhouses at convenient intervals. This outer defense was well picketed with timber and strengthened with fosses. There were five batteries, namely, one large battery commanding the river and opposite bank, one mortar battery in the wall opposite the river, and three minor batteries, one within the inclosure and two forming a portion of the outer wall.[5] About two thousand men were required to garrison this fort. Although octagonal, it was irregularly so, its length being double its width. Its longest dimension extended parallel with the Maumee. Two large traverses or earthen walls were erected within the fort likewise running parallel with the river and at nearly right angles to an imaginary line connecting the American stronghold with the British batteries. This wall was twenty feet wide at its base, twelve feet high, and nine hundred feet long, the last figure expressing the length of the fort.[6] Behind this was another traverse about seven hundred feet long, extending from

[3] *MSS. of Joseph H. Larwill.*

[4] Formerly known as the Miamis of the Lakes.

[5] There was yet another battery in action during the second siege of the fort, but I am unable to say whether or not it existed at this time.

[6] "The garrison was (upon seeing Proctor and Tecumseh appear one day upon the shore opposite) immediately employed in cutting deep traverses through the fort taking down the tents and preparing for a siege. The work accomplished in a few hours, under the excitement of the occasion was prodigious. The grand traverse being completed, each mess was ordered to excavate under the embankment, suitable lodgings as substitutes for tents. These rooms were shot proof and bomb proof, except in the event of a shell falling in the traverse and at the mouth of a cave." — *Henry Howe.*

the western end of the fort to within two hundred feet of the eastern end. Shorter traverses lay at right angles to these longer ones for protection against the batteries erected east of the fort and in such a position as to rake it from end to end.[7]

Winter was slowly surrendering its sway and the "garniture of spring" was tinting the landscape with green, when, on the twenty-sixth of April, the British and their painted allies ranged themselves on the bank opposite and entered upon the construction of their primary batteries.[8] These were so situated that a line extending due north from Fort Meigs would pass through them; the same line would intersect the line of the Maumee's flow at an angle of about forty-five degrees.[9]

Three hundred yards of low treeless ground lay between the river and these batteries which were situated on higher ground.[10] They were four in number, the two in front being known as the queen's battery and the mortar battery, and the two in the rear the sailor's battery and the king's battery.

The first day of May ushered in the beginning of the long struggle. About ten o'clock the British appeared to be adjusting their cannon upon the weak points of the fort. Until this time the large traverses, although completed, had been hidden from the enemy by the tents of the soldiers. A few minutes of activity sufficed to rearrange these tents behind the huge wall so that neither man nor tent was visible to the enemy. The cannonade of the English continued until eleven o'clock at night, having

[7] I have made this explanation from the map of a survey made by Lieutenant Larwill between the two sieges of Fort Meigs, and with the description found in Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio.*

[8] Drake says: "Two of them were gun batteries, with four inclosures; the third was a bomb battery placed a short distance below." My description follows Larwill's survey.

[9] According to Drake, the British and Indians did not arrive until the twenty-eighth, and their batteries, three in number, were erected during the night. "On the morning of the thirteenth," he says, "the enemy under a heavy and somewhat fatal fire from the guns of the fort, raised and adjusted the guns of the fort, while at the same time, a number of boats filled with Indians were seen crossing to the north-eastern side of the river."

[10] Their artillerymen were posted; but the principal part of their army occupied the old English fort below. *Henry Howe.*

done little damage to the fort, killed one or two men, and wounded three or four, including Major Amos Stoddard, a revolutionary soldier and an excellent officer. Ten days later he died of lockjaw. The return fire was rather weakened by lack of balls, economy being necessary. For the one eighteen-pounder there were but three hundred and sixty shot in the fort and about an equal number for the twelve pounders.

Nothing of consequence befell the combatants during the second day's bombardment, little injury resulting to either side; although the firing was lively. Presuming that the enemy would transfer some of their forces to his side of the river, Harrison ordered works erected to neutralize the action of any flank batteries the enemy might place. His preparations were valuable; for in the coming night the British began putting up a gun and mortar battery[11] on the left bank at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards from the American lines, and partially hidden by intervening bushes. Cautious redskins, climbing neighboring trees, whence they could peer over the ramparts of the Americans, let loose a destructive fire. But the Americans returned it effectively, and once Proctor found it necessary to shift the position of his battery.

Thinking Harrison might now be apprehensive of a failure, Proctor sent to him Major Chambers to demand the surrender of the fort, and with a magnified account of his own forces, and a statement that he wished to "avoid the effusion of blood."

"The demand under the present circumstances is a most extraordinary one," replied Harrison. "As General Proctor did not send me a summons to surrender on his first arrival, I had supposed that he believed me determined to do my duty. His present message indicates an opinion of me I am at a loss to account for."

"General Proctor could never think of saying anything to wound your feelings, sir," replied Chambers. "The character of General Harrison as an officer is well known. General Proctor's force is a very respectable one, and there is with him a larger body of Indians than has ever before been embodied."

"I believe I have a very correct idea of General Proctor's

[11] Composed of three field pieces and a howitzer. *Drake.*

force", responded General Harrison; "it is not such as to create the least apprehension for the result of the contest, whatever shape he may be pleased hereafter to give to it. Assure the general, however, that he will never have this post surrendered to him under any terms. Should it fall into his hands, it will be in a manner calculated to do him more honor, and to give him larger claim to the gratitude of his government, than capitulation could possibly do."

The headstones at the graves of Lieutenants McCullough and Walker. It is a mere piece of rough limestone. McCullough was killed while talking to General Harrison, Walker while hunting in the adjacent forest.

Harrison had informed the governors of both Ohio and Kentucky of his situation, and, urged by his wants, a force of twelve hundred Kentuckians was at this moment marching down the Maumee under General Clay's command. Captain Oliver, in the night of the fourth of April, with Majors Trumble and Taylor, and fifteen militiamen, left Clay above the rapids and

started in a boat to try to reach the fort and inform Harrison of Clay's approach. The night was intensely dark and he succeeded in finding the fort by the aid of the spreading limbs of a large oak tree standing within the fortifications. After being fired at by the sentinels, Oliver hailed them, and having waded a water-filled ravine, was admitted to the fort. He told Harrison that Clay was just above the rapids and could reach the fort in two hours. He also requested orders.

Upon learning of the situation, Harrison sent back Captain Hamilton with an assistant, in a pirogue, to Clay, with the following orders:

"You must detach about eight hundred men from your brigade, and land them at a point I will show you about a mile or a mile and a half above Camp Meigs. I will then conduct the detachment to the British batteries on the left bank of the river. The batteries must be taken, the cannon spiked, the carriages cut down; and the troops must then return to their boats and cross over to the fort. The balance of your men must land on the fort side of the river, opposite the first landing, and fight their way into the fort through the Indians. The route they must take will be pointed out by a subaltern officer now with me, who will land the canoe on the right bank of the river to point out the landing for the boats."[12]

No sooner had Clay received orders, than he allowed Captain Hamilton to lead Dudley and his eight hundred men in the twelve leading boats to their landing on the hostile side. Clay, who commanded the remaining six boats, ordered them to fall in line, his own taking the lead. In so doing, they were driven ashore, and left a half hour behind Dudley's flotilla. He then proceeded to land opposite to Dudley's landing place and where the subaltern who had accompanied Hamilton from the fort, should have been found. But he had disappeared, or at any rate failed to appear, and the Indians had raised a lively fusillade upon his boat; so he attempted to join Dudley, opposite. But the swift current carried him too far down stream, and he landed on the south side of the river, but nearer the fort than he had

[12] *McAffee.*

intended. Amidst a rain of grape from the batteries and the zipping of Indian bullets, upwards of fifty men, including General Clay and Captain Peter Dudley, who were in the leading boat, marched safely into the fort. Four sick soldiers and their baggage were left in the boat, Clay supposing that the two men who had met him at the landing, would float it down beneath the fort's guns. However, it soon fell into the hands of the Indians. Colonel Boswell, in command of the boats in the rear, seeing Clay attempt a landing on the opposite bank, now did likewise, but Hamilton discovered his maneuver and ordered him to turn back and fight his way to camp.

Once upon the south side of the river he met with the usual annoyance from invisible Indians, whose fire he returned. Captain Shaw, sent by Harrison, commanded him to proceed in open order over the plain to the fort. Moreover, Harrison sent him a reinforcement, consisting of Alexander's brigade, a part of Johnson's battalion and the companies of Captains Nearing and Dudley. Having formed in order near the gates of the fort, Boswell being on the right, with their bayonets they drove the Indians half a mile into the forest.[13]

While Boswell and his Kentuckians were trouncing the savages in the woods, another sortie was made against the British battery on the south side of the river. It was lead by Colonel John Miller, of the nineteenth United States regiment, and consisted of about two hundred and fifty of the seventeenth and nineteenth regiments, one hundred one-year volunteers, and a company of Kentucky militia under Captain Seebre. A ravine extended under the eastern curtain of the fort, and here, safe from the enemy's guns, they were drawn up. But after leaving the

[13]General Harrison had now taken a position on one of the batteries of the fort, that he might see the various movements which at this moment claimed his attention. He soon perceived a detachment of British and Indians passing along the edge of the woods with a view to reach the left and rear of the corps under Boswell; he forthwith dispatched his volunteer aid, John T. Johnson, to recall the troops under Boswell from the pursuit. Johnson's horse having been killed before he delivered this order, it was repeated through Major Graham, and a retreat was commenced; the Indians promptly rallied and pursued them for some distance, killing and wounding a number of our troops."—*Drake.*

ravine, they were compelled to pass a plain two hundred yards wide, beyond which lay a wood, hiding the British grenadiers and light infantry, over two hundred strong, the defenders of the battery. On their right, lay a body of Canadian militia; on their left a large number of Indians under Tecumseh. Upon the angle of the fort next to this plain, Harrison stationed himself to watch the contest. The troops marched on, with loaded arms trailing. Upon reaching the summit of the hill they were met by the British infantry fire, which did them little harm. Not so the fire of the Indians, which played fearful havoc. Fifty yards of the plain were covered, they halted, closed ranks and charged. The British fled; many were killed, but none were taken prisoners. Noticing the route of some of the flying British, Harrison ordered Major Todd after them with fifty reserve regulars. Todd soon returned, with two officers and forty-three non-commissioned officers and privates as prisoners.[14]

We left Colonel Dudley and his little army of eight hundred men clambering out of their boats and drawing into line on the British side of the Maumee. Having marched through the open plain bordering the river, they found a wooded hill, where they formed into three columns. Colonel Dudley, Major Shelby, and Captain Morrison commanded the right, left, and center columns respectively. They now marched against the batteries, busy shelling Fort Meigs. Major Shelby's column, a few hundred yards in advance, rushed full tilt upon them,[15] spiking the cannon, and cutting down the British flag, without the loss of a man. Instead of retreating to their boats and then to the fort, as Harrison had commanded, the over-confident Kentuckians stood around upon the bank and shouted loudly over their victory. Harrison and his officers were now stationed

[14] *Larwill.*

[15] Drake says: "The great object of the enterprise having been achieved, the general, who was watching the movements . . . made signs to them to retreat to their boats; but to his great surprise, and in express disobedience of the orders transmitted through Colonel Hamilton, our troops remained at the batteries, quietly looking around, without spiking the cannon, cutting down the carriages and destroying the magazines." A part of this seems improbable, when we consider the circumstances.

at the main battery of the fort. They saw the peril of the men and shouted and beckoned to them to retreat. But the Kentuckians thought that they, too, were hurrahing over the victory, so they returned lusty cheers. "They are lost! They are lost!" ejaculated Harrison. "Can I never get men to obey my orders?"

Harrison offered a reward of one thousand dollars to the man who would attempt a passage of the river and carry a warning to Colonel Dudley. Lieutenant Campbell made the attempt. The larger part of the right and center columns now rushed into the forest, a party of Indians in ambush having ordered him to be reinforced. Before Lieutenant Campbell had arrived at the middle of the stream, the left column, remaining in possession of the batteries, was set upon by the British artillerymen, who now returned reinforced from the British camp. Those of the left column who were neither taken prisoners, nor had fled to the boats, went to assist Dudley, confused and belabored in the woods. Contrary to the commands of Dudley, his men had continued in the pursuit of the Indians; but when two miles from the batteries, they found themselves in a defile and surrounded by twice their number of Indians under the brave Tecumseh. With this change of circumstances the case was altered, and the savages pounced down upon the Americans, huddled together, and no longer resisting. Of the eight hundred Americans, who but lately had split the welkin with victory shouts, but one hundred and fifty escaped capture or death.

Among the men who accompanied Dudley upon his attack was a Kentuckian named Joseph Underwood. He acted as lieutenant under Captain John Morrison, was captured by the Indians, and witnessed the outrages committed upon his companions and himself. To the essentials of his narrative we shall now revert. "In effectuating the plan of attack," says Underwood, "Captain J. C. Morrison's company was thrown upon the river, above the battery. While passing through a thicket of hazel toward the river in forming the line of battle, I saw Colonel Dudley for the last time. He was greatly excited; he railed at me for not keeping my men better dressed. I replied, that he must perceive from the situation of the ground, and

the obstacles that we had to encounter, that it was impossible. When we came within a small distance of the river, we halted. The enemy at this place had gotten in the rear of our line, formed parallel with the river, and were firing upon our troops. Captain J. C. Morrison's company did not long remain in this situation. Having nothing to do and being without order, we determined to march our company out and joined the combatants. We did so accordingly. In passing out, we fell on the left of the whole regiment, and were soon engaged in a severe conflict."

"The Indians endeavored to flank and surround us. We drove them between one and two miles, directly back from the river. They hid behind trees and logs, and poured upon us as we advanced, a most destructive fire. We were from time to time ordered to charge. The orders were passed along the lines, our field officers being on foot. . . . Having made the best arrangement for the safety of my much esteemed captain that circumstances allowed, I took charge of the company and continued the battle. We made several charges afterwards, and drove the enemy a considerable distance. . . . At length orders were passed along the line directing us to fall back and keep up a retreating fire. As soon as this movement was made, the Indians were greatly encouraged, and advanced upon us with the most horrid yells. Once or twice the officers succeeded in producing a temporary halt and a fire on the Indians, but the soldiers of the different companies soon became mixed—confusion ensued—and a general rout took place."

Underwood was wounded shortly after this and led captive to the British garrison. He had read in Smith's narrative of his residence among the Indians, that Indians treated prisoners best who appeared least fearful. Upon coming near an Indian warrior painted red, who gazed upon him with great sternness he returned the look with one equally severe; whereupon the savage gave him a terrific whack in the face with his wiping stick. Underwood discontinued employing Smith's advice.

"On our approach to the garrison." he continues, "the Indians formed a line to the left of the road, there being a perpendicular bank to the right, on the margin of which the road

passed. I perceived that the prisoners were running the gauntlet, and that the Indians were whipping, shooting and tomahawking the men as they ran by the line. When I reached the starting place I dashed off as fast as I was able, and ran near the muzzles of their guns, knowing that they would have to shoot me while I was immediately in front, or let me pass, for to have turned their guns up or down the lines to shoot me would have

One of the embankments. The tree in the middle of the picture is on the ridge of the embankment.

endangered themselves as there was a curve in their line. In this way I passed without injury, except some strokes over the shoulders with their gun-sticks. As I entered the ditch around the garrison the man before me was shot and fell, and I fell over him. The passage was stopped for a while by those who fell over the dead man and myself. How many lives were lost at this place I cannot tell—probably between twenty and forty. Brave Captain Lewis was among the number.

"When we got within the walls we were ordered to sit down. I lay in the lap of Mr. Gilpin, a soldier of Captain Henry's company, from Woodford. A new scene commenced. An Indian, painted black, mounted the dilapidated wall, and shot one of the prisoners next to him. He reloaded and shot a second, the ball passing through him into the hip of another, who afterwards died, I was informed, at Cleveland, of the wound. The savage then laid down his gun and drew his tomahawk, with which he killed two others. When he drew his tomahawk and jumped down among the men, they endeavored to escape by leaping over the heads of each other, and thereby to place others between themselves and danger. Thus they were heaped upon one another, and as I did not rise they tramped upon me so that I could see nothing that was going on.

"The confusion and uproar of this moment cannot be adequately described. There was an excitement among the Indians, and a fierceness in their conversation, which betokened on the part of some a strong disposition to massacre the whole of us. The British officers and soldiers seemed to interpose to prevent the further effusion of blood. Their expression was, 'Oh, nichee wah!' meaning, 'Oh, brother, quit!' After the Indian who had occasioned this horrible scene had scalped and stripped his victim he left us, and a comparative calm ensued. The prisoners resumed their seats on the ground. While thus situated, a tall, stout Indian walked into the midst of us, drew a long butcher knife from his belt, and commenced whetting it. As he did so he looked around among the prisoners, apparently selecting one for the gratification of his vengeance. I viewed his conduct, and thought it probable that he was to give the signal for a general massacre; but, after exciting our fears sufficiently for his satisfaction, he gave a contemptuous grunt and went out from among us."

As the Kentuckians lay miserably about upon the ground within the garrison, Tecumseh and Colonel Elliot came riding in. Thomas Moore addressed Elliot:

"Is it compatible with the honor of a civilized nation, such as the British claim to be, to suffer defenseless prisoners to be murdered by savages?"

Elliot then desired of Moore to know who he was; and finding Moore to be a private the conversation ended.

"Elliot," said Underwood, "was an old man; his hair might have been termed with more propriety, white than gray, and to my view he had more of the savage in his countenance than Tecumseh. This celebrated chief was a noble, dignified personage. He wore an elegant broadsword, and was dressed in Indian costume. His face was finely proportioned, his nose inclined to be aquiline, and his eye displayed none of that savage and ferocious triumph common to the other Indians on that occasion. He seemed to regard us with unmoved composure, and I thought a beam of mercy shone in his countenance, tempering the spirit of vengeance inherent in his race against the American people. I saw him only on horseback.'

Amidst the general excitement an incident occurred which for a moment must have given a humorous turn to a situation decidedly otherwise. "Upon the arrival of Elliot and Tecumseh," he says, "we were directed to stand up and form in line, I think four deep, in order to be counted. After we were thus arranged, a scene transpired scarcely less affecting than that which I have before attempted to describe. The Indians began to select the young men whom they intended to take with them to their towns. Numbers were carried off. I saw Corporal Smith of our company, bidding farewell to his friends, and pointing to the Indian with whom he was to go. I never heard of his return. The young men learning their danger, endeavored to avoid it by crowding into the center, where they could not be so readily reached. I was told that a quizzical youth, of diminutive size, near the outside, seeing what was going on, threw himself upon his hands and knees, and rushed between the legs of his comrades, exclaiming, 'Root, little hog, or die!'"

A little later Underwood was taken with his comrades to the British shipping nine miles down the Maumee. Here the Indians paid them a visit and made a display of scalps. These they had strung upon poles about eight feet long and two inches in diameter, which were standing erect in the bows of their canoes, the scalps being fastened near the top, and each pole having as many as four or five scalps. The scalps had been

drawn over hoops about four inches in diameter. "Thus," says our observer, "their canoes were decorated with a flagstaff of a most appropriate character, bearing human scalps, the horrid ensigns of savage warfare." Underwood and his sick and wounded companions remained aboard a British ship six days, when they were all discharged on parole. The officers pledged themselves in writing not to war against the king or his allies, unless properly exchanged; and when the British were asked whether or not the Indians were the king's allies, they replied, "His majesty's allies are known." The sick and wounded were disembarked at the mouth of Vermillion river. The commander of the vessel bearing these invalids to their destination was Captain Stewart, whom Underwood afterwards had the satisfaction of seeing a prisoner of war at Frankfort, Kentucky; he having been captured by Perry at his victory on Lake Erie. "I visited Captain Stewart," says Underwood, "to requite his kindness to me when, like him, I was a prisoner." "Such," he remarks, "is the fortune of war."

The British officers and soldiers, about fifty in number, who escorted the Americans to the British encampment, deserve the most rigid condemnation, in deserting these men to Indian butchery,[16] already described by Underwood. Had Proctor possessed half the manliness of Tecumseh he would either have prevented this massacre or have punished the perpetrators. He did neither. He should also be scored for permitting the Indians to take such Americans as they desired to their towns. The Indians were his allies and under his command. The act had no excuse.

The encampment of the Indians, distant a few hundred yards from the British, presented a grewsome sight on the second day following the defeat of Dudley. The Indians had ransacked the American boats and now the booty, consisting of trunks and boxes was strewn upon the ground, while the dusky savages walked hither and thither dressed in officers uniforms, embarrassed by big military boots, and wearing clean white shirts. All were decorated; even the tents displayed rifles, swords,

[16]Narrative of the siege of Fort Meigs in the London New Monthy Magazine, December, 1821, as told by a British officer who was in the fight.

bridles, daggers and pistols of handsome and peculiar workmanship. Here and there the precious scalps, the fleshy side stained vermillion, hung dangling from poles where they were placed to dry. Hoops of different dimensions were to be seen over which had been stretched the skin taken from the hands and feet of the slain. To these the nails were still attached. In the midst of these more valuable parts, were scattered about the worthless limbs of dead men offering nourishment to the Indian dogs.

In the middle of the encampment the scene became more horrid and revolting. The British officers stopped before the entrance of a Minoumini tent and peered in. In the middle of the tent blazed a large fire over which a kettle hung suspended. It was surrounded by a circle of warriors, each holding in his hand a string which passed over the kettle's edge, while to the end within the kettle was attached a piece of an American. These ghouls proffered a share to the officers but the Englishmen excused themselves and hastened away.

After the fifth of May the bombardment of the fort, although carried on with vigor, had no appreciable effect. The British learned from officers captured from the American army of the peculiar protective works of the Americans—dugouts, subterranean passages, and the like. To add to their discouragement, many of the shells thrown into the American works sunk into the soft mud and failed to explode. Their militia became discouraged and anxious concerning their families and work, and began deserting by night in small squads. Likewise the Indians, now sated with blood and plunder, and tired of the siege, forsook the British; with the exception of about four hundred, mostly Shawnees, under Tecumseh. The troops that remained were worn out with constant labor; moreover, they possessed no good protection from the elements. The skeleton of a hut might be made serviceable; but even then only a few dead leaves and an army blanket or cloak separated them from the damp ground hardly rid of the frost. Ague, dysentery, and all the kindred diseases became allies of the Americans. So when the siege had been protracted until the middle of May, the British gunboats came and anchored beneath the batteries, the

British guns were hauled aboard under a lively fire from Fort Meigs, and the whole expedition set sail for Amherstburg.

The British forces met with a material defeat at this time, and their repulse helped greatly to retrieve the losses which the Americans had sustained in matter and spirit. On the whole, it was a well executed piece of warfare, with the exception of Dudley's defeat, which was occasioned by the recklessness and disobedience of the Kentucky militia. General Harrison afterwards warned his men against such action, saying that this "if persisted in, is as fatal in its results as cowardice." Dudley was a gallant officer and there is no reason for inculpating him. He made repeated attempts to execute the orders of Harrison but failed.

The defenders of Fort Meigs met with many experiences peculiar to warfare. Before the commencement of the siege and while some of the soldiers were out on parade, two well-mounted strangers appeared on the opposite bank of the stream and carefully surveyed the fortifications. Not showing themselves friends they were supposed to be enemies; so a battery was cleared for action and a shot fired which tore up the ground in the vicinity of the horsemen who thereupon beat a sudden retreat. It was afterwards learned that they were Tecumseh and Proctor.

After the engagement had begun, one of the American militiamen stationed himself upon an embankment, whence he could spy the British guns, and forewarned his comrades of the destination of each shot. Judging by the appearance of the smoke he would cry out, "shot," or "bomb," as was the case, and then add, "blockhouse number one," "look out, main battery," or "now for the meathouse;" thus making known the locality liable to receive shot so and so. At last a shot was fired which he was unable to place. "He stood motionless—silent—perplexed. In the same instant he was swept into eternity. Poor man, he should have considered, that when there was no obliquity of the smoke, either to the right or left, above or below, the fatal messenger would travel in the direct line of his vision. He reminded me of the peasant in the siege of Jerusalem who cried out, 'Woe to the city! Woe to the temple! Woe to myself!'"

The most vital point within the fort was, as usual, the magazine. The powder had been kept in wagons behind the traverse. Being too exposed here, it was then placed in a small blockhouse to be covered with earth. This undertaking was discovered by the enemy and many of their shot, heated red-hot, were directed towards it. Sometimes they fell in the mud, making a cloud of steam and a great hissing. A number of men volunteered to cover the magazine, and no sooner had they arrived upon the spot than a cannon ball took off a man's head. "The spades and dirt flew faster than any one had before witnessed," says a participant. "In the midst of our job a bomb shell fell on the roof, and lodging on one of the braces it spun round for a moment. Every soldier fell prostrate on his face, and with breathless horror waited the vast explosion which we expected would crown all our earthly sufferings.

"One of the gang," he continues, "presumed to reason on the case. He silently argued that, as the shell had not burst as quick as usual, there might be something wrong in its arrangement. If it bursted where it was, and the magazine exploded, there could be no escape; it was death anyhow; so he sprang to his feet, seized a boothook, and pulling the hissing missile to the ground, and jerking the smoking match from its socket, discovered that the shell was filled with inflammable material, which, if once ignited, would have wrapped the whole building in a sheet of flame. This circumstance added wings to our shovels; and we were right glad when the officer said, 'That will do; go to your lines.'"

General Harrison found a unique way to replenish his supply of cannon balls, by offering a gill of whisky for every cannon ball delivered to the magazine keeper. In this manner over one thousand pints of "fire water" were disposed of.

For security against shells, each man had dug for himself a hole behind the large traverse. When he had placed a plank over this and put dirt upon the plank, he was fully protected. Although bombs are most dangerous when they explode in the air, they rarely do so; but usually enter the ground, so that the force of the charge goes upwards. Thus, when some one cried "bomb," the soldiers either ran to their dugouts or threw them-

selves flat upon the ground, the latter being a comparatively safe method of escape.

When, however, a heavy rain filled their places of retreat with water, they were compelled to return to their tents to sleep. Now when the cry of "bomb" startled them from slumber, they rushed out, glanced at the bright shell as it came sweeping across the starless sky, and if it fell near, threw themselves upon the ground; but it if fell far away they returned to their tents. Some became so fatigued that they failed to awaken when the alarm sounded, and were not disturbed if "ten thousand bombs burst all around them," as one exclaimed.

The value of this defense of Fort Meigs cannot be easily overestimated. Had Harrison been defeated and his army captured, the road to Upper Sandusky would have been open to Proctor and his Indian allies. Here large stores of provisions would have fallen into his hands. The final invasion and recapture of Michigan would have been materially delayed, if not entirely prevented; and the frontiers would have been ravaged again by the savages.

So little notice has been taken formerly of this event, that it was an extremely welcome act of the General Assembly of Ohio that authorized the purchase of the site of Fort Meigs and converted it into a public park; and a splendid monument has been erected to the memory of the general and men who once defended it.

THE INDIAN AS A DIPLOMATIC FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF THE OLD NORTHWEST.[1]

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One merely asserts a truism when he states that the North American Indian is the predominant factor in the early history of the Northwest; and that in no other field is this more apparent than in its diplomacy. It is true that one may well hesitate to apply such a dignified title to a policy often characterized by senseless deceit, audacious theft, and other accompaniments of mere low intrigue; or to a policy which if free from these blemishes was still powerless to assure essential justice to the contracting parties; yet the fact remains that in formal ceremony, in the extent of territory involved, and in subsequent results, many of the treaties with the aborigines of this section rank in importance with the significant results of European diplomacy.

In this Northwestern diplomacy we may readily group the important events into three distinctive periods. The first is distinguished as the period of international complications between England and France, with Spain as a minor and largely negligible factor. The second period may be described as a domestic interlude between two international movements, during which the interests of the British Imperial Government and its Red Wards are involved with those of its colonies, of private traders, and of would-be colonizing companies. Later in this same period these latter interests play an important part in the domestic affairs of the newly liberated states and of their embryo national government. The creation by the latter of a well defined area —the "Territory Northwest of the Ohio River"—closes the sec-

[1] In the preparation of this article the writer has made extensive use of an address delivered before the Chicago Historical Society, which is now for the first time printed.

ond period and ushers in the third, which is characterized by the struggle between the United States and Great Britain for the possession of the above territory. It is this period that constitutes the most important era of Northwestern diplomacy and comprises the major portion of this paper.

The above division is adopted for the sake of convenience in grouping facts and in no sense implies that the tendencies or movements of one period do not reappear in a later one, but that their presence and influence give greater emphasis to a certain epoch. For instance, the first period may be said to end with 1763, but French diplomacy and intrigue continue as important secondary factors in the history of the Northwest as well as of the whole Mississippi Valley, for the following half century.[2] On the other hand, domestic questions ever play an important part, even when international complications seem to control the situation, as is shown by the effect in 1814 of Harrison's Indian treaties upon the negotiations about to commence at Ghent.[3] Yet, while no one set of influences is in absolute control at any one stage of our discussion, convenience will lead to the adoption of the above mentioned divisions.

Let us proceed to a brief consideration of the first of these periods, the struggle between France and England for the mastery of the American continent. For the present, other European nations may be disregarded. Spain, long since content with Florida and her Mexican vice-royalty, is too remote from the future Northwest Territory to be vitally interested in its disposal. The English have absorbed the claims of the Dutch along the Atlantic Coast and are beginning to turn their attention to the immediate interior, where French influences are already present. Between their outposts on the Hudson and those of the French in the valley of the St. Lawrence lay the ever-present Indian factor—this time personified in the various Iroquois tribes.

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[2] For the best survey of the attitude of France towards the United States in general and the Mississippi Valley in particular, see the articles of Professor F. J. Turner in the *American Historical Review,* Vols. III and X, and the collections of documents in *Ibid* II and III, and in the *Reports of the American Historical Association* for 1897 and 1903.

[3] Cf. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams,* Vol. III, p. 43.

This powerful confederacy not only occupied the territory between the two European rivals, but themselves exercised a sort of indefinite suzerainty over other Indians as far west as the Mississippi. This rendered the aid of these confederated tribes doubly important to the nation that desired to control the interior. How to secure this aid was the problem that for nearly a century occupied the attention of the more intelligent and far-seeing of the British officials upon this continent, and how to neutralize their efforts the perennial task of their French rivals.

The hostile course of Champlain had aroused among the Iroquois an antipathy to the French which his successors vainly sought to remove. This antipathy was reinforced by the greater material resources of the English colonists for carrying on the fur trade, and this in turn early gave a mercenary bias to the struggle for the control of the Northwest—a characteristic that it retained to the end. By the close of the seventeenth century, however, the Iroquois began to profess a desire to remain neutral in the conflict. If this was their sincere wish, they were destined to be disappointed. From the days of Governor Dongan, who, by his attractive manner, secured tokens of fealty to his master, James, Duke of York, to the Treaty of Lancaster, in 1744, we have a series of documents showing the increasing influence of the English over the Iroquois. It is true that many of the documents are of doubtful origin or of hypothetical value, but whatever their character, they show that England was slowly gaining over France, in her race for territory in the Northwest.

The rival claims of the nations were first given a definite diplomatic standing in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. This Treaty provided for a delimitation of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the French Colony of Canada, and thus indirectly had some bearing upon the extreme northwestern limit of this territory. Of more immediate importance, however, was the acknowledgment that the Iroquois were subject to English rather than French control. The Indians were not consulted in the treaty, and the French later refused to acknowledge the full pretensions which the English claimed by virtue of it, but,

nevertheless, it constitutes a land mark in American diplomacy and especially in that of the Northwest.

In keeping with the above treaty, the English authorities later produced a series of documents, purporting to be deeds to territory lying on the northern and southern shores of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. These deeds are of more than doubtful validity—at least they may be attacked by documents of similar character, expressing Iroquois allegiance to the French King.[4] There is, however, no question regarding the *fact* of the most important of the cessions of this character—that of the Treaty of Lancaster.[5] In 1744, under the influence of English, the Iroquois chiefs acknowledged the validity of the Western claims of Virginia, based on her colonial charters, and thus gave substance, if not form, to the English claim to the Ohio Valley. Virginia must still make good her claim against her sister colonies, and Great Britain must assert their united claims against encroaching French pretensions. The latter phase of the question was decided by the Seven Years' War; the former remained a disturbing domestic factor, until it was settled by a definite renunciation of state claims and the creation of the Northwest Territory.

The struggle between England and France for the control of this territory became critical when each reached out to possess the key to the Ohio Valley—the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. For a period of eight decades, from Marquette and Joliet to Celeron de Bienville, French occupation had advanced by a series of slow strides from the West until all the available portages but one, between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, were in their possession. During the same time the tide of English settlement was approaching the crest of the Alleghenies and threatening to advance beyond. Already English traders had attempted to penetrate to the far Northwest and had been checked by the French establishments on the Wabash and Detroit. Now a new movement begins in which fur trader and surveyor push forward to extend the in-

[4] They are given for the most part in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York,* Vol. V and IX, *passim.*

[5] Cf. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records,* IV, 698-937.

terests respectively of Pennsylvania and of Virginia among the Ohio Indians, and to inaugurate an Anglo-American policy in the Northwest. Once in contact with the English pioneer, the days of the Canadian Voyageur are numbered and his uncertain hold upon the great interior valley quickly loosened. Even the sturdy resistance of his Indian ally was unavailing to prolong his dominion.

The Treaty of Paris, of February 10th, 1763, closed the first period of Northwestern Diplomacy and ushered in the second—a quarter century primarily of domestic policy, yet profoundly influenced by international complications which involved the shifting of continental control and the birth of a new nation on this side of the Atlantic. The treaty itself first brought into being what was destined to be the future western limit of the Northwest Territory, for it made the Mississippi a boundary between the possessions of Spain and of Great Britain upon the American Continent.

The Colonial policy of the British Government during the years following the Treaty of Paris tended to emphasize other limits of the future Northwest Territory. As a first step in this policy we may mention the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763. Although the line limiting the original colonies as established by this proclamation, lay some distance to the eastward of any part of its future area, yet the emphasis placed by it upon Indian relations is thoroughly characteristic of later British policy in this same Northwest. This proclamation paved the way for the subsequent Indian treaties at Ft. Stanwix (1768) and Lochabor (1770), by which the northern and southern Indians agreed to a fairly definite line of demarcation between the white settlements and the lands reserved for their own use. A portion of this line from above Ft. Pitt to the mouth of the Kanawha River was recognized by both treaties, while that of Ft. Stanwix prolonged it to the mouth of the Tennessee. Thus, what was afterward to be the southeastern limit of the Northwest Territory, received its first definition. The policy both of the proclamation and of the treaties was one designed to protect the rapidly advancing frontier by winning the confidence of the In-

dians and assuring the latter of the essential justice of the British government.[6]

That this policy did not involve a repression of white settlements, is shown by the fact that the British authorities almost immediately began to entertain proposals looking to an occupation of their western territory, and particularly of that portion between the mountains and the Ohio, recently ceded by the Indians. The most noteworthy of these proposed new colonies was that of Vandalia, in which Benjamin Franklin was interested. The northern boundary of this embryo government was to be the Ohio from the western boundary of Pennsylvania to a point opposite the mouth of the Scioto. Thus the proposed cession emphasized the former river as the line of separation between the white man and the red. A later land scheme, the Transylvania Company, likewise proposed the Ohio River, from the Kentucky to the Cumberland, as its northern limit. The outbreak of the Revolution alone prevented the realization of these schemes and an early delimitation of the territory south of the Ohio.[7]

Another movement on the part of the British government shows an approach to the same territory from the opposite direction, and apparently from a different motive. In reality, however, the purpose of the Quebec Act of 1774 does not differ from that of the Proclamation of 1763 and the ensuing Indian treaties, although the strife of the Revolutionary period gave it another interpretation. An examination of the subject shows that the British government was simply continuing the policy of protecting its native wards and of regulating trade with them. For this and other administrative purposes it was more convenient to attach the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio to Quebec than to any other settled government, and it was so done in the above act.[8]

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[6] Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," in *American Historical Review*, Vol. X, p. 782ff.

[7] Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghenies*, p. 20-28; 57.

[8] Coffin, *"Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution,"* p. 39ff.

By these various proclamations, treaties, and enactments, the British government emphasized the Ohio as the line of separation between civilization and savagery, although we must not define our terms too closely on either side of the line. To the possible objection that these transactions do not constitute diplomacy in its truest sense, we may affirm that the various methods by which rival land companies played their parts against each other and the Indian, both in England and America, certainly come under the definition of intrigue, if not that of the more honorable term, and conform to the statement of our opening paragraph.

With the outbreak of the Revolution, the scene of interest for the above plans is shifted to the Thirteen Colonies, that have now become independent states. With the revival of their claims to the western lands, the operations of intriguing land companies are transferred to the state legislatures or to the Continental Congress, where they play a minor part in the discussions between the States Rights and National parties. The interests of the various states are, however, so conflicting as to lead to a mutual renunciation of claims, beginning with New York in 1780 and closing with Virginia in 1784, by which the territory northwest of the Ohio is finally organized under the famous ordinance of 1787. Upon this new national basis there is the opportunity for questions relating to the Northwest again to assume international importance, and we enter upon the third and most important period into which our subject is divided.

Before proceeding to the details of this third period, it may be well to consider what the first two periods have definitely contributed to our subject. International treaty and Indian negotiation, aided by a colonial land policy, have definitely marked out two boundaries of the future Northwest Territory—the Mississippi on the west and the Ohio on the southeast. In addition, British procedure has emphasized the fact that this region is to remain an Indian territory, and British officials are unable to appreciate a different policy, even thirty years after it has nominally passed out of their control. This is the significant fact in the History of the Northwest from this time until after the war of 1812.

The first important contribution to the third period of Indian diplomacy in the Northwest is a memoir connected with the name of Vergennes, the Minister of State of Louis XVI of France. This memoir was undoubtedly composed before the American alliance in 1778 and considered the probable action of France in case the United States should win its independence. He favored the restriction of the new states to the territory west of the Alleghenies; France should enter into the contest and force from Great Britain the cession of the western part of Canada, which united to Louisiana, was to form a new Colonial empire for the French monarchy. It is interesting to add that he proposes to make of the greater part of the region between the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Lakes an Indian reserve and thus to continue the policy of Great Britain as well as revert to the original French system.[9]

The danger from this proposal, whether rightly attributed to Vergennes or not, is shown by the fact that since 1763 England had feared the presence of French and Spanish emissaries in this region, and that this fear became pronounced during the early years of the Revolution.[10] Not only the Northwest, but Canada, was threatened by these rovers among the discontented Indians; while to add to this fear, after the outbreak of hostilities with Spain in 1779, came the capture of the lower Mississippi by Galvez and the Spanish expedition from St. Louis to Fort St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, in the winter of 1780-81, Spain was becoming more than an interested spectator of the disposal of the territory between the Mississippi and the Great Lakes, and France more than a willing ally to serve her purpose.

Whether Vergennes was or was not the author of the above memoir, it certainly is completely in accord with the purpose later revealed by his secretary, Rayneval, to restrict the western pretensions of the Americans, in order to favor Spain. While in Paris in 1782, during the preliminary negotiations with

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[9] Cf. Turner in *American Historical Review*, X, 250-52; A copy of this memoir is in the King Collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

[10] Brymner, *Report of the Canadian Archives for 1890*, p. 91ff; *Ibid* for 1887.

Great Britain John Jay held some interviews with d'Aranda, the Spanish minister at the French court, in the course of which the latter had told him that the Spanish government expected the United States to be satisfied with a boundary line running from Western Georgia to the Ohio at the mouth of the Kanawha, thence around the western shores of Lake Erie and Lake Huron, enclosing Michigan, to the end of Lake Superior. The Spanish minister seemed surprised that Jay insisted upon the Mississippi as the boundary, and dwelt upon the fact that the western country belonged to the Indians. In furtherance of the Spanish policy, Rayneval, Vergennes' secretary, later addressed to Jay a memoir, in which he tried to show that it was the policy of the British Government from 1755 to 1763 not to consider the territory beyond the mountains as belonging to the original colonies. Accordingly, he proposed that the territory south of the Ohio should remain an Indian reservation under the joint protection of Spain and the United States; that the latter should give up its demand for the navigation of the Mississippi, and that the status of the territory north of the Ohio should be determined by negotiations with the court of London. According to his proposal, the powers of Europe were to share the feast and America to have the leavings.

The submission of this memoir and the later secret visits of Rayneval to London convinced Jay that his fellow commissioners had nothing to hope for from the Courts of France. Recent discussion of the conditions surrounding the making of this treaty, seem to show that Jay and likewise John Adams, were probably too suspicious of Vergennes and Rayneval, and that the French minister was probably acting for the best interests of his own country in supporting the claims of Spain and in endeavoring to bring hostilities to a speedy close.[11]

When the United States commissioners had once taken matters in their own hands, the event presaged a treaty in which their interests were not to suffer, to say the least. The spirit of

[11] The best summary of the attitude of France towards America in 1782-83 is to be found in McLaughlin's *The Confederation and the Constitution*, (Am. Nation Series X), where the authorities are given with a critical estimate of their value.

conciliation which dictated the policy of the British commissioners at Paris finally resulted in a northern and western limit which embraced all territory that the United States could naturally expect to acquire. By their instructions the American representatives had been directed to obtain a line running from the point where the 45th parallel crossed the St. Lawrence, directly west to Lake Nipissing and thence to the Mississippi.[12] Such a line disregarded natural features, and when the British commissioners proposed as an alternative the present line following the middle course of the Great Lakes and finally terminating in the Lake of the Woods, the American commissioners readily accepted the change.[13] In all probability the former line would have been of more immediate advantage, had the Americans been prepared to assume military possession of the entire area, for it would have meant the absolute control of the two lower lakes, together with the greater part of Huron and of Michigan, and thus it would have insured the immediate enjoyment of the fur trade. In the long run, however, the resources of the upper portion of Michigan and of Wisconsin have established the wisdom of the Americans in accepting as they did, the present northern boundary of our section.

Apparently, the Northwest with its natural boundaries—the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Great Lakes—was finally delimited, and this area, destined to be one of the richest and most populous sections of our Union, awaited only the ordinance of four years later to begin its definite progress in civilization. In reality, however, the limited geographical knowledge of the time had led to a serious omission in the limits which was later to trouble both contracting parties out of all proportion to its importance. By the terms of the treaty the northern limit of the United States was to continue due west from the Lake of the Woods until it reached the Mississippi. As this river did not extend so far north as the lake, the boundary was an impossibility, so a gap was left in the extreme northwestern limit of the new nation and likewise of the section shortly to become

[12] *Secret Journals of Congress. Foreign Affairs.* Aug. 14, 1779.

[13] Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, V, 851-853.

the Northwest Territory. To remedy this mistake would have seemed a matter of little difficulty, but later negotiations complicated this minor omission with the far more important issues of the Indian trade, the right to navigate the Mississippi, and, subsequently, the settlement of the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, and thus postponed for thirty-five years the moment for a final diplomatic settlement of the limits of the Northwest Territory.

In the years following 1783 the Northwest became not only internationally important but Indian relations monopolized almost every point from which its affairs were viewed. It is true that other questions contributed to the diplomacy and intrigue of the period and a brief resumé of these will show their possible interest for our subject.

In the year 1788 occurred the celebrated Spanish Conspiracy, which embraced several of the prominent men of Kentucky. The controlling motive for this incident was the desire of the Spanish authorities in Louisiana to check the increasing tide of American migration over the mountains. The Canadian authorities were also alive to the danger from this Westward movement and embarked in a counter attempt to forestall their Spanish rivals by sending a half pay officer to observe this migration. This officer, Conolly, reported that some of the new colonists settling at the mouth of the Muskingum were inclined to favor opening a clandestine trade with the British at Detroit, and even mentioned the name of General Parsons of the Marietta Company as one favoring such a connection.[14] Perhaps the British officer desired to show the importance of his work and magnified some of the expressions he heard on his tour; at any rate, we have no direct evidence that any such connection was actually established. It is possible that British goods intended primarily for the Indian trade may have ultimately reached these new settlements on the Ohio. We have evidence that Canadian traders wished this, but no indications that their wishes were largely realized. Of more immediate danger, however, was the complicated plan of Citizen Gent in 1793, for the invasion of Louisi-

[14] Brymner, *Report of the Canadian Archives for 1890*, p. 99ff.

ana and the Floridas from the Ohio Valley.[15] This danger was more immediate because of the fact that French emissaries were all through the region, while on the northern bank of the Ohio a colony of disgusted Frenchmen afforded a nucleus for such a movement. This same restive spirit of filibustering intrigue continued during the following decade. The Blount conspiracy awakened some echoes along the Ohio, but attracted no tangible assistance. The various questions associated with the transfer of Louisiana aroused in turn the resentment or elation of the growing communities now springing up on its banks. The famous Burr conspiracy touched the borders of the same territory, stirred up some officials to unwonted activity, and involved others, especially Senator John Smith of Ohio, in political ruin.

This catalogue of events will show that the Northwest had its general share in the diplomatic intrigue which existed in the Mississippi Valley till after 1815. The formal treaty of 1783 should have secured the peace and safety of the Northwest Territory; instead it merely reopened the old diplomatic controversy of the days of Louis XV, with the ever present Indian as its most important factor. It is true that the question had a new setting. The mother nation, England, was now arrayed against her recently freed daughter. The former possessed a series of posts along the Great Lakes, most of them within limits that had been acknowledged to belong to the United States. The latter was represented by the flourishing colony of Kentucky, the western extension of Pennsylvania and Virginia proper, and within five years had begun to fringe with settlements the northern bank of Ohio. Between these straggling outposts lay the Red Men—divided into two general groups—the Six Nations, largely beyond the limits of the Northwest Territory, but extending into its northeastern portion, and the western Algonquin tribes. Both of these groups were largely under British influence, but while the Iroquois were inclined to neutrality the western Indians were especially hostile to the Americans, whose widening frontier threatened the early absorption of their hunt-

[15] The details of this are attractively sketched by Turner in the *Am. Hist. Review*, X, 249 ff.

ing grounds. Beyond the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Missouri, were the weak outposts of impotent Spain, fearing for her great highway to the Mexican mines, and ready, as the history of the immediate past showed, to strike a covert blow at Great Britain or the United States, could she by so acting, check the advance of these dreaded neighbors. In addition, there existed the distinct menace that France might ally her robust force with Spain in another attempt to dominate the Mississippi Valley. These were the various elements in the situation during a decade and a half after 1783, yet the essential factors were the presence of the Indian and the consequent economic interest of Great Britain in the fur trade. These furnished the motives for retaining the posts thirteen years, for insisting upon commercial privileges with Indians within the limits of the United States, and for claiming the right to navigate the Mississippi, long after her own explorers had shown that England was not entitled to that privilege. In a negative way the fear of the savages, covertly supported by British policy, acted as a check upon American settlements beyond the immediate banks of the Ohio and gave currency to a natural resentment against Great Britain.

The three important diplomatic questions between the United States and Great Britain, that involved the Northwest Territory are: first, the retention of the military posts along the southern border of the Great Lakes; second, the Indian trade within the limits of the United States; and third, the gap in the boundary line in the extreme northwest which involved the British right to navigate the Mississippi and the later northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. We will trace each of these in turn until its final settlement.

The retention of the frontier posts along our northern border constituted one of the most weighty charges of the Americans against the British during this critical period. The motive alleged by the British government, some two years after the ratification of the treaty, for the failure to deliver these posts was the fact that most of the states of the American union had passed laws interfering with loyalists and with the collection of British debts. This has been very conclusively shown

by Professor McLaughlin[16] to be an after thought. The real motive was to secure the fur trade on the American side of the Great Lakes, and for thirteen years Great Britain was successful, but at a fearful future cost of future distrust and national aversion on the part of the United States.

But more immediate results followed the retention of these posts. British officials must exercise a civil jurisdiction over contiguous settlements; they must provision and arm the Indians in order to secure furs from them, and this regalement meant at least an indirect encouragement of their hostilities against the Americans, if nothing worse. Before 1788 the Americans had made treaties with certain Indian tribes by which they obtained the grants of land occupied by the settlements at the mouth of the Muskingum, of the Scioto, and in the Miami District.[17] Other Indians claimed that these cessions were illegal, because made by a minority of the contracting tribe or obtained through fraud; and the British agents openly or tacitly supported them in resisting the validity of these grants. During the conferences between the representatives of the United States and these Indians, which resulted in these treaties, and in others held before 1795, British representatives assisted; sometimes through direct American invitation and at other times because the Indians refused to attend unless they were also present. While it is probable that for the most part they exercised a restraining influence upon the savages, their very presence did much to neutralize their spoken counsel. Their course immediately before Wayne's campaign in 1794, however, seems to have been of a more hostile character. By the indiscreet words of Lord Dorchester and the forward course of Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, in reoccupying a post on the Maumee, they did much to encourage the Indians in hostilities against the Americans, and led to later heated diplomatic correspondence at Philadelphia and in London. Hammond, the British Minister, and Randolph, the American Secretary of State, were not in a position to obtain much satisfaction from their mutual

[16] In *Report of the Am. Hist. Ass'n* for 1894, p. 413 ff.

[17] These treaties are given in *Am. State Paper, Indian Affairs* I, pp. 1-12.

charges, for they depended upon biased reports from Dorchester or from Wayne. The general purport of this correspondence in 1794 was, as the Americans claimed, that England, by taking a new position on the Maumee, had violated the *status quo* which they wished to be observed during Jay's negotiation, while the English claimed that the advance from the Ohio, of a hostile force under Wayne, was likewise a violation of the same status and their own movement was simply the reoccupation of a post which had formerly been under British control. Fortunately, a more accommodating spirit ruled at London, by which Jay and Grenville were enabled to come to a conclusion which led to the abandonment of the forts by the British.[18] Thus a prolific cause of misunderstanding and confusion was removed from the Northwest. It was now possible for the American authorities to deal directly with the Indians, who, no longer aided by the moral (or perhaps immoral) support of the British, and disheartened by Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, finally signed in 1795, the Treaty of Greenville, which brought a lull in Indian hostilities in the Northwest.

Every treaty must in a measure be the result of compromise and this is illustrated in the case of Jay's celebrated convention by the clause regulating Indian Trade. In withdrawing her garrisons from our territory, Great Britain did indeed render partial justice, but the concession was only obtained by our yielding something of national dignity on this other important question. Lord Grenville at first suggested that British traders should have free access to our Indians, and that the latter should communicate freely with the British posts in Canada, without even the payment of a transit duty. This derogation of sovereign rights and waiving of revenue was too great a concession and the conferees finally agreed that such Indian trade should be open to the subjects of both countries upon the payment, at designated ports of entry, of duties upon such articles as remained permanently within the foreign territory; but goods in transit were not to pay even this nominal charge. In fact,

[18] For the diplomatic correspondence dealing with his subject, consult *Am. State Papers, Foreign Relations* I, p. 447ff.

Lieutenant Pike, a decade later, found that the greater part of the goods introduced into the Lake Superior region were paying no duties whatever.[19]

It is obvious that all the advantages of this arrangement rested with the British traders. For thirteen years Great Britain had controlled the available channels of this trade, by retaining the posts on the lakes, and now the influence of her merchants was practically supreme in the greater part of the Northwest, and this was equally true of the region above the Missouri, which was soon to pass into our hands. One result of this condition of affairs was the ease with which Great Britain attracted Indian support during the war of 1812, and gained control of the greater part of the present states of Michigan and Wisconsin. It was not till 1816 that British fur traders, except when serving as subordinates in American companies, were excluded from this commerce. Two years later in the Convention of London, Mr. Rush and Mr. Gallatin succeeded in avoiding a renewal of the privilege of 1794.[20] Thus legal enactment and formal treaty finally came to the support of American sovereignty in this respect, but the annals of Governor Cass's administration of Michigan territory show that the British fur trade was still a thorn in the flesh of the American officials as late as the fourth decade of the Nineteenth Century.[21]

A third phase of the Northwestern diplomacy during this period is concerned with the gap in the boundary between the Lake of the Woods and the Mississippi. At first view it would seem that this question is less connected with the ever present Indian problem than the others already considered, but this is more apparent than real. In the ensuing discussions upon this omission in the boundary, the British representatives, contrary to American claims and the obvious intention of the second and eighth articles of the Treaty of 1783, claimed that the subject was closely interwoven with that of the navigation of the Mississippi.[22] This latter privilege they (the British) valued

[19] Cf. Coues, *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, I, p. 265.
[20] *Am. State Papers, For. Rel.* IV, p. 406.
[21] McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, p. 112 ff.
[22] Cf. *Am. State Papers, For. Rel.* I, 491 ff.

chiefly because of the facility it afforded for carrying on their fur trade, so this subject, as the others, is one connected with the ever recurrent Indian problem.

Hardly was the purport of the Preliminary Treaty of November, 1782, known in Canada before members of the recently formed Northwest Fur Company were petitioning the Canadian officials to assist them in shutting out possible American rivals from the Superior region and beyond. They hoped that the line of the Lake of the Woods would not be run as planned, for they feared that this would close their route to the posts beyond Lake Superior. They spoke of a plan to explore another water route wholly within the British lines and asked for a monopoly of such line, if found, for a period of seven years.[23] Although Governor Haldimand could not give them the monopoly they asked for, he was able to assure them that the forts on the lakes would not be delivered to the Americans at present and that American commissioners would not soon be given an opportunity to examine British fur preserves, under pretext of determining the course of an uncertain boundary. The further development of this phase of the question has already been discussed in considering the question of the posts and of Indian trade.

Scarcely was the ink dry upon the copy of Mitchell's map, where the British and American commissioners had traced with heavy line the proposed boundary, before the explorations of Mackenzie and the observations of Thompson showed that it was an impossible limit.[24] The Mississippi did not extend northward to the latitude of the Lake of the Woods, so a due west line from the latter would not strike it. Accordingly, it formed one part of Jay's mission to settle the matter of the extreme northwestern boundary.

Early in his correspondence with Lord Grenville, the Englishman proposed to rectify the mistake by drawing a line from the western end of Lake Superior to the eastern branch of the Mississippi, or else one due north from the mouth of the St. Croix till it should strike a line running from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods. Jay objected to these propositions, be-

[23] Bymner *Report of the Canadian Archives for 1890*, p. 48 ff.
[24] *Am. State Papers, For. Aff.* I, p 491 ff.

cause they required a cession of territory by the United States, and also implied that the British right to navigate the river rested upon the fact that the boundary extended to the Mississippi, when his understanding of the negotiations in 1782—and he was one of the commissioners——was that the navigation was an after-thought inserted because of the British right in virtue of the Treaty of 1763. Grenville believed that Great Britain could insist upon a direct line to the Mississippi with as much justice as the Americans upon one due west from the Lake of the Woods; nevertheless, he agreed to Jay's proposition for a joint survey of the Mississippi river from a point a degree below the Falls of St. Anthony to its source. This joint survey was never made.[25]

This limit became important again in 1802, when Madison forwarded to Rufus King, our minister at St. James, instructions relating to the rectification of this as well as of other points in our northern boundary. Mr. King was authorized to accept a line running from the source of the Mississippi nearest the Lake of the Woods, thence following the shore of the latter till it met the line of 1783. Madison thoroughly distrusted Great Britain and believed that that power wished to extend her pretensions to include the territory between the Mississippi and Missouri.[26] It was then supposed that Spain had transferred this region to France, so about the same time Livingston at Paris also advised Mr. King to agitate the subject of the gap in our boundaries, but to come to some agreement in the matter. Meanwhile he, Livingston, would use the fact that King was negotiating with England as a sort of club to force France to cede to the United States the Louisiana Territory above the Arkansas.[27] Thus the minor omission of the Treaty of 1783 had expanded in Livingston's mind till it included a large share of the Mississippi Valley; but his fanciful suggestion had no direct bearing upon the solution of the question.

In the instructions and correspondence of this year the

[25] *Ibid*, 503.

[26] *Ibid, Am. State Papers, For. Rel. II*, 585.

[27] *State Papers and Correspondence Bearing upon the Purchase of the Territory of Louisiana*, p. 20-50.

American representatives seem to abandon Jay's position regarding the navigation of the Mississippi. Mr. King's convention finally adopted the liberal suggestion of Madison, though in reverse order, and began the line at the Northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods, thence drawing it in the most direct way to the Mississippi.

Within three days after signing this convention, King had to report to Lord Hawkesbury an event that had an important bearing upon it. This was the news of the cession of Louisiana by France to the United States. The Louisiana convention bore a date twelve days previous to that negotiated by King, and when the two papers arrived on the western shore of the Atlantic it was questionable whether the former did not nullify that part of the latter relating to the Northern boundary. The committee of the Senate to whom this matter was referred, took this view and reported in favor of ratifying Mr. King's convention, with the exception of the Fifth Article, relating to that limit.[28] Senator Pickering of Massachusetts, naturally sided with his friend, Mr. King, and opposed the report of the committee, delivered by its chairman, the son of his enemy, John Adams. Moreover, his zeal led him into a controversy with Jefferson over the northern boundary of Louisiana and he charged the President with a policy of duplicity in claiming more territory in the north than France had previously done.[29] The wishes of the President prevailed over his lukewarm secretary, and the policy of Adams appealed to the Senate. Thus the doubtful article failed of ratification, and in view of the danger of a possible curtailment of the Louisiana Purchase in this region, it was well that it did.

In the spring of 1805, at Madrid, Monroe and Charles Pinckney stated that the United States claimed the 49th parallel as the northern boundary of Louisiana. In the course of the same year, General Wilkinson sent Lieutenant Z. M. Pike to explore the sources of the Mississippi and to assert American sovereignty in the vicinity against the encroachments of British fur traders. Pike discovered that the latter were working on the assumption

[28] *Am. State Papers, For. Rel.* II, 584-591, J. Q. *Adams, Memoirs* I, p. 267 ff.

[29] See *Jefferson Papers* (MSS) 2d Series, Vol. 66, No. 36.

that the northwestern gap was to be closed by a line from the Lake of the Woods to the source of the Mississippi, at which point the Louisiana boundary was to begin. Had Mr. King's convention been ratified this assumption on their part might have been maintained with the consequent loss by the United States of the upper part of the Red River Valley and a considerable fraction of Louisiana.[30]

In 1806 Monroe and William Pinckney again took up the subject, with a view to continue the line to the Rocky Mountains, and in their convention were successful in establishing the American contention for the line of the 49th parallel west of the Lake of the Woods. The other features of the convention were, however, so unsatisfactory that Jefferson did not even submit their work to the Senate for its ratification. Thus the gap in the boundaries, with the accompanying question of Mississippi navigation and Louisiana boundary, remained unsettled when the War of 1812 broke out.

The city of Ghent, in the latter part of 1814, next became the scene for discussing these important points. At first, the British commissioners not only reassumed the position of their government before 1807, but even proposed that the line in question should be drawn from Lake Superior directly to the source of the Mississippi. Their subjects were also to have free access to that river, together with the right of navigating it to its mouth. This proposition especially aroused the ire of Henry Clay, who, as the representative of the West, was particularly impressed with the growing importance of that river in its development. Unfortunately, he found his chief opponent not on the opposing commission but among his own colleagues, in the person of John Quincy Adams. The father of the latter had secured in 1783, the right to engage in the fisheries of the Newfoundland coast, and now the son was unwilling to abandon his filial obligation to preserve what his father had won, or to fail in the support of such a typical New England industry as the cod fishery. For a time, the question of separating these two questions—the navigation and the fisheries—threatened to disrupt the American con-

[30] Coues, *Journals of Z. M. Pike,* I, p. 265 ff.

tingent and it needed all the tact of Gallatin to avoid such a result. Finally, the British commissioners proposed to defer both questions for future negotiation, and although Clay stated openly that it meant a bad treaty, while Adams recorded his impressions in his diary, they both signed the convention.[31] Three years later Adams, as secretary of State, sent to Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush, the instructions to guide them in the negotiation which finally settled the question. By the terms of the Convention of London, October 20, 1818, the Northern boundary of the United States, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, was to be the 49th parallel, while the rights to navigate the Mississippi and to engage in Indian trade within the limits of the United States, was yielded by Great Britain.[32] In view of the future peace of mind of the then Secretary of State, one is pleased to observe that the fisheries also were not neglected in this same convention. Thus a minor error in limits which had expended into a boundary and commercial question of continental magnitude, was happily corrected to the manifest advantage of both nations.

It remains to mention briefly, as the final word in the Indian diplomacy of the Old Northwest, certain features connected with the War of 1812. The broadside fired into the Chesapeake by the Leopard off the Capes of Virginia, had aroused to unwelcome activity the Canadian officials and they began to prepare for expected hostilities from the American side. This preparation included invoking the customary Indian assistance and among the possible Indian allies we find the significant names of Tecumseh and "The Prophet." Meanwhile, in Michigan Governor Hull, and in Indiana Governor Harrison, were attempting to quiet the minds of the Indians and to render them neutral in the expected crisis. Harrison had succeeded, in spite of the repeated opposition of the British traders, and even government officials, in obtaining several valuable Indian cessions in what is now In-

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[31] The public correspondence is given in *Am. State Papers, For. Rel.* III.; for details relating to the American negotiators, see H. Adams, *Life and Writings of Albert Gallatin,* and J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs* III.

[32] *American State Papers, For. Rel.* IV, p. 395 ff.

diana and Illinois.[33] On the other side the British authorities were claiming that they had used every effort to restrain the Indians and had even withheld from them the means of carrying on hostilities. We find some American support of this claim in the statement of Rufus Putnam to Timothy Pickering that Harrison purposely started the difficulty with the Indians to lend color to the charge of the American government that they were stirred up by the British.[34] This statement cannot be accepted, however, till we know more of the personal motive that dictated this letter. In spite of charges and countercharges, or possibly as a direct result of them, the month of November, 1811, beheld on the banks of the Tippecanoe the opening event of the War of 1812 in the Northwest, and as usual the Indian was the most important factor.

During the first few months of open hostilities the advantages of the Indian alliance rested wholly with Great Britain. The presence of the savages materially hastened the surrender of Detroit, the abandonment of Fort Dearborn and its attendant massacre, the capture of Fort McKay within the present state of Wisconsin, the Raisin River Massacre, and the extension of hostilities towards the Ohio. With Perry's victory on Lake Erie and Harrison's success on the Thames, there came a turn, however, and on July 16, 1814, there occurred the signing of a second Treaty of Greenville, by which the majority of the Indians within the Northwest accepted an American alliance and agreed to take up the hatchet against their former companions in arms.[35] While this fact is not greatly to the credit of the American government, it is in keeping with the policy of Jefferson as outlined in the instructions of the War Department to the Governors and Indian agents of Louisiana, and of Jackson in New Orleans, who was enlisting the same sort of support among the

[33] For a convenient summary of Harrison's Indian treaties see the monograph by Webster on *Harrison's Career as Governor of Indiana Territory* in the *Indiana Historical Society Publications,* Vol. IV, No. 3.

[34] *Calendar of Pickering Papers* in *Publications of the Mass. Hist. Society,* Series VI, Vol. 8, p. 409.

[35] *Am. State Papers, Ind. Affairs,* Vol. II, p. 826 ff.

savages along the Red River.[36] Moreover, the unofficial report of Harrison's action influenced materially the discussion at Ghent concerning Indian relations.

It is at Ghent that we meet with the last diplomatic attempt to make of the Old Northwest an Indian Reservation. At the first meeting of the commissioners on August 8, 1814, Mr. Ghouldbourn, in behalf of his British colleagues, states that a *sine qua non* of the negotiations would be the inclusion of the Indians in the proposed treaty. A little later he and his commissioners showed what this proposed inclusion meant. A certain part of the territory between the Lakes and the Ohio was to be made into an Indian buffer state, with definite bounds, under the joint guarantee of the United States and Great Britain. The more radical London papers had demanded that the Ohio should form this line and that Great Britain should resume sovereignty over both sides of the Lakes. The commissioners stated, however, that they would accept the line of the Treaty of Greenville, or even some modification of it. The hundred thousand or more white inhabitants beyond this line would, in the language of the British commissioners, "have to shift for themselves." It did not take the American commissioners long to reject their proposition to keep this territory an Indian desert, or the accompanying proposal that the Americans must forbear to arm vessels on the Lakes or erect fortifications on its shores; and the British commissioners speedily received instructions to abandon them after Harrison's Treaty at Greenville.[37] The proposition for each side to retain its conquests was equally rejected and in this the Americans had the support of no less a character than the great Wellington himself. Other proposals regarding Indian trade, navigation of the Mississippi, and the unadjusted boundary, were equally unacceptable to both groups of commissioners, so the treaty finally provided for a mere suspension of hostilities. In the near future, as we have already seen, these questions were settled in keeping with the best interests of the Northwest.

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[36] *Jefferson Papers, Series* I, Vol. 10; also *Indian Office, Letter Book* B.

[37] Adams, *Memoirs III*, p. 43.

In this summary of certain diplomatic questions affecting the Northwest, two general tendencies are apparent. The one is a desire on the part of certain governing factors to keep the region a wilderness for the purpose of ease in control and for the development of the Indian fur trade—the other to open the country to civilization as rapidly as circumstances and pioneer energy should warrant. It is with sincere pride that one records the fact that despite a few bungling attempts, the efforts of the American government from the first were in keeping with the second of these tendencies, and that in the end their efforts prevailed.

THE USEFUL RESULTS OF HISTORICAL CONTROVERSY

An Illustration and Suggestion.

WILLIAM Z. DAVIS, LL. D.
Judge, Ohio Supreme Court.

The present controversy about the discovery of the North Pole suggests the thought that the truth of history is established by adverse criticism and thorough investigaton; and that the truth cannot be hidden forever. A striking illustration of this is found in the bibliography of the discussion over the question, Who discovered the North American Continent?

Christopher Columbus died in the belief that he had found the mainland of Cathay and while he had in truth touched the shores of South America, he never saw the mainland of North America. The distinguished honor of first finding out this wonderful land of ours was for a long time awarded to Amerigo Vespucci and hence the name America; but more recent historical investigators have placed that great achievement to the credit of John Cabot; and some, apparently with good reason, even doubt that Vespucci was ever near the countries which he claims to have discovered. If he was, his mendacity was equal to his heroism. For example, he says that after reaching the 23° north latitude, he sailed along the coast, steadily northwest, a distance of eight hundred and seventy leagues. That is, if we follow his course, he sailed from about Tampico, Mexico, through the latter country northwesterly along the line of the Rocky Mountains to a point somewhere in the Dominion of Canada. The case against Vespucci is strongly stated by Ridpath, New Complete Hist. U. S., edition of 1904, chap. X.

But long before the time of any of these voyagers the venturesome and hardy Norse sailors had trailed first to Iceland, then to Greenland, then to a place on the continent which they called Vinland, or Wineland. There they established and maintained a colony for three years; there was born the first white

child born on the North American Continent and thence were they driven, by hardships and pestilence, back to Greenland. In the paralysis of ignorance and darkness which overspread Europe during the middle ages, these things were not widely known and were at last forgotten; but they were preserved in the annals and sagas of Iceland and in that unfrequented island have continued to be the subject of history, tradition, poetry and story to the present time. The adventures of the Norsemen slumbered within the frozen boundaries of Iceland for centuries, with only now and then an allusion, generally discrediting, by some learned antiquary; but there was little to draw popular attention to the subject until the publication in 1831, by Henry Wheaton, who had been U. S. Minister at Copenhagen, of his history of the Northmen, and by Prof. Rafn, the Danish scholar, in 1837, of his great collection, *Antiquates Americanæ.*

Gradually, it has come to be the accepted belief, I think we may safely say, that the Norse navigators not only discovered Greenland and maintained colonies there—of that there can be no reasonable doubt—but that they also skirted southward along the coast of North America and made temporary settlements there. The more intimately acquainted we become with the Norse records and sagas, the more firmly fixed becomes the belief that so much of historical basis must be conceded to be at the bottom of the sagas. It finds expression in all the later histories and school text-books of history, although the identification of localities is still an unsolved problem and perhaps it is unsolvable.

Recently, the parts of the Flateyjarbok and of the Haksbok relating to this subject have become accessible to English students in the original Icelandic, with parallel Danish and English translations; but the most significant *new* material in the controversy is found in the *fac similes* contained in the same book (The Flatey Book and Recently Discovered Vatican Manuscripts. Published by The Norroena Society. London, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, New York, 1906), of the papal letters from the Vatican library, which were discovered in 1903 and exhibited at the World's Exposition at St. Louis in 1906. These put beyond dispute the fact that the church had followed up the

colonists and established a bishopric over them in Greenland; and inasmuch as a sentence occurs in the Flatey Book under the date A. D. 1221, stating that "Eric, bishop of Greenland, went to seek Wineland," the strong presumption is raised that the existence of Wineland was known to the head of the church, at Rome.

A letter of Innocent III, dated February, 1206, addressed to the Archbishop of Nidros, declares that Pope Eugenius by the papal legate Nicolas had decreed that the city of Nidros "be the permanent metropolis of the provinces," including with others, "the Orcade Islands (Orkneys), the islands of Farcia (Faroes), the bishoprics of Sutrhaia, Iseland, and Greenland, be subject to it forever as its metropolis and that their bishops obey both him (your predecessor) and his successors as their metropolitans."

A letter of Pope John XXI, dated December 4, 1276, addressed to the Archbishop of Nidros, refers to the difficulty of personal visitation by the archbishop to all parts of the Kingdom of Norway, "since the diocese of Garda, subject to your province and said kingdom is so far distant from the metropolitan church that, because of the difficulties of navigation, one can scarcely make the voyage, thither and return, in less than five years." Elsewhere in the same letter, Pope John says that "the majority of the dioceses of the Kingdom and of your provinces are so scattered through the expanse of the sea and so extended within their own limits, that it would be difficult for you to visit all parts of the said dioceses even in six years," etc.

On January 31, 1279, Pope Nicolas III addressed "Our Venerable Brother—Archbishop of Nidros," as follows: "From the series of your letters lately transmitted to us, we gather that the island on which stands the city of Garda, is seldom visited by ships, because of the dangers of the ocean surrounding it," etc.

Pope Martin IV, writing on March 4, 1282, to the Archbishop of Nidros, mentions "the Island of Iceland and Feroyes of the Kingdom of Norway," and then proceeds as follows, "You have added, moreover, that the tithe of Greenland is received entirely in cattle-skins, the skins and tusks of seals, and whalebone (?) which you assert can hardly be sold at a fair price."

Addressing the Bishops of Shaoltensus and Olensus, September 20, 1448, Pope Nicolas V in part wrote as follows: "Indeed, as regards our beloved sons, the natives and all the inhabitants of the Island of Greenland, which is said to lie in the province of Nidrosi, in the extremity of the ocean, in the northern region of the Kingdom of Norway, we have heard with sad and anxious heart the doleful story of that same island, whose inhabitants and natives, for almost six hundred years, have kept the Faith of Christ, received under the preaching of their glorious evangelist, the blessed King Olaf, firm and unspotted, under the guidance of the Holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See, and where for all succeeding time the people, inflamed with eager devotion, erected many temples of the saints and a famous Cathedral, in which divine worship was sedulously carried on; but at length, thirty years ago, with the permission of Him Who, in the disposition of His inscrutable wisdom, afflicts for a time and chastises for their great good those whom He loves, the barbarians, gathering together in a fleet on the neighborhood shores of the Pagans, attacked this entire people in a cruel invasion, devastating their fatherland and sacred temples by fire and sword, leaving in the island only nine parochial churches, these, it is said, extend into the farthest districts, which they could not approach conveniently, because of the defiles of the mountains, and carrying away captive to their possessions the natives of both sexes, especially such as they deemed brave and fit to undergo the burden of perpetual slavery, just as if adjusted to their tyranny. As the same report subjoins, however, very many, after a time, returned to their own from said captivity and, having thenceforth repaired the ruins of those places, desired to renew and extend the divine worship as much as possible after the pristine fashion, but because, overwhelmed by the past calamities, and laboring under famine and want, they were unable to support priests and a bishop, they were deprived, for that entire period of thirty years, of the consolation of a bishop and the ministry of the priests, except when anyone, in the desire of serving God, after traveling far and long, had succeeded in reaching those churches which the barbarian hand had passed unhurt; wherefore, they have humbly petitioned us to deign to

meet their pious and salutary design with a fatherly commiseration, and to supply their spiritual wants and impart our benevolent approbation and that of the Apostolic See to the foregoing."

In the early years of his pontificate, Alexander VI wrote:

"Since, as we have heard, the Church of Garda is situated at the extremity of the earth in the country of Greenland, whose inhabitants are accustomed to use dried fish and milk because of the want of bread, wine and oil, wherefore, and also on account of the rare shipping to said country, due to the intense freezing of the sea, no vessel is believed to have put to land there for eighty years back, or if it happened that such voyages were made, surely, it is thought, they could not have been accomplished save in the month of August, when the ice was dissolved; and since it is likewise said that for eighty years, or thereabouts, absolutely no bishop or priest governed that Church in personal residence, which fact, together with the absence of Catholic priests, brought it to pass that very many of the diocese unhappily repudiated their sacred baptismal vows; and since the inhabitants of that land have no relic of the Christian religion, save a certain Corporale, annually set forth, upon which, a hundred years ago, the Body of Christ was consecrated by the last priest then living there—for these, then, and for other considerations, Pope Innocent VIII, of blessed memory, our predecessor wishing to provide a suitable pastor for that Church, at the time deprived of the useful solace of the same, at the advice of his brethren, of whom we were then one, appointed bishop and pastor to that place, our venerable Brother Matthias; the latter was Bishop-elect of Garda, a professed member of the Order of St. Benedict, and had been announced, at our urging, while we were still in Minor Orders, as intending to said personally for said Church, inspired with great fervor of devotion to lead back the souls of the strayed and apostate to the way of eternal salvation and to expose his life to the greatest danger, freely and spontaneously, to obliterate such errors.'"

Twenty years ago Justin Winsor (Narrative and Critical History America, vol. 1, p. 69) cast doubt upon the authenticity of the letter of Nicolas V, which had been published and commented upon by Rafn and others. The answer is that the docu-

ment itself was, with the others quoted above, brought from the Vatican Library and exhibited at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, in 1906; and that the same were photographed and published by permission granted through the Papal Secretary of State, the Cardinal Merry De Val.

Thus, the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America was first announced, and the records establishing the same were first brought to the notice of the world, at Copenhagen; and it seems not improbable that the discovery of the North Pole, which was first announced from that city, may finally be established thereat.

EDITORIALANA.

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AVERY'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Volume VI of "A History of the United States and its People," by Elroy M. Avery, is just received. In elegance of paper and mechanical effect, in richness of illustration, maps, charts, fac-similes of documents and reproductions of paintings in original colors, this volume is fully equal to its predecessors. We have in notices of the previous volumes sufficiently commented upon the typographical character of the work. Volume six, before us, carries the reader through the American Revolution, to the Confederation and the Ordinance of 1787. The twenty chapters, embracing 475 pages, open with the New York Campaign and deal in succession with the military movements and results, foreign complications and governmental constructive measures leading to the formation of the union of states. This period of American history has been covered a hundred times by other American and foreign historians and Mr. Avery meets this flood of competition with the same excellency and indeed superiority that stamps his recital to the present volume. The chapter on Foreign Relations and French Alliance, and on New Governments, State and Confederate, are concise and lucid, while his description of the conflict for Independence on the tented field; the campaigns, sieges, battles, repulses and victories are vivid and in style and sentiment reflective of the patriotic spirit, indomitable courage and patience of the heroes who fought, bled and died for the cause of human liberty, equal rights and untrammeled opportunities. The tale of the American Revolution, with its romance, heroism, suffering and triumph is the old, old story of our national birth. It was never told more charmingly than by Mr. Avery, the simplicity and clearness of his narrative sweeps the reader adown the current of events with an earnestness and a picturesqueness that is unsurpassed. The school boy and the learned scholar may enjoy it alike. There is not a page dull or heavy, the warriors and statesmen live and breathe and perform their parts like actors before the imaginative vision of the reader. The chapter on the "Border Warfare and Northwest Conquest" is especially complete and satisfactory. The romantic expedition of George Rogers Clark, by which the Northwest Territory was saved to the American Union and the operations of the Western Indians during the Revolution period are given due importance and proper treatment. As we have had occasion to remark, concerning previous volumes, Mr. Avery has given the western history of our country proportionate consideration, accorded it by no other so-called complete United States history. Nearly all other writers, mainly New Englanders, have emphasized the

events of the Atlantic colonies and minimized or entirely ignored the contemporary trans-Alleghany events. Concerning this feature of Mr. Avery's history, the chapter on "Opening the West — Ordinance of 1787," is an exemplification. This chapter is particularly interesting and valuable to the Ohio and western reader. The problem of disposing of the vast domain north and west of the Ohio, was a most perplexing one to the Congress of 1787. The conflicting claims of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Virginia to this vast territory, involved not only questions of proprietorship but of governmental control and constitutional status; says Mr. Avery:

> "While war was being waged and in spite of the king's proclamation of 1763, a human tide was pouring into this back country; 'The paths that the deer had made over the mountains could not be blocked up. The hunter followed the deer and the settler followed the hunter,' as narrated in the tenth chapter of the fifth volume of this history. At the same time, the states that had fixed western boundaries dreaded domination and future tyranny if claims like those of Virginia and New York were maintained. For such reasons, Maryland had held up the articles of confederation until she was assured that the western lands should become common property 'subject to be parcelled out by congress into free, convenient, and independent governments.' This was a perilous cutting away from the almost universal notion of supreme state sovereignty, the first expression of an idea that has overwhelmed the theory of union on which the articles of confederation were based. The indignation thus aroused was so fierce that some were in favor of dividing Maryland between the neighboring states and erasing her name from the map. But Maryland's attitude was firm and her action came at the decisive moment."

Then follows the colonial cessions, the Quixotic propositions for the carving of this wild empire into states and the final outcome: The formation of the Ohio Company of Associates, and the Scioto Company.

Of the distribution of honors concerning the authorship of the Ordinance of 1787, Mr. Avery says:

> "The authorship of the ordinance has occasioned much dispute. The fact is that no one person is entitled to all the credit. It embodied the best parts of that of 1784 and of ordinances subsequently introduced. Much has been claimed for Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, a member of the committee, and it is sure that Doctor Cutler exercised a powerful influence, as did others. As regards the clause prohibiting of slavery, that, too, is in doubt. Jefferson's draft of the ordinance of 1784 had contained such a clause; in March, 1785, Rufus King of Massachusetts had introduced a resolution to the same effect; the first draft of the ordinance of 1787 did not contain the immortal prohibition and, on

the second reading, Dane, apparently upon a suggestion from the Virginia delegation, brought it forward. The claim of first place for Doctor Cutler is, however, ably and persistently urged by many, and the last word has not yet been written.

"While the ordinance was under consideration, Cutler had been pushing his negotiations for a land purchase; on the twenty-seventh of July, congress authorized the sale of five million acres in the region north of the Ohio and east of the Scioto. A million and a half acres were for the Ohio company: the remainder was 'for private speculation in which many of the principal characters of America are concerned,' in other words, the Scioto company. The Ohio company proved to be an effective agent for good, but the Scioto purchase was disastrous to all actively engaged therein. The total price was three and a half million dollars payable in certificates of public indebtedness that were worth about twelve cents on the dollar — the largest private contract that had ever been made in America.

"General Parsons presented his memorial to congress in May and returned without having accomplished anything. In the following month, Putnam and Cutler, the other two directors, met in Boston, and decided that the latter should renew an attempt in which Parsons, and Rufus King, and Jefferson, and Washington, and several committees of congress had conspicuously failed. In his diary, Cutler wrote: 'I conversed with General Putnam and settled the principles on which I am to contract with congress for lands on account of the Ohio company.' In the two or three days that the ordinance was pending before congress, it was proposed to reject some of the amendments that he had suggested, he does not specify which they were. With worldly wisdom, Cutler promptly 'paid his respects to all the members of congress in the city and informed them of his intention to depart that day.' He says that they urged him to 'tarry till the next day and they would put by all other business to complete the contract.' The diary further tells us that 'congress came to the terms stated in our letter without the least variation.' In other words, according to this account, Putnam and Cutler were masters of the situation and the Ohio company dictated its own terms."

Then follows the settlement of the new Northwest and Marietta becomes the Plymouth of a "territory larger than the present German Empire."

Mr. Avery's account of the First United States Land Survey corrects what had become a well fixed error. "Thomas Hutchins was then geographer of the United States, an office that came to include the duties of surveyor-general of the public lands. The first survey was to begin at the point where the western boundary of Pennsylvania intersects the

northern bank of the Ohio River. From this point, a base line, known as the Geographer's Line, was to be run due west. North and south lines six miles apart were to divide the territory into seven ranges, and east and west lines six miles apart were to divide each range into townships. Each township was to be divided into thirty-six lots (subsequently called sections) each one mile square. Lots sixteen of each township was to be reserved for the maintenance of public schools within that township and reservations were to be made for the Christian Indians and for patriot refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia. The remaining lands were to be sold at auction for not less than one dollar an acre (specie value) and the cost of surveying. Before any lands were sold under this system, congress had authorized the sale of large tracts at much lower prices to land companies or syndicates.

"On the thirtieth of September, Hutchins began operations, but not much of the work was completed that year. The ordinance contemplated a survey of seven ranges extending northward from the Ohio River to Lake Erie. The ranges were numbered from east to west and the townships in each range were numbered from south to north. In 1786, Connecticut ceded to the general government her western lands reserving a tract in what is now north-eastern Ohio. Owing probably to unsettled questions relating to this Western Reserve, the continental congress, by a resolution dated the ninth of May, 1786, directed that Hutchins and his surveyors 'do not proceed further northerly than the east and west line mentioned in the said ordinance,' i. e., the Geographer's Line. Hutchins died in 1789, and, under an act of 1796, Rufus Putnam became the first surveyor-general. By item eight of instructions issued by Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury, Putnam was directed to complete the survey of the lands 'between the Southern boundary of the Connecticut Claims [the forty-first parallel] and the Seven Ranges of Townships which were surveyed in pursuance of an ordinance of congress under the late Confederation passed on the 20th of May, 1785.' In accordance with these instructions, Putnam had the four tiers of townships between the seven ranges and the military lands on the south and the southern boundary of the Western Reserve on the north, and extending as far westward as the Muskingum River, thirty-eight townships in all, surveyed in 1800. The thirty-six sections in each township of the old seven ranges are numbered consecutively from the south-east corner of the township while those of the townships surveyed by Putnam north of Hutchin's base line are similarly numbered from the north-east corner, a system that is still maintained in the survey of the public lands. The original manuscript returns of this survey are preserved in the general land office at Washington City. They are without date, but, as they mention an act of May, 1800, they must have been made subsequent to that date. It has been generally stated by historians that the famous seven ranges extended from the Ohio River to the forty-first parallel, and even

some of the veterans of the United States general land office were of the same opinion in April, 1909."

For the correction of this long-standing error concerning the Hutchins survey Mr. Avery gives credit to Mr. Albion M. Dyer, present secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, who gave the matter of the history of the Seven Ranges special study, conducting his investigation at Washington.

The Avery History of the United States when complete will consist of sixteen volumes. It is published by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

THE PEACE OF MAD ANTHONY WAYNE.

Mr. Frazer E. Wilson, life member of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and writer of some interesting articles for the Society's *Quarterly*, is the author of a little volume entitled "The Peace of Mad Anthony Wayne," an account of the subjugation of the North-western Indian tribes and the Treaty of Greenville. Mr. Wilson, a resident of Greenville, has been a diligent student of Ohio history for many years and his studies have resulted in one or two previous monographs touching on the subject of the volume in question. In the 125 pages of Mr. Wilson's book the author lays the foundation for the Greenville Treaty, by an account of the Indian peoples of the Northwest and the chief historic events leading up to the English expeditions against the Ohio Indians following the American Revolution. The campaigns of St. Clair, Harmar, Scott and Wilkinson are concisely related. The recital of the Wayne warfare is well written from the best standard authorities. The period covered by Mr. Wilson is the most important and interesting in the pre-state history of Ohio and Mr. Wilson gives a most readable and correct account of the events included in his work. He has carefully acquainted himself with the facts of his story and has reproduced them in a pleasing narrative style. The campaign of Anthony Wayne, culminating in the Battle of Fallen Timber is one of the most romantic episodes in American history. Few historians have done it full justice. The war of the Revolution really lasted in Ohio twenty years, beginning with the battle of Point Pleasant, W. Va., October 10, 1774, and ending with the battle of Fallen Timber on the Maumee, August 20, 1794. Ohio was thus the great battlefield on which the last blows were struck by the Americans against their British foes and moreover Ohio was the great battlefield on which the Indian took his last stand to stay the tide of white invasion. Mr. Wilson's little volume is the most satisfactory summary of the Indian wars described that has appeared. It is appropriately supplemented with illustrations and maps. Printed by Chas. R. Kemble, Greenville, Ohio, cloth bound, $1.25.

PRE-HISTORIC MAP.

Concerning the archaeological atlas of Ohio now being prepared by The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, under the direction of W. C. Mills, Curator of the Society, the Associated Press has given out the following statement:

Work on the archaeological atlas of Ohio, a work unique of its kind in the history of literature, is about one-fourth completed, but so quietly has it been in progress that few, if any persons outside the membership of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society have known of it. It will require at least a year longer to complete.

The nearest approaches to this work are an archaeological map of the state of New York, which has been completed and published, and a series of maps which Wisconsin is having prepared, showing its wealth of mounds. Ohio, moreover, according to William C. Mills, curator and librarian of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, has as much material in almost any of its counties as most of the states.

The present work has been systematically undertaken. There will be a plate and a map for each of the 88 counties. Of these more than 20 have been completed. For a basis the United States topographical survey maps are being used. The scale is one-half inch to the mile, which permits of a vast amount of detail going into the maps.

In telling of the work, Mr. Mills continually says "we are doing this and that," but that is only modesty, and he is doing practically all the work himself.

Work was begun in the north-eastern part of the state, so that the biggest counties are still to come. The Miami, Scioto and Muskingum valleys are richest in archaeological treasures, and will entail the most work in making the surveys. Scioto county has just been completed and the plate will be issued in a few weeks. While some counties have a great deal more material than others, not one of the 88 is barren.

Mr. Mills says it is a fact not generally known that they are both numerous and important, but, for the most part they have all been partly explored by amateurs, so that when the society gets to work it has little material to work on. Every exploration has value, he says, in proof of which he cites the recently explored Seip mound in Ross county. In it alligator teeth were found, proving to the satisfaction of the archaeologist the wide extent of commerce carried on by the aborigines and the long distance they traveled. This is, to date, the only case on record wherein such teeth were found this far north.

Then, too, the scientific conception of what the mounds really were, has changed since most persons learned about them. They are no longer considered as signal towers, forts or dwelling places. In-

stead it is now believed they are the remains of sacred places, half temples, where the dead were prepared for burial, which was by cremation. Inside this enclosure were divisions corresponding, in a way, to the family burying lot and in these the ashes and the trinkets of the dead were deposited. When these were full the enclosure was filled up and the mound thus erected became a sort of monument, not to one person, or one family, but to the dead of an entire community.

The atlas, for which all this work is being done, will be published by the society, which is state supported. When completed it will be the final word on archaeology, particularly as that science relates to Ohio. Whether the book shall be made encyclopedic as well as up to the minute, is a point that has not been determined. Data for any exhaustive treatment of the subject is at hand and is being prepared, but whether it is to be incorporated in this book is for the future to decide. It may be that only enough letter press will be employed to properly explain and amplify the various plates.

So far the work has cost less than was anticipated. Acting under the suggestion of Mr. Mills every possible expense has been eliminated. When completed it will be the only one of its kind in the world.

MONUMENT TO SAMUEL BRADY.

A goodly percentage of the members of Old Northwest Chapter D. A. R. and many friends were present August 18, 1909, at Ravenna, Ohio, at the ceremonies attendant upon the unveiling of a monument to Capt. Samuel Brady, near the spot where he hid himself from the Indians in the waters of the lake which now bears his name. The marker had been set in place some days previous and after all present had gathered near the exercises opened with the singing of America. Mrs. W. H. Beebe, who had charge of the ceremonies, then introduced Miss Eunice Strickland, who read a short history of Capt. Brady and his achievements, prepared by herself for the occasion. Her address complete concludes this article. At the close of her remarks the monument was ceremoniously unveiled by Miss Treva Mae Allen, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Allen. R. S. Webb was then announced, who thanked the Daughters in behalf of Ravenna and Franklin for the work they had done. He commended them for their efforts to keep alive an interest in historical matters and told them that posterity would owe a great debt to them for the existence of many similar monuments and markers. He said he hoped the good work so auspiciously begun would go on. Mrs. Garrard then spoke briefly of the reasons why the marker had been placed where it is, and Mrs. Beebe explained why the present name had been chosen for the chapter. She said the marker would be placed in charge of John Williston, who lives nearby, and Wallace Merrill, who owns the land where it is

placed. Dr. F. F. H. Pope of Kent was then introduced and told of his acquaintance, both personal and by hearsay, with several of the early pioneers and Indian fighters. Miss Julia Sawyer of Kent sang a medley of patriotic airs and the dedication was over. Miss Strickland's address follows in full:

The material for this paper was gathered from several different sources, first from old historic records of early frontier life in the Western Reserve as recorded by one of Brady's friends in a letter found in a volume of records in the New York State Library at Albany, N. Y.; second, from "Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio;" third, from the account as given to J. R. Williston, of Brady Lake, by old Mr. Haymaker, one of the early pioneers of this section.

The region known as "The Western Reserve" at the coming of the white man was one vast unbroken wilderness, inhabited by Indians and wild animals. Where today are broad cultivated fields, hamlets, towns and thriving cities the wild deer then browsed and the pheasant drummed his monotonous notes. Where today steam and electric cars speed through the country, the light canoe was once borne swiftly along by the steady dip of the paddle; where today are broad highways there were then only the narrow Indian trails stealthily followed by the red man and later by bold frontier traders.

Closely associated with the early history of this particular section of country was a noted Indian fighter, Captain Brady, the Daniel Boone of Ohio, for whom this beautiful lake is named, because of his miraculous escape from his Indian pursuers by hiding in its waters.

Little is known of his early life, but it is said that he was a relative of General Hugh Brady, an American general who served under Wayne and won distinction for his bravery. According to one record Brady was left an orphan at an early age, and that he went to live with relatives, whether with General Brady or not is not certain. The family with whom he lived had previously adopted a lad named Simon Girty, who was the same age as the orphan lad. The two boys became close comrades and grew to young manhood sharing together many bold adventures and hairbreadth escapes incident to the rugged frontier life of those early days.

A frightful Indian massacre occurred in the small settlement and nearly every family met death at the hands of the cruel Indians, however Brady and Girty made their escape. Each took a different course in flight but both settled in the great western wilderness. Brady, like Hannibal of old, "vowed eternal vengeance" upon the Indians, and soon after his escape he led a bold band of traders and adventurers, while strange to relate, Girty became chief of several Indian tribes and a dreaded enemy of the white settler. Thus the former close comrades of boyhood days became the heads of intensely hostile forces, and it is said that they met many times in battle without recognition. It has

been a source of great wonder how Girty could have turned upon the white settlers, unless some drops of fierce Indian blood coursed through his veins.

According to "Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio," about 1780 a band of Indians near the Cuyahoga made an attack upon Catfish Camp, south of the Ohio River, in the southern part of what is now known as Washington county.

To avenge the murder of a number of families Captain Brady immediately gathered a small force of picked daring men and started in swift pursuit of the marauders, but the start which the Indians had, prevented their capture.

Near Ravenna the Indians divided, one party going north, the other west to Cuyahoga Falls. Brady also divided his force, a number following the northern trail, the remainder going directly towards the Indian village near North Hampton township, Summit county.

Notwithstanding Brady's extreme caution the Indians awaited him with four times his force, and so finding retreat scarcely possible, Brady quickly ordered his men to separate. However the Indians gave pursuit to Brady alone because of their deadly hatred of the bold leader who had so often worsted them in fight.

Another account states that Brady with but twenty men, attempted an attack upon the Indian village at Sandusky, and that the Indians, having in some way found out his plan, waylaid his force near Kent. This account further states that the Indians were in ambush and that in the terrible hand to hand conflict, all the men excepting Captain Brady and one other fell. With his one surviving companion he sought refuge in the dense forest; the Indians pursued them and Captain Brady was finally captured and taken to Sandusky.

The arrival of the prisoner and his captors at the Indian village was hailed with great joy, for the Indians had often met Brady in unsuccessful fights and his capture therefore was a source of general rejoicing. Swift runners were at once dispatched to spread the glad news among the other tribes.

Meantime great preparations were made for his execution, which was to be a great occasion celebrated by dancing and feasting. Though entirely unknown to him Captain Brady's manly appearance had won the sympathy of an Indian chief's daughter who begged her father to spare his life, but she was severely rebuked for her appeal in his behalf.

On the day appointed for the execution, thousands of gaily decked warriors were gathered around the funeral pile, to which the unfortunate victim was bound. Just as the torch was about to be applied Captain Brady suddenly recognized among the chiefs his old boyhood friend, Simon Girty, for whom he had a brotherly affection. Captain Brady made a strong appeal, but the chief pretended not to know

him and finally to Brady's last appeal, which should have melted the heart of a savage, refused any aid to save his old time friend. This most heartless act on Girty's part but seems to prove that savage blood did course in his veins, and that a savage life was more to his liking than that of the white settlers.

Thus condemned Brady was to be burned alive at the stake, the torch was applied and the red flames shot upward about the helpless victim, but just at that moment the Indian maiden sprang forward to cut his bonds, when, by an almost superhuman effort, Captain Brady broke his fetters, and wholly unaware that the maiden was trying to free him, and feeling that something must be done instantly, he gave the poor Indian girl a great push which made her fall on the burning pile. As he had expected there was a moment when the Indians were almost stricken dumb, and consternation reigned among the women and children.

Captain Brady, though greatly weakened by his long march and stiffened from being bound to the stake, lost not a single second in making the best of this excitement, and bounded away into the depths of the forest. It was unquestionably a race for life as very many swift Indian runners had immediately set out in his pursuit. The forest rang with the red man's signal cries as the escaped Captain plunged through its dark recesses closely followed by his enraged pursuers. The race continued until Brady leaped the Cuyahoga River which he had intended to cross at the great stone ford, however the Indians had cunningly divided their forces and as he drew near the place he caught sight of a band on the opposite shore. His only hope therefore was to outrun his pursuers who were certainly gaining upon him and at Kent, where the Indians were close upon his track, Captain Brady leaped the Cuyahoga.

The rushing water coursed swiftly through the dark chasm whose straight, narrow, rocky walls rose from twenty to thirty feet, fringed with overhanging trees. It was "Scylla or Charybdis," and the bold hunter delayed not a moment, but leaped and landed on a ledge of rock above the water's level. His fall, however, was partly broken by catching at some of the overhanging branches. He took but a moment in which to gather himself up and then ran on.

The Indians had exulted in the thought that Brady was trapped, but when he suddenly disappeared their exultation changed to a superstitious awe, for they thought the man must be a god to vanish so suddenly and so completely. For his unaccountable disappearance the Indians called him the "Wild Turkey," and carved a large turkey foot on the rock which was later cut away and taken to Buchtel College as an Indian relic.

Just before his wonderful leap of some twenty-five feet the Indians had slightly wounded Brady in the hip and so disabled him a

little and after a careful search they found some blood stains and with a mighty war whoop dashed on his pursuit once more. By this time Captain Brady's strength was nearly spent and he ran with difficulty, but self preservation was strong and he still pressed on through the tangled forest hoping to reach a place of safety. About three or four miles from Kent he hid himself beneath a great chestnut log in the quiet waters of this pretty lake, and managed to get air through some water reeds which grew in the lake.

Captain Brady had taken the utmost precaution to destroy all evidences of his trail and had succeeded so well that when the Indians came up and searched carefully for their victim they did not find the slightest trace of him and so concluded that he had drowned himself in the lake or that, being wounded, he had been drowned while trying to escape. However they lingered around the lake for a time, and Brady, in his safe retreat, heard their angry words and decision which he understood from his knowledge of the Indian language. And as soon as he thought it safe set out for the white settlement where he arrived a little later.

His friends could scarcely credit his story, but found that he had indeed had a race for life and rejoiced with him that it had not been in vain.

Captain Brady renewed his warfare upon the Indians and at one time captured several single handed and, marching by night, and hiding by day, took them a distance of many miles.

The place where he made his bold leap has since been known as "Brady's Leap," the hill down which he ran as "Brady's Hill," and this lake in which he hid is still known as "Brady's Lake."

LOCATION OF CRAWFORD'S BURNING.

Judge Allen Smalley, of Upper Sandusky, in a letter made public some years ago, located to within one acre, the exact spot upon which Col. Crawford was burned.

"On the 11th day of June, 1782, Col. William Crawford was burned at the stake by the Wyandot and Delaware Indians about half a mile north-east of the site of Crawfordsville, in this county. No man knows the exact spot where the execution occurred. The Indians, Dr. Knight and Simon Girty, knew exactly where the burning took place, but as to the particular point where the cruel deed was done the balance of mankind must be content with hearsay tradition. Colonel Butterfield tried to locate the tragic spot in the light of first and second-hand hearsay; and others seek now to walk to the exact spot in the light given by Colonel Butterfield.

"Early in October, 1853, my father with his family moved onto the old Myron Buell farm, at Crawfordsville, and our dwelling house was within half a mile and in plain sight of the High Bank, on Tymochtee creek, close to which, all agree, Colonel Crawford was burned. The traditions from the whites and Indians agree that the execution took place in this locality. The Indians were numerous and better acquainted with the exact place and its environments than were the few whites.

"The first white settler within the present limits of Wyandot county was Henry Lish, who settled near the mouth of Tymochtee creek, about the year 1818. Settlers began to pour in rapidly in 1821, and never stopped coming until the public land was all taken and the county was completely settled. This settlement of the county commenced less than forty years from the time of Colonel Crawford's cruel execution.

"The burning of Crawford was contrary to the customs of the Wyandots, and it strained the friendly relations hitherto existing between the Wyandots and the Delawares. Such an unusual event would naturally make a deep impression upon the minds of the Indians of both tribes. They all had an opportunity of knowing the exact spot where the tragedy was consummated and all must concede that they did know. Many of the actual participants in Crawford's execution, not only lived here when the white settlers began to move into the country forty years later, but they continued to live here until their final removal west of the Mississippi in 1843.

"The old settlers were a hardy, long-lived people, and many of them were active here until after the close of the Civil War. The Wyandots had only been gone ten years when we moved into the country. At that time the large timber on and in the neighborhood of the High Bank had never been disturbed. The environments were about the same as they had been for a hundred years. Certainly the relative positions of the creek and the High Bank had not materially changed since 1872. During the long years of my residence in sight of the spot I always understood that the burning occurred under the walnut trees in the bend of the creek, just across the stream from High Bank. This general description brought the tragic spot within the compass of less than an acre of land, and that was as close as we ever cared about getting to the 'exact spot.'

"I never heard this location disputed until in 1876, when the Crawford monument was dedicated, and then, and at different times since, old men living remote from the field and very seldom having seen it, fortified with little morsels of hearsay, persist in putting a pin in the 'exact' spot where Colonel Crawford died at the stake.

"One hundred and twenty-two years ago Colonel Crawford died; he was a noble, good man; a pioneer of our pioneers. His place of sepulchre was the place of his execution, and, like one of the great leaders of old, no man knows to this day the exact place of his burial.

The Tymochtee remains, the 'Bend' remains, the 'High Bank' remains, and these monuments retain their relative positions substantially as they have existed for the last 150 years.

"The actors in the tragedy have long since joined the silent majority, but the early, undisputed tradition yet lives in the memory of living witnesses, and under the walnut trees, in the bend of the creek, just across from the High Bank is the 'exact spot' where the great Colonel Crawford was burned at the stake."

AN INDIAN CAPTIVITY.

A copy of the following article, by courtesy of a member of the Oviatt family, recently fell into the hands of the Editor of the QUARTERLY. It was published some years ago in one of the newspapers of Eastern Ohio. It gives a reliable account of an Indian massacre and captivity typical of the times in the early settlements of the New England and Pennsylvania colonies. This particular narrative is interesting to Ohio readers for the reason that those spoken of as massacred or carried into captivity were the progenitors of prominent Ohio settlers, as appears in the article. It is perhaps permissible to say, *en passant,* that the Elizabeth Carter and the Benjamin Oviatt, of the account, were respectively the great-grandmother and the great-grandfather of the Editor of the QUARTERLY, his grandfather being Heman Oviatt who came to Ohio from Goshen, Conn., in 1800, in the party of Henry Hudson, when the latter founded the town given his name. An account of the centennial of Hudson town appeared in the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, volume IX, pages 318-371 — EDITOR.

THE CAPTIVES.

A NARRATIVE OF REAL LIFE.

[NOTE. — During the past two or three years I have been collecting and arranging facts and data for a complete geneology of the Oviatt family in America. In connection with this work, there has come into my possession the following narrative, which is said to have been originally published in the *Litchfield* (Conn.) *Enquirer,* about 1845 or 1846. The Benjamin Oviatt who married Elizabeth Carter, was my great-grandfather; my father, Darius, being a son of Nathaniel Oviatt, of Richfield, (Summit Co.,) Ohio. Samuel Oviatt, (born in 1741,) who it appears was an older brother of Benjamin, was the progenitor of the Trumbull County Oviatts. T. D. OVIATT.]

Warren, O., February 15th, 1889.

Almost incredible is the recital of the hardships and sufferings from savage cruelty to which the early emigrants of our western set-

tlements were exposed. With very few of the comforts of life, and none of its luxuries, they penetrated deep into the dark and unbroken forest, erected their rude habitations, and placed within their unembellished walls their wives and little ones. All they possessed on earth thus insecurely reposed in the bosom of solitude and danger. The sound of the hoarse winds as they rushed heavily through the branches of the tall trees around their dwelling, was often mingled with the tread and growl of the wild beast and the wily approach of the more ferocious and deadly savage. And often, too, was the midday stillness of the forest broken by the expiring shriek of these lonely emigrants, as they were struck down on their own thresholds by the hands of barbarians, whose work of death no weakness or supplication could in the least avert. Difficult it is to realize that amidst these peaceful hills and vales, where cities and clustering villages and a thousand hamlets so joyfully repose, scarce a century ago such horrid scenes existed. And while thus securely dwelling, we listen to the recital of such deeds of darkness, we scarce believe them other than the wild legends of romance. But instances there are of those with whom we have associated, and from whose lips we have heard such recitals, who saw and participated in those scenes of suffering.

Soon after the French and Indian war, Mr. Nathaniel Carter removed from Killingworth to Cornwall in Litchfield Co., where he purchased and settled on the farm now owned and improved by Caleb Jones, Esq., where he resided for some years. But, as the tide of emigration was at the time setting from New England toward the pleasant and fertile valleys of the Delaware and Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, early in 1763 Mr. Carter, with some of his hardy neighbors, began to make preparations for removing thither. The accounts which they had received of that country had filled them with glowing anticipations, though they were by no means unmindful of the fact that the life of a pioneer was one of hardship and peril. Mr. Carter's family at this time consisted of his wife and six children — Jemima, the oldest daughter, having a short time before been married to Mr. John Bates, of Warren, [Conn.] The other children were Nathan, Sarah, aged eleven years, Elizabeth, eight, Nathaniel, six, and an infant. On a beautiful morning in the spring of the same year, this family, (except the married daughter,) together with two other families from the same neighborhood, took up the line of their journey for the "land of promise." After a tedious tour, marked with the usual vicissitudes and adventures of such a journey, they arrived in safety at the forks of the Delaware, where they remained a short time, and ultimately settled on the Lackawaxen creek, in Wayne county, [Pa.,] about twelve miles below the site of the present town of Bethany. They advanced about fifteen miles beyond any other white settlement, cleared a small spot near the bank of the stream, and erected a building of logs, in which the three families resided. Here they passed a few months in

apparent security, engaged in various employments to improve the safety and comfort of their new residence. The tall trees immediately before their dwelling they had in part cleared away, some grain and garden vegetables were growing hard by, while around the doorway a few flowers, transplanted from their dear native New England, were budding and blossoming — adding variety and beauty to the scene of their wilderness home. While some were laboring, others carried the musket and ammunition, acting as sentinels, that they might seasonably be apprised of any approaching danger. Every day seemed more promising of future happiness and security, and added something to their little stock of comforts. The wild scenery had become familiar to their view, and an agreeable interest had associated itself with most of the objects which were embraced by the little horizon, formed by the tall and unbroken forests which stretched away to an almost interminable breadth around them.

One day in the latter part of September, when the inmates of this little settlement were occupied in their usual pursuits, Mr. Carter, with his oldest son, and one or two others, being engaged in building a house a short distance in the woods, and the man whose business it was to act as sentinel having gone a few rods out of sight of the house to examine some traps, the Indians, who had been secretly watching for their prey, uttered their savage war-whoop, and rushed upon these defenceless women and children. At this moment, Mrs. Carter and her daughter Elizabeth were a few rods from the door, engaged in picking green corn for dinner. Elizabeth, seeing them before the war-whoop was given, and knowing from their appearance that they were branded for war, turned to her mother and gave the alarm, but her words were scarcely uttered, before she saw that beloved parent turn deadly pale, and the next moment beheld the tomahawk buried in her skull. The Indians, twelve in number, then rushed into the house, where were the elder females, one of whom was confined to the bed with illness; a daughter of the same woman, aged sixteen, who was also ill; the infant daughter of Mr. Carter, and five other children. One of the Indians seized the infant and dashed its brains out against the logs of the house; and the two sick females were instantly put to death with the tomahawk. The man who had gone to examine the traps, hearing the shrieks of the sufferers, hastened to their defense, but had only time to discharge his gun once, before he received a death blow from the hands of the assailants.

The Indians having selected such of their captives as they supposed could best endure the hardships of a savage life, and taking the scalps of those they had killed, and also the clothing and utensils which they thought would best suit their convenience, they set fire to the house, and then hurried off to their encampment, a short distance from thence, on the other side of the creek. The captives were three children

of Mr. Carter, (Sarah, Elizabeth and Nathaniel,) Mrs. Duncan, and three children belonging to the other family. At the encampment they found about two hundred Indians, principally warriors. Several large fires were burning, around which the Indians began to regale themselves on roasted corn and other refreshments, which they had brought from the white settlement. After having freely indulged themselves in exultations at their recent successes and night approaching, they secured their captives with cords, and stretched themselves on the ground around the fires. Sarah, the oldest of the three children of Mr. Carter, appeared perfectly distracted by the circumstances of her situation. She continued crying and calling for her father to come and rescue her. The Indians several times appeared determined to silence her screams with the tomahawk. At length, when they had become buried in sleep, Sarah obtained a small brand from the fire, with which she barely succeeded in burning the cord which bound her to the savages, but leaving her hands still tied together. In this situation and surrounded by the midnight darkness, she succeeded in finding a canoe and loosening it from its fastenings, in which she reached the opposite bank, and finally found her way back to the smoking ruins of her recent home, where she gave way to the most violent lamentations. Though her cries were distinctly heard at the encampment, she was not pursued until morning, when she was retaken.

The Indians then commenced their journey through the woods, carrying their prisoners on horseback. After pursuing their route three days in a westerly direction, they halted and sent back a war party of about one hundred. After five or six days, the party returned with several scalps; and the horror of the captives can scarcely be imagined, when they discovered among the number those of Mr. Carter and Mr. Duncan. These men, on returning from their labors, and seeing the desolation which the Indians had made, repaired to the nearest white settlement, and procured the aid of forty men, with whom they returned for the cattle, and with the faint hope of recovering the captives. Just as they gained the vicinity of their recent home, they were suddenly surprised by the yell of these savages, and by the flight of their arrows. About half of Carter's men, (most of whom were Dutch,) instantly deserted, and left their companions to fight out the battle as best they could. Yet, though struggling against such fearful odds, these brave men stood their ground, till Carter found himself alone — all besides him having been killed or disabled.

He stationed himself behind a rock, and still kept up the fire until struck down by the tomahawks of the enemy. Some four or five of those wounded in the early part of the engagement, succeeded in crawling so far into the forest as to elude the subsequent search of their wily foes, and at length reached their homes.

On the return of the Indian warriors to the encampments, (as was afterwards stated by the captives,) there was great lamentation and

mourning among the savages over those of their number who had fallen in the battle — more than half of the one hundred being among the slain.

The Indians then re-commenced their march through the woods to the residence of their nation. As nearly as the captives could recollect, they traveled several days diligently in a northwesterly direction, and at length arrived at their place of destination. Here in dark and filthy huts, ornamented with the scalps of their parents and friends, separated from each other, did these lonely captives spend the long and tedious months of winter, in a state of almost perfect starvation. The Indians would never go abroad to obtain new supplies of food, so long as one morsel remained; and then sometimes returned with little success. Nathaniel, (the youngest of the captives,) having from the first been a general favorite with the Indians, was treated by them with comparative kindness and attention; and so much so, that the little white stranger soon ceased to mourn his bereavements, and joined heartily in the amusements and pastimes which they devised for the purpose of diverting him and making sport for themselves.

Early in the spring they deserted their winter quarters, and journeyed towards the lakes; and after a tour of several weeks, arrived in the vicinity of Fort Niagara, where Elizabeth and Sarah were ransomed through the negotiations of Sir William Johnson. But all efforts to obtain Nathaniel were unavailing. No considerations would tempt the Indians to part with him; and, strange as it may appear, he had become so much attached to them that he would not consent to leave them. His sisters, after bidding him an affectionate and final farewell, were conveyed to Albany, where their Connecticut friends, being apprised of their ransom, met them, and they soon had the unspeakable gratification of once more visiting the home of their nativity, and finding themselves surrounded by sympathizing friends and relatives. Yet it was long, very long, before they ceased to mourn over the dreadful scenes through which they had passed, and their sad bereavement.

The reader who has followed thus far our narrative, may feel an interest to know something of the subsequent history of the captives. Sarah Carter, from her ill-treatment and mental suffering, never fully recovered. Though she lived to an old age, her intellect was permanently impaired; she died a few years since in Goshen, [Conn.] Elizabeth was married to Mr. Benjamin Oviatt, of Goshen, and died in that town in the autumn of 1835. Among her children were the late Mr. Lyman Oviatt, of Goshen; Heman Oviatt, Esq., a wealthy and enterprising citizen of Hudson, Ohio, and distinguished as a liberal patron of the college at that place; and Mr. Nathaniel Oviatt, of Richfield, O. The children of Mr. Carter's eldest daughter, Jemima, were the late Mr. John Bates, of Kent, [Conn.,] the late Isaac Bates,

of Warren, [Conn.,] Deacon Nathaniel Carter Bates, recently of this town, — [Litchfield.]

Nathaniel grew up among the Indians, imbibed their habits, and married one of their daughters. It is a most remarkable circumstance, that among the articles which the Indians carried away with the captives, was a Bible — which they afterwards gave to their young favorite. He had previously learned to read, and by means of this book, which he kept to manhood, he ever retained that knowedge. He died in the Cherokee nation, at the age of about seventy.

Some years since, while the foreign mission school was in operation at Cornwall, Mr. Isaac Bates, well known as a warm friend of the school, received a letter from a missionary among the Indians, stating that he sent on to be educated a half-breed Indian, of fine talent and exemplary piety, named Carter; expressing a wish that he would become acquainted with him. An early acquaintance with the young man was accordingly sought by Mr. Bates, and greatly to his surprise and gratification, he discovered in him a son of the long lost captive! The youth remained at the school for a considerable time, frequently visiting his relatives in this vicinity; and at length, after completing his studies, he returned to his native country with a view of there preaching the gospel.

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